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BIBLIOTHECA CLASSICA.

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AND THE

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TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

QUINTI HORATII FLACCI OPERA OMNIA.

WITH A

COMMENTARY BY THE REV. A. J. MACLEANE, M.A.

LONDON:

WHITTAKER & CO., AVE MARIA LANE;

GEORGE BELL, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1869.

LONDON:
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QUINTI HORATII FLACCI OPERA OMNIA.

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Second Edition,

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PREFACE.

This commentary is longer than I intended, but it might have been much longer than it is if I had filled the notes with quotations as some editors have done, or with exclamations as others. I have had but one object in view, that of helping students and general readers, of whom no Latin writer has more than Horace, to understand his poems in their letter and spirit, so far as I understand them myself. The author is much mixed up with his poetry, to comprehend which therefore it is necessary to enter into the character of the man. It is this, in fact, that makes Horace so many admirers, the continual presence, or supposed presence of the author in every page. I have tried to show the limitations with which this opinion must be received by pointing out the purely artistic, artificial character of much that he has written, and in which his own feelings have by many been supposed to be drawn. I shall probably be thought deficient in warmth and taste by some who, having only a general and dreamy acquaintance with Horace, the reflection in many instances of slovenly teaching in boyhood, have been accustomed to find beauties where I have seemed to find defects, and have invested some of his poems with charms which a closer inspection dispels. I can only say that I have tried to look at every poem and every word dispassionately, and to realize as far as possible the author's mind while he was writing it, and I believe no editor discharges his duty who does not take that course. The result I have given, in each case, in the notes or introduction, or both; and in order to help the reader to form his own judgment, I have added, in such cases as admitted of it, the substance of each

poem in the form of an Argument. This serves the purpose of giving a conspective view of the poem and its scope, and the connexion of the different parts, and often supplies a word or sentence which it otherwise might be necessary to translate in a note. The Arguments and Introductions will be found to relieve the notes considerably.

I have done my best to determine the merits of the various readings, and to choose in every disputed case the best, according to my judgment. I have given in a note the amount of authority for each disputed reading that I have adopted, and there is not a word in the text which has not good MS. authority. "Lectiones ex conjectura profectas tanquam pestem a contextu procul me removisse dico[1]." To those who are accustomed to look upon Bentley as a benefactor to the text of Horace, this statement will not be acceptable. I have in no single instance adopted a conjecture of Bentley's or any body else's[2], nor have I proposed any myself. The antiquity, genuineness, and number of the MSS. of Horace that have been collated by scholars of great respectability, as well as the authority of the Scholiasts and quotations in early writers, all combine to supply materials for a more perfect text of Horace than we can get of almost any other writer. Opinions will always differ as to the choice of readings, but to desert the MSS. and resort to conjecture in the case of this author I hold to be inexcusable. I have not seen the smallest excuse for it in any single instance, and with this opinion I can only look upon the numerous conjectural readings of Bentley (nearly all of which I have referred to in the notes) as so many instances of false taste and perverted ingenuity. Orelli, who was not wanting in respect for Bentley, says, "conjecturae summi Critici, etsi semper sagaces et acutae, admodum raro a circumspecto Critico probari nunc

[1] H. Stephens, Diatr. ii. p. 46.

[2] [The editor has made a mistake here. There are several passages in which he has accepted conjectural readings; and he has in some cases informed the reader that they are conjectural. I believe however that the editor has not admitted any of Bentley's conjectures, and those which he has accepted from others are few and not like Bentley's.]

possunt[3]." Nor do I think he is much more happy, in most instances (especially in the Odes), in his choice of readings than in his conjectures. He was always liable to be misled by want of ear and poetical taste, as well as by the excess of a prurient sagacity[4] and an unbounded egotism. The text in this edition will be found to differ less from Orelli's than from any other. Where it does so the reason is, I think, always given in the notes. He collated some excellent MSS., especially three in the library at Berne, of which the oldest he places at the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth, and the other two in the tenth. His other MSS. were one of St. Gallen nearly complete, and another of Zürich containing the Odes, Epodes, and Ars Poetica, both of which he says are of the tenth century. Other MSS. referred to in these notes are the Vatican and other Roman MSS. collated by Fea (1811); twenty-three MSS. in the Royal Library at Paris collated by Pottier (1823), varying in age from the tenth to the thirteenth century; and sundry others quoted with or without name by Lambinus (1577[5]), Cruquius (1611[5]), Torrentius (1608[5]), and Bentley (1711). Of the last the most important are four collated by Cruquius, and known as the Blandinian MSS. belonging to the monks of a Benedictine monastery in Flanders, and which were very soon afterwards destroyed with the monastery by fire. The oldest of these, which is appealed to as a great authority, but which was certainly more often wrong than right in the instances in which Cruquius quotes it, was said to tbe earlier than the ninth century. On the margin of this MS. Cruquius found some old notes, which, as he says, with infinite pains he deciphered, and he has added them to his own commentary in a separate form. These scholia are referred to under the abbreviated title of Comm. Cruq. They are chiefly made up of the commentaries of Acron and Porphyrion, with some additions apparently from other old authorities. The readings of these three Scholiasts help out the MSS.,

[3] Vol. ii. p. 97.

[4] "Vide quo provectus sit prurigine corrigendi" (Bentley on Dan. Heinsius: note upon, S. ii. 4. 16).

[5] These are not the earliest editions, but those that I have used.

though sometimes they are not supported by any that are known now.

The editions that I have consulted I will not tire the reader by enumerating. No classical author has been edited and commented upon so often as Horace. The editions I have always referred to when a difficulty of interpretation occurred are those of Ascensius (1519), with the scholia of Acron and Porphyrion, Lambinus, Cruquius (for his commentator), Torrentius, Gesner, Doering, Dillenburger, and Orelli. From these I have got real help, especially from Torrentius, whose commentary is in general clear, learned, and judicious. I have often referred to the French editors Sanadon and Dacier, but their judgment is not to be trusted. The old edition of Landini, published at Florence in 1482, and reprinted at Venice the next year, is in my possession, and will be found frequently referred to for various readings as "Ven. 1483," or simply "Ven." Fea has a good many sensible notes, but I have found him most useful for inscriptions, of which he gives several. Jani and Mitscherlich have edited the Odes, but are so redundant in quotation and admiring exclamation, that their commentaries are disagreeable. The Satires are much indebted to the learning and diligence of Heindorf, whose copious notes and judicious prefaces must be of use to any one who consults them, though his text I do not think is always well chosen. His notes on law-terms are valuable, but in such matters I have been chiefly indebted to the judgment of my friend and coadjutor Mr. Long, whose advice I have likewise followed in many other particulars.

I have not entered at any length upon the chronology of Horace's poems. I have referred to the subject in the Introduction, and have done my best to determine the date of each poem so far as there are reasonable grounds to argue upon. The principal authorities on this subject now relied upon and referred to in this book are Franke (Fasti Horatiani, Berlin, 1839) and Kirchner (Quaestiones Horatianae, Leipzig, 1834). These two writers differ materially from one another, and both of them from Bentley, who in his

Preface has laid down a scheme determining the dates of the several books, without stating the grounds on which he founds it. It will be seen that I prefer Franke's opinion on this subject to Kirchner's, but that there are many instances in which his zeal appears to outstrip his judgment in determining the date of particular poems.

Of the other books that I have used I have been most indebted to Estré's Prosopographeia Horatiana (Amsterdam, 1846), a most favourable specimen of industry and judgment.

I have studied with much pleasure the fragments of the Greek Lyric poets, with whose entire works Horace must have been familiar. The little that is left may make us mourn for what is lost. So much beauty has perished as the world will never see again. There is more power of tenderness and passionate feeling in some of Sappho's small fragments than in all that Horace ever wrote. Such passages of these poets as he appears to have imitated, intentionally or otherwise, I have given, so far as they can be gathered from the fragments now remaining, the edition of which by Bergk (Leipzig, 1843) is that which I have used. Most of them had been quoted before.

This leads me to say that I have not loaded the notes with nearly so many quotations as most who have gone before me. I have tried to confine myself to such passages as throw light upon the text, or appear to have been imitated by or copied from Horace. When I have met with a quotation in any of the late commentators that appeared to have originated from himself, I have given his name. Where, on the other hand, as is the case very often, the quotation is only one of the common stock that has accumulated from the Scholiasts downwards, I have given credit for it to no one, but do not on that account wish to have the credit of it myself. If any have been suggested by my own memory or reading, I have not inquired whether others had thought of them before, and shall hope that I may not appear to have defrauded any one. I have

been careful as far as possible to let Horace illustrate himself, without however distracting the reader by referring him backwards and forwards to passages that will throw no light upon the text.

The MSS. generally and most of the editions have inscriptions or headings to the different poems. That these were not given them by Horace himself is clear, but they appear in the earliest MSS., and are supposed by some to have been invented by the grammarians almost contemporary with the author. They vary very much in the different MSS., and as they are quite arbitrary modern editors have seen the propriety of abandoning them. At the same time, as Kirchner says justly enough (Qu. Hor. p. 20), they have their value as showing the opinion of very early grammarians as to the scope of the different poems, and I have accordingly referred to them whère they could be of any use in settling disputed points.

I had supposed before I began that much that now appears in the notes might be omitted by merely referring the reader to the Dictionaries of Antiquities and Biography edited by Dr. Smith. But valuable as those works are, I found that the articles were not and could not be so drawn up as to save the necessity, in many instances, of independent notes in such a commentary and for such an author as this. I have often referred to them, and if I ought to have done so oftener the omission has been unintentional.

I meant at first to give an Index of the principal words, to form a Concordance at the end of the Volume; but I found there was no room for it, and I hope that, as I have made the Index to the notes pretty copious, and have given a full Index of Proper Names expressed or referred to in the text, the want of the other Index will not be much felt.

I had hoped it would be possible to give engravings of a few

coins, medals, vases, &c., to illustrate various allusions; but the Publishers are anxious to keep the price of the work as moderate as they can, and the engravings have therefore been omitted.

ARTHUR MACLEANE.

BRIGHTON,
March, 1853.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The publishers of this edition of Horace thought that the original volume was large enough, and accordingly in revising it I have struck out from the notes as much as I have added. If the editor had corrected his own work under the same restrictions, he must have done the same. The additions in the notes are marked thus [ ]. They are more numerous in the notes on the Satires and Epistles, than in the notes on the Odes.

Mr. Macleane had editions of Horace and also other books which I do not possess, and I have therefore not been able to verify all the references. But the number which I have not verified is very small compared with the whole number of references; and with the exceptions just mentioned I have verified all. Perhaps I ought to say that I intended to examine all; but as they are very numerous, it is probable, indeed it is certain, that I have overlooked some. However, they are not many. I have corrected without remark the errors which I observed in the notes, but there are still some which I have overlooked. The time which was allowed for the revision and the printing was not sufficient to enable me to do what I undertook with as much care as I would willingly have given to the work. Those who will compare the two editions will see what I have done.

Besides occasionally consulting the last edition of Orelli, I have used other books which are mentioned in the notes. I have read

Ritter's Commentary, and I have got good matter from it. Ritter is a sharp critic and a learned man, who has done something for the explanation of Horace, and I acknowledge my obligations to him. It is his business to excuse himself, if he can, for writing some absurd notes and proposing some interpretations which no sensible man will accept.

I have also used for the Satires and Epistles Krüger's school edition, with German notes. It is a very useful book. The notes prove that the editor has good judgment, and what we in this country call sound common sense, in which many learned editors are very deficient.

I have not touched Mr. Macleane's arguments and introductions, except in very few cases; nor have I added any thing on the chronology of the poems, except a little here and there. Mr. Macleane has done this very well. He judiciously abstained from fixing dates where there is no evidence, unlike many critics who have sometimes fixed them without evidence and sometimes contrary to evidence. Indeed, most commentators have very imperfect conceptions of the nature of proof; and it would be a great improvement if they could be taught in some way not to confound hypotheses and guesses with probable conclusions and demonstration.

I shall here put a question which some people may think unnecessary; but I do not think so. When a man has been used to read a book at intervals for half a century, he may reasonably ask himself whether he has been wasting his time, and whether other persons may not do the same. There are only few books worth reading often or much; but Horace is one of them. He lived with some of the chief men of an age when the Roman polity was changing into a form which has had a lasting influence on Europe, and through Europe on the rest of the world; and his writings have made us familiar with the man himself, with the times in which he lived, the character of his contemporaries, and the manners of the day. Horace's good sense makes his Satires and Epistles almost as intelligible and as instructive as if they were written now; for the best part of them is independent of the allusions to things and persons, and many of the allusions are not more obscure than similar

allusions in modern writings become after a few years. Horace did a good deal to improve the Latin language, and he took the liberty, which he defends, of saying many things in a new way. His poetical power was great and varied; and if he had possessed more energy of character, he might have done even more than he has. But what he has left is a proof of his talent. He gave the Romans, as far as their language would permit, a set of lyrical compositions both in matter and form not unworthy copies or imitations of the Greek; and though such imitation is a confession of inferiority and sometimes is feeble and trifling, he still shows that he could infuse the vigour of the Latin tongue into the measures of Sappho and Alcaeus, and present to us a variety of natural and pleasing images in language simple, concise, and expressive. A last careful reading of Horace's lyric poems, after a long acquaintance with them, has made me estimate them higher than I did, and even when he is less successful, I feel more indulgence towards the poet for daring so much and doing it so well.

Mr. Macleane has made some judicious remarks on Horace in his Introduction; and a recent writer in "Blackwood's Magazine" (No. DCXXX.), "On the Causes of Horace's Popularity," has written an instructive and agreeable essay.

But how do we know that we have what Horace wrote? A work which has come down to us from a very remote time by successive transcriptions must contain many errors. Even books when they have been often reprinted differ very much from the original. The general consent of the manuscripts of Horace is the only evidence of what he wrote; and it is a wonder that the diversities in the text are not more than they are. But these diversities are sufficient to prove that in many passages we cannot discover the true readings, and we never shall. It is the business of the critic to use the documentary evidence of the manuscripts, and to attempt to derive from the various readings some probable conclusion. This branch of the critical art requires great labour, judgment, and taste, and we are much indebted to scholars for what they have done towards establishing the text of Horace and other ancient writers. I have had neither time nor inclination to do any thing for Horace in this

matter. I do not feel that I have any peculiar aptitude for this kind of work, and the same may be said of many who have undertaken it. I have, however, noticed nearly all the variations in Ritter's text, and I think that some of them are improvements. I have noticed also some of Keller's readings in the Odes, but I have found very little in them that seems to me of any value.

When the manuscripts agree, and there is nothing unintelligible, it is consistent with the evidence to let a passage stand as it is, and it is inconsistent to attempt to improve it. When there is diversity of readings in any case, we must determine which we will accept on a balance of probabilities. If no reading gives a sufficient sense, we may endeavour to extract from the supposed false readings something which does give a sense and may be what the copiers would have written if they had taken due care. Many excellent corrections have been made in this way, and they commend themselves to our judgment as true, that is, as possessing sufficient probability to be accepted as true.

There is another method which we may use in deciding between conflicting readings, and also in determining whether a passage, where there is no variation in the readings, may be considered genuine. In the case of Horace, for example, if we study the general purpose of each poem, if we have made ourselves well acquainted with his manner of expression and his poetic colouring, and if we fix our attention closely on all the words of a given passage, and the connexion of the whole passage with that which precedes and follows, we may often determine with great probability what he intended to write, where the evidence leaves it doubtful; and we may also determine whether critics are justified in putting their own guesses in place of the documentary evidence, when there is no variation in it. The power of justly interpreting is therefore a necessary qualification for a critic who undertakes to settle a text whether ancient or modern; as necessary as it is for the commentator who undertakes to explain his author. There are indeed in Horace many passages, where the text may be quite right, and yet the interpretation is doubtful. I have found more of these passages than I expected, and some about which editors will always differ.

Perhaps nearly all the learning that is necessary for the explanation of the text has been collected[1]; and future editors will do the best service by applying to the interpretation of the text the knowledge which their predecessors have transmitted.

Bentley often employed the method of interpretation to determine the true reading; and he thought that the reason of the case and the matter (ratio et res ipsa) were sometimes stronger than a hundred manuscripts, as he says in a note on C. iii. 27. In his note on v. 5 of this Ode, he maintains that 'rumpit,' for which there is evidence, is better than 'rumpat,' for which there is also evidence, whether more or less, I do not know. According to Ritter, the evidence is for 'rumpat.' This is just an instance which tries a man's power, if he will venture to give reasons, and I think that Bentley's argument is opposed by the 'ratio et res ipsa.' Bentley says that 'rumpat' is quite contrary to that which precedes (ducat, &c.), for it would be a lucky thing for the wicked to break off the journey which they had begun, a lucky thing to return home when they have discovered that they are setting out inauspiciously. The sense of the whole passage then, as he thinks, is this:—"Let certain evil omens accompany the wicked. A serpent also is wont to interrupt a journey which has been planned." This is a very feeble addition to the first stanza; and if we take 'rumpit' as Bentley does, it means that a serpent interrupts any person's journey, whether he is bad or good. But the subsequent words, 'ego cui timebo,' are addressed to Galatea, and all that precedes ought to apply to the wicked; and Horace prays that bad luck may go with them, when they do go, and that a bad sign may break off a journey which they have planned; and this is the same as saying, may they not be able to go where they intend to go. There is no contradiction here. It is not so easy to decide on the other passage (v. 15), whether we should read 'vetet' or 'vetat.' Ritter has 'rumpat,' 'vetăt:' Keller has 'rumpit,' 'vetet.' There is said to be only one

[1] Horace contains many words which have a technical meaning: they are words of art. There is one which I intended to notice, but have omitted, the word 'forma' (Epp. i. 16. 4), which, in the language of the Agrimensores, is a plan of a piece of land, cut on bronze, and perhaps sometimes on other material.

MS. for 'vetat,' but if this is so, the preponderance of the evidence for 'vetet' ought not absolutely to decide in this passage. There are two objections to 'vetat:' one is the form 'Teque,' by which this line is connected with the preceding, which contains 'vivas;' and the other is the difficulty of being certain about the meaning of 'laevus,' which, as some critics suppose, signifies 'infaustus,' a meaning which is consistent either with 'vetet' or 'vetat.' If 'laevus' signifies 'auspicious,' then we have with 'vetat' this meaning, 'And thee neither the auspicious woodpecker nor the wandering crow forbids to go,' which is plainly not sense. I am not sure about the meaning of 'vaga,' but I think it has an inauspicious meaning. The passage is curious, and it might be discussed before a jury of competent men under the guidance of a judge, who would prevent the advocates from quarrelling and abusing one another, as critics do sometimes.

Mr. Macleane observes that he has not accepted a single conjecture made by Bentley. These conjectures, it is said, amount to several hundreds. As far as I know, very few of Bentley's conjectures are now accepted by any editor; and this is a strong condemnation of a man's judgment whose great learning is acknowledged. It seems as if Bentley made many of his conjectures first, and then tried to find out reasons for them. Those who know him only by his criticisms on Milton and his controversial writings, such as the Boyle Lecture and Phileleutherus Lipsiensis, may be curious to learn how he has handled a Latin poet in whom propriety of expression and good taste are conspicuous. If Bentley's Latin notes were translated into English, men who are not scholars, but have plain good sense, would find something of the same kind that they might have seen before in his English writings. It is true that the notes on Horace did not allow him quite so good an opportunity of venting his coarse wit and bad taste as his attack on the Discourse on Free-thinking by Antony Collins, the friend of John Locke; but he has done enough in his Horace to show his great defects, and young men should be warned against being deluded by a profuse display of learning, which is frequently used to support a perverse ingenuity. Bentley's powers of assertion were strong: his

logical capacity was not; and he is as inferior to his opponent Collins in honesty and just reasoning as he is superior to Collins in learning, abuse, and misrepresentation [2].

This work of correcting Horace and other writers still goes on, and will go on as long as there are printers to print. It is doubtful whether we are going backwards or forwards in the critical art, for some of the newest emendations are the worst. We have a proposal by Lachmann and Haupt (Keller) to write 'Thynus' for 'Poenus' in C. ii. 13, 14. I do not know what objection these critics made to 'Poenus:' Bentley has let it pass unmolested. 'Thynus' was probably suggested by 'Thyna merce' (C. iii. 7. 3), and 'Bithyna' (C. i. 35. 7; Epp. i. 6. 33). Here the argument turns entirely on the propriety of the expression 'navita Bosporum Poenus:' the evidence is for the common reading. Horace continually uses proper names to give life and complexion to his poetry, and there are instances in which he uses them, as far as we can see, where other proper names would do as well if they had suited his verse. If the 'navita' must have some life put into him by a name, I could not think of one better than Poenus, whether Horace used it in the larger or more limited sense; nor if the poet wished to put his 'navita' on the road to some great and distant seat of commerce, could he have chosen a more troublesome course for him than beating up the Bosporus against a strong current. What the 'navita Thynus' would be doing there I cannot tell, as the Thyni were not

[2] There is an example of Bentley's perverse argumentation on Epod. xv. 15, where, after proposing and defending 'offensi' instead of 'offensae,' at the end of his note he says that 'offensae' may stand, if a man will interpret it as he does. His interpretation may certainly be accepted. In S. i. 9. 1, he inserts 'ut' after 'ibam,' because he does not like the expression 'ibam' alone, and he defends his 'ut' by quoting among other passages one from Terence, Phormio, iv. 3.12: 'Ut abii abs te, fit forte obviam mihi Phormio,' which is quite a different thing. In the same satire, v. 36, he puts 'vadatus,' a conjecture, in the place of 'vadato,' because, as he says, in this formula 'respondere' is used absolutely, and he gives examples, of which there are plenty, but not one where the word 'vadari' occurs. 'Respondere vadato' would be as regular as 'respondere accusatori;' and Bentley can only bring the text to his supposed standard of uniformity by changing 'vadato' into 'vadatus,' and giving to 'vadatus' a passive signification, which it appears that it had in some writers before Horace, and some long after his time. It has been suggested that 'vadato' is an ablative in a passive sense (Krüger), a suggestion in which there may be something; and it leaves the genuine reading untouched.

a naval people; and the Poeni were. The 'Bosporus' served Horace on this occasion, and is useful again when he speaks of soaring into the air in the form of a bird (C. ii. 20. 14) and visiting the roaring Bosporus.

When we have long been accustomed to a reading, it is very difficult to accept another, even if there is better evidence for it, and good reasons. Thus in C. ii. 20. 13, Keller has 'jam Daedaleo notior Icaro.' I hardly know whether 'ocior' or 'notior' is supported by the better evidence. Perhaps 'notior' is; and if we accept it, we escape the 'Daedaleo ocior.' Still partly from habit, and partly for other reasons, I am not yet reconciled to 'notior.'

In C. iii. 4. 9, 'altricis extra limen Apuliae,' the question of 'Apuliae' is hotly debated. The word 'Apuliae' following 'Apulo' is not the kind of repetition which seems to me to be an argument against 'Apuliae;' nor is the argument derived from the quantity of the first two syllables in 'Apuliae' conclusive. It is a case in which critics may differ; but 'Apuliae' is now generally condemned. There is a note on this passage.

The boldest attempt at alteration that I know is in C. iii. 24. 4: 'Tyrrhenum omne tuis et mare Apulicum,' where Keller has 'terrenum omne tuis et mare publicum,' and Ritter has 'Tyrrhenum omne tuis et mare Ponticum.' Bentley has said nothing against the common reading. 'Terrenum' is Lachmann's. It is quite plain that Horace, according to his fashion, would use a proper name here, and the MSS. have 'Tyrrhenum' or some equivalent form. I think it is equally plain that the verse would end with some other proper name, and 'Ponticum' is supplied by some manuscripts. Others have 'pulicum,' 'publicum,' 'apulicum,' 'punicum.' Here is a case of real difficulty, but it is a most perverse selection to choose 'publicum,' when we plainly require the name of a sea contrasted with the 'Tyrrhenum.' If the difficulty about 'Apulicum' is insuperable, we must take 'Ponticum,' which being a proper name answers one demand of the text, but does not satisfy in other respects, for we want the name of a sea corresponding to 'Tyrrhenum' instead of being carried off to the Euxine.

Habit accustoms us to things which at first seem strange. 'Mare

publicum' may become as familiar by constant repetition as 'jus publicum,' 'res publica,' or any other thing public; and as we have 'jus privatum,' 'res privata,' and other things private, we shall be prepared to understand 'mare privatum' when we find it.

GEORGE LONG.

*** The Index of Proper Names and the Index to the Notes have been verified. The Index to the Notes contains also the references to the additions made to the Notes.

INTRODUCTION.

The materials for Horace's life are derived almost entirely from his own works. A few additional facts are got from a short memoir attributed to Suetonius.

He was born on the 8th December, A.U.C. 689 (B.C. 65), at or near Venusia[1] (Venosa), in the Apennines, on the borders of Lucania and Apulia. His father was a freedman[2], having, as his name proves, been the slave of some person of the Horatia gens. As Horace implies that he himself was ingenuus[3], his father must have obtained his freedom before his birth. He afterwards followed the calling of a coactor[4], a collector of money in some way or other, it is not known in what. He made in this capacity enough to purchase an estate, probably a small one, near Venusia. We hear nothing of his mother, except that Horace speaks of both his parents with affection[5]. His father, probably seeing signs of talent in him as a child, was not content to have him educated at a provincial school, but took him (at what age he does not say, but probably about twelve) to Rome, where he became a pupil of Orbilius Pupillus[6], who had a school of much note, attended by boys of good family, and whom Horace remembered all his life as an irritable teacher, given unnecessarily to the use of the rod. With him he learnt grammar, the earlier Latin authors, and Homer. He attended other masters (of rhetoric, poetry, and music, perhaps) as Roman boys were wont, and had the advantage (to which he afterwards looked back with gratitude) of his father's care and moral training during this part of his education. It was usual for young men of birth and ability to be sent to Athens to finish their education by the study of Greek literature and philosophy under native teachers; and Horace went there too, at what age is not known, but probably when he was about twenty. Whether his father was alive at that time or dead is uncertain. If he went to Athens at

[1] C. iii. 4. 9; C. iv. 9. 2; S. ii. 1. 34.
[2] S. i. 6. 6. 45, 46.
[3] S. i. 6. 8.
[4] S. i. 6. 86.
[5] S. i. 6. 96.
[6] Epp. ii. 1. 71; ibid. 2. 41.

twenty, it was in A.U.C. 709, the year before C. Julius Caesar was assassinated. After that event Brutus and Cassius left Rome and went to Greece. Foreseeing the struggle that was before them, they got round them many of the young men at that time studying at Athens, and Horace was appointed a tribune[7] in Brutus' army, a high command, for which he was not qualified. He went with Brutus into Asia Minor, and finally shared his defeat at Philippi, A.U.C. 712. He makes humorous allusion to this defeat in his Ode to Pompeius Varus (ii. 7). After the battle he came to Italy, having obtained permission to do so, like many others who were willing to give up a desperate cause and settle quietly at home. His patrimony[8], however, was forfeited, and he seems to have had no means of subsistence, which induced him to employ himself in writing verses, with the view perhaps of bringing himself into notice[9] rather than for the purpose of making money by their sale. It is not impossible, however, that some of his earliest compositions were severe personal satires and lampoons, written at the instigation of those who were able to pay him for them. That the book of Epodes which we possess does not contain all that he wrote in Archilochus' vein, I think is pretty certain; and the same I believe may be said of the books of Satires. Probably his earliest efforts were more severe and licentious than those which his judgment allowed him afterwards to publish, though some of these are bad enough. With Archilochus and Lucilius before him as models, and without the experience he afterwards gained, his earliest productions may without difficulty be supposed to have been such as in later life he would condemn. By some means he managed to get a place as scriba[1] in the Quaestor's office, whether by purchase or interest does not appear. In either case we must suppose he contrived soon to make friends, though he could not do so by the course he pursued without also making many enemies. His Satires are full of allusions to the enmity his verses had raised up for him on all hands. He became acquainted, among other literary persons, with Virgil and Varius, who about three years after his return (A.U.C. 715) introduced him to Maecenas, who was careful of receiving into his circle Brutus' tribune, and one whose writings were of a kind that was new and unpopular. He accordingly saw nothing of Horace for nine months after his introduction (S. i. 6. 61). He then sent for him (A.U.C. 716), and from that time continued to be his patron and friend. There is nothing

[7] S. i. 6. 48. [8] Epp. ii. 2. 50.

[9] Kirchner (Qu. Hor. p. 15, n. 4) and Franke (Fast. Hor. p. 20) reject this notion, supposing Horace to mean in the passage on which it is founded (Epp. ii. 2. 51) that poverty made him desperate and careless of consequences, but that when he became comparatively rich he lost that stimulus.

[1] Suet. Vit. S. ii. 6. 36

more genuine in Horace's writings than his expressions of affection for his father and for Maecenas. His gratitude to Maecenas never takes the form of servility, his affection never savours of affectation, and his familiarity never approaches to impertinence. He sees in Maecenas' gifts to himself only the generous disposition of the giver, of which he has no thought of taking undue advantage; his patronage he neither exaggerates nor undervalues; for his health he feels tenderly; his danger he tries to share; and his anxieties he does his best to soothe. It is evident that Maecenas valued his society and understood his character.

At his house, probably, Horace became intimate with Pollio and the many persons of consideration whose friendship he appears to have enjoyed. Through Maecenas also it is probable Horace was introduced to Augustus, but when that happened is uncertain. In A.U.C. 717 Maecenas was deputed by Augustus to meet M. Antonius at Brundisium, and he took Horace with him on that journey, of which an amusing account is given in the fifth Satire of the first book. Horace appears to have parted from the rest of the company at Brundisium, and perhaps returned to Rome by Tarentum and Venusia. (See S. i. 5, Int.). Between this journey and A.U.C. 722 Horace received from his friend the present of a small estate in the valley of the Digentia (Licenza), situated about thirty-four miles from Rome, and fourteen from Tibur, in the Sabine country. Of this property he gives a description in his Epistle to Quintius (i. 16), and he appears to have lived there a part of every year, and to have been fond of the place, which was very quiet and retired, being four miles from the nearest town, Varia (Vico Varo), the centre of the district, but of no great importance. During this interval he continued to write Satires and Epodes, but also, it appears to me probable, some of the Odes, which some years later he published, and others which he did not publish. These compositions I have no doubt were seen by his friends, and were pretty well known before any of them were collected for publication. It will appear from the separate Introductions to the several Satires of the first book that there is not one which might not have been written by the year A.U.C. 719, and in that year Franke supposes the first book was published. It may have been so, but Franke's arguments are not conclusive. In A.U.C. 723 the battle of Actium was fought, and in the prospect of Maecenas having a command on that occasion, Horace wrote him a touching poem, which stands first in the book of Epodes. The ninth Epode was written immediately after the victory, and there is no poem in the book of Epodes which need be placed later. I agree therefore with Franke in thinking that book, of which one or two poems are among Horace's earliest compositions, may have been published in A.U.C. 724. In that year was written,

as it would seem, the sixth Satire of the second book, which book therefore was not probably published till the end of 724 or the beginning of the next year, when Horace was about thirty-five years old.

When Augustus returned from Asia, in A.U.C. 725, and closed the gates of Janus, being the acknowledged head of the republic, Horace appeared amongst his most hearty adherents. He wrote on this occasion one of his best Odes (i. 2), and employed his pen in forwarding those reforms which it was the first object of Augustus to effect. (See Introduction to C. ii. 15). His most striking Odes appear for the most part to have been written after the establishment of peace. Some may have been written before, and probably were. But for some reason it would seem that he gave himself more to lyric poetry after his thirty-fifth year than he had done before. He had most likely studied the Greek poets while he was at Athens, and some of his imitations may have been written early. If so, they were most probably improved and polished from time to time (for he must have had them by him, known perhaps only to a few friends, for many years) till they became the graceful specimens of artificial composition that they are. Horace continued to employ himself in this kind of writing (on a variety of subjects, convivial, amatory, political, moral; some original, many no doubt suggested by Greek poems) till A.U.C. 730, when I am inclined to think the first three books of the Odes were published. I cannot here discuss the subject, but I have considered and stated in the case of each Ode the evidences, if any, that it contains of its date, and I can find none which may not be placed in that year or before it. Bentley's theory, which limits Horace to one species of composition at a time, and supposes each of the first three books of Odes to have been published separately, I have no faith in; and he overlooks the fact that the twenty-fourth Ode of the first book was certainly written four years after that in which he places the publication of that book. Clinton, who supports Bentley (Fast. Hell. B.C. 38), can only do so by supposing that in the present copies some pieces may have been transposed, which is begging the question. Franke has arrived, as far as I can judge, at the right conclusion upon this subject. During this period Horace appears to have passed his time at Rome among the most distinguished men of the day, or at his house in the country, paying occasional visits to Tibur, Praeneste, and Baiae, with indifferent health, which required change of air. About the year A.U.C. 728 he was nearly killed by the falling of a tree, on his own estate, which accident he has recorded in one of his Odes (ii. 13), and occasionally refers to. In the same stanza he refers to a storm in which he was nearly lost off Cape Palinurus[2], on the west

[2] C. iii. 4. 28.

coast of Italy. When this happened nobody knows. After the publication of the three books of Odes, Horace seems to have ceased from that style of writing, or nearly so; and the only other compositions we know of his having produced in the next few years are metrical Epistles to different friends, of which he published a volume probably in A.U.C. 734 or 735. He seems to have taken up the study of the Greek philosophical writers, and to have got a good deal interested in them, and also to have become a little tired of the world and disgusted with the jealousies his reputation created. His health did not improve as he got older, and he put himself under the care of Antonius Musa, the emperor's new physician[3]. By his advice he gave up, for a time at least, his favourite Baiae. But he found it necessary to be a good deal away from Rome, especially in the autumn and winter[4].

In A.U.C. 737 Augustus celebrated the Ludi Saeculares, and Horace was required to write an Ode for the occasion, which he did, and it has been preserved. This circumstance, and the credit it brought him, may have given his mind another leaning to Ode-writing, and have helped him to produce the fourth book, a few pieces in which may have been written at any time. It is said that Augustus particularly desired Horace to publish another book of Odes, in order that those he wrote upon the victories of Drusus and Tiberius (4 and 14) might appear in it. The latter of these Odes was not written, I believe, till A.U.C. 741, when Augustus returned from Gaul. If so, the book was probably published in that year, when Horace was fifty-two. The Odes of the fourth book show no diminution of power, but the reverse. There are none in the first three books that surpass or perhaps equal the Ode in honour of Drusus, and few superior to that which is addressed to Lollius. The success of the first three books, and the honour of being chosen to compose the Ode at the Ludi Saeculares, seem to have given him encouragement. There are no incidents in his life during the above period recorded or alluded to in his poems. He lived five years after the publication of the fourth book of Odes, if the above date be correct, and during that time I think it probable he wrote the Epistles to Augustus and Florus which form the second book; and having conceived the intention of writing a poem on the art and progress of poetry, he wrote as much of it as appears in the Epistle to the Pisones which has been preserved among his works. The fragments of which that poem appears to be composed, and which some have vainly tried to reduce to a consistent whole, may have been written earlier than I have supposed; but there is so much affinity between the Ars Poetica and the Epistle to Augustus that I believe they were written at no great interval of

[3] Epp. i. 15.

[4] Epp. i. 7. 1—13.

time. It seems from the Epistle to Florus that Horace at this time had to resist the urgency of friends begging him to write, one in this style and another in that, and that he had no desire to gratify them and to sacrifice his own ease to a pursuit in which it is plain he never took any great delight. He was likely to bring to it less energy, as his life was drawing prematurely to a close through infirmities either contracted or aggravated during his irrational campaigning with Brutus, his inaptitude for which he appears afterwards to have been perfectly aware of. He continued to apply himself to the study of moral philosophy till his death, which took place on the 27th November, A.U.C. 746, or B.C. 8, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and within a few days of its completion. Maecenas died the same year, also towards the close of it; a coincidence that has led some to the notion that Horace hastened his own death that he might not have the pain of surviving his patron. According to Suetonius his death (which he places after his fifty-ninth year, as the text erroneously stands) was so sudden that he had not time to execute his will, which is opposed to the notion of suicide. The two friends were buried near one another "in extremis Esquiliis," in the farthest part of the Esquiliae, that is probably without the city walls, on the ground drained and laid out in gardens by Maecenas.

The plan adopted in this Edition, of commenting on each poem in a separate Introduction, renders it unnecessary to say much in this place upon Horace's style and character. The particular style in which his principle strength lay will be always matter of opinion. My own is, that he is nowhere so great as in the Odes, and that of these his genius is best shown in the Odes that relate to public affairs or men, while in some of the small occasional pieces, as the Ode to the Fountain of Bandusia, that on the death of Quintilius, and others, much grace and feeling are shown. I cannot at all agree with those who think that amatory verse-writing was Horace's strong point. With rare exceptions his compositions of this kind, however elegant they may be, appear frigid and passionless, bearing the stamp of imitation, with unequivocal signs of art, and none of nature. The crowd of mistresses that have been gathered for him out of his poems is beyond belief; and the laborious folly that has tried to classify his amours, and to follow chronologically the shifting of his affections, I have had occasion to notice. It proceeds upon an interpretation of the Odes which is foreign to their true character. Horace was neither more nor less licentious probably than most of his contemporaries, though his biographer Suetonius charges him with gross sensuality; but, however this may be, that the women of his Odes are in nearly every instance fictitious I have no doubt whatever. Cinara[5] seems to represent a real person; and with

[5] C. iv. 1. 4, 13. 22; Epp. i. 14. 33.

Canidia some real intrigue and jealousy no doubt are connected, whatever her name may have been.

The same remark applies in some measure to other Odes addressed nominally to friends, but which might as easily be addressed to one friend as to another. The difference is that the names are in most instances known to be those of real persons, which has led many commentators into inferences respecting the characters and circumstances of those persons which I believe to be in most instances imaginary.

I have expressed my opinion of Horace as a Satirical writer in various places. On this point the reader may refer to the remarks in the Introduction to the ninth Satire of the first book. Of common sense and a perception of the ridiculous; of that knowledge of mankind which is gathered by mixing with the world; of dramatic skill; of good nature and good breeding, Horace has shown sufficient proofs, both in the Satires and the Epistles. As a critic he is certainly defective. Homer he does not appear to have understood. Plautus and Terence he could not appreciate, and the merits of Lucilius (and he must have had merits) would probably never have been acknowledged or discovered by Horace but for the feeling his criticism of that writer raised against himself. He was of an indolent habit, of which the unfinished state of some of his poems is one of the effects. "Amphora coepit Institui; currente rota cur urceus exit?" is a question that might be applied, I think, to more than one of his Satires and Epistles. There is more inequality in these than in the Odes; more also that is common-place in thought and diction. The Odes will bear better than the Satires and Epistles the close inspection that an editor is obliged to give them. Any one who undertakes that office for Horace will find that one of his principal difficulties consists in the examination, first separately, and then collectively, of so many small pictures as the Odes present. The tendency of commentators to far-fetched conjectures as to their scope, allusions, date, &c., is very great, and the above difficulty partly accounts for it. Their beauties and merits appear to me to be of a quiet kind, and the happy selection of words is one of them. Horace's selection of epithets is judicious and forcible. "Mirus ac paene divinus Horatius est in epithetis inveniendis[6]." The terseness and good sense of the sayings which concern human life and character are as striking as the manner in which they are introduced, being always in their place and never brought in clumsily, as such sentences with less art might easily appear. Herein, more than in any other respect, Horace succeeded in his attempt to imitate the Greek Lyric poets. Their fire, passion, sublimity, his language was incapable of expressing, even if his mind could have conceived them. Their metres have lost their strength

[6] Lambinus.

in his hands, and have passed into a smooth monotony, which none but an emasculated taste can admire when compared with the Greek originals. Some may doubt whether the defect does not lie in the language, and perhaps in some degree it does; but the later Sapphic Odes are more like the Greek in point of rhythm, and are so far an improvement upon the earlier ones. Some of the more difficult long metres have been as successfully imitated as the language allowed, but many have not been attempted.

Horace's religious opinions have been a good deal discussed. But he does not appear at any time to have been very decided in his opinions. He was upwards of forty when he declared of himself that he was like a ship driven by a tempest, going this way or that, according as the wind happened to set. He was now a rigid moralist, now a materialist, now a Stoic, now an Epicurean, now a Cyrenaic. To judge him by his own writings, he seems to have thought that the enjoyment of the present hour was the end of man's life. He nowhere puts forward the happiness of another world as the compensation for the inequalities of this, nor does he make any allusion to another state of existence at all, except in the ordinary fabulous way. The certainty of death and the uncertainty of life are only arguments with him for making the most of the pleasures we possess, but all in the way of moderation, which is a common-place much dwelt upon by Horace, as also is the possession and use of riches. Once, if we are to take him at his word, he was startled by a storm, and induced from an idler to become serious; that is, to put away the doctrines of Epicurus, for what length of time we do not know. But of systems he appears to have known little. He ridicules them all in their turn.

After Maecenas had given him his farm, he lived there a good deal and improved it at much expense. He had a liking for the country, and has some beautiful descriptions of it. But when in the country he no doubt felt lonely, and missed the tables and society of his city friends. He dined a good deal with rich people, but his own fare at home was of the simplest kind. He describes his daily life in the city, when he happened to be disengaged, in the sixth Satire of the first book. His health was indifferent, as before observed. His eyes in particular troubled him. He speaks of himself as grey before his time. Suetonius says he was short and fat, and he describes himself good humouredly as a fit sample of a hog from Epicurus' sty (Epp. i. 4. 16). Augustus rallies him on his stature, in a letter of which part is given in Suetonius' life of Horace.

The life of Horace was written by Porphyrion, the Scholiast frequently referred to in these notes. He mentions that memoir himself: "Patre libertino natum esse Horatium et in narratione quam de vita

ipsius habui ostendi" (on S. i. 6. 41). The same Scholiast refers more than once to books that had been written on the persons mentioned by Horace. A reference to Estré's work spoken of in the Preface will show that a catalogue of these persons embraces nearly all the distinguished men of the day, with most of whom Horace was on friendly terms.

The Metres adopted by Horace from the Greek are thirteen in number in the Odes, and six in the Epodes. I purpose saying only a few words on each.

C. i. 1.—The metre of this Ode is one of three, called after Asclepiades, a lyric poet of uncertain date. It consists of single lines divided thus:

— — | — ⏑ ⏑ | — ‖ — ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ ⏓

The caesura usually falls on the long syllable after the end of the second foot. There are two exceptions only in Horace, ii. 12. 25, and iv. 8. 17. The Greeks did not follow this rule, and their lines were less monotonous in consequence. The division of this metre by choriambi is against the obvious rhythm. C. iii. 30, iv. 8, belong to the same.

C. i. 2.—This metre takes its name from Sappho. It consists of stanzas of four verses each. The first three are alike, and consist of four trochees, with a dactyl in the third place. Horace always substitutes a spondee for the second trochee, with one uncertain exception, C. S. 70. The fourth verse consists of a dactyl and spondee, and is named an Adonic.

This is one of the commonest metres. It differs in Horace's hands from the Greek usage by the less frequent introduction of the trochee in the second place, and from the caesura usually falling after the fifth syllable. This arrangement takes away a good deal from the vigour of the metre, a defect which Horace seems to have perceived when he wrote the Carmen Saeculare and the Sapphic Odes of the fourth book [7].

[7] I subjoin some remarks from the "Journal of Education," 1832 (vol. iv. p. 356), on Dr. Carey's "Latin Prosody made Easy." The author observes: "It greatly conduces to the harmony of the Sapphic verse to make the caesura at the fifth semifoot, as 'Dive, quem proles Niobea magnae;' not as 'Haec Jovem sentire Deosque cunctos,'" —a very common opinion. To which the reviewer replies: "To our ears the latter is at least as melodious as the former, consisting of a dactyl interposed between two accentual ditrochees, as in the lines quoted by Dr. Carey from Catullus and Sappho:

'ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφροδίτα.'
'Pauca nuntiate meae puellae;'

C. i. 3.—This is another of the Asclepiadean metres, consisting of two verses alternating thus:

– ⏓ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏓
– – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ‖ – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏓

The first of these verses is called after Glycon, a poet whose age and birthplace are unknown. The second verse is the same as C. i. 1. To this metre also belong C. i. 13. 19. 36; iii. 9. 15. 19. 24, 25. 28; iv. 1. 3.

C. i. 4.—This metre has its name from Archilochus of Paros. It consists of alternate verses, of which the first is one of those that the grammarians call ἀσυνάρτητοι[8], because they consist of different measures which do not blend together. The first four feet are those of an hexameter verse, after which follow three trochees, the first part being always distinct from the second. The second is a catalectic iambic trimeter, that is, it has one syllable wanting in the last foot. There is no other Ode in this metre.

C. i. 5.—This is also reckoned with the Asclepiadean metres, though only the two first lines have their name from Asclepiades, being the same as C. 1. The third is called after Pherecrates, the comic poet of Athens. It consists of a dactyl between two spondees, if my ear does not deceive me; but it is usual to mark it with a spondee, choriambus, and long syllable. The fourth is the Glyconean verse, which occurs in C. 3. To this metre belong C. i. 14, 21, 23; iii. 7, 13; iv. 13.

and perhaps in the line of Horace:

'Quindecim Dĭana preces virorum.'

If Horace has generally avoided this form of the verse, the dislike seems to have been diminished as his ear improved; so that while there is but one instance of such a caesura in the second book of the Carmina, and not one in the third, there are no less than twenty-two in the fourth, and in the Carm. Saec. one on an average in every stanza. Nay, even in such lines as 'Doctus et Phoebi chorus et Dianae' we prefer the double trochee accent at the commencement to that which Dr. Carey considers so sweet, who virtually makes 'chorus' a trochee, and would, we suppose, give the sound of a dactyl to Romulae in 'Romulae genti date remque prolem | que Et decus omne.' If any one will read over the C. S. with the accent we contend for, he will readily perceive the beauty of the metre, and cease to wonder that Sappho and Catullus hesitated not to make the fourth syllable short. In particular much beauty will be added to the line 'Jam Fides et Pax et Honos Pudorque.' According to Dr. Carey's notion of a metrical accent, 'Pax' will lose all emphasis."

[8] πρῶτος ἀσυναρτήτοις Ἀρχίλοχος κέχρηται (Hephaestion, p. 48, ap. Bentley on Epod. ii.). The Scholiast on Hephaestion, p. 52, says there were no less than sixty-four metres of this sort used by the Greeks.

C. i. 6.—This metre consists of three Asclepiadean verses, such as C. 1, and a Glyconean, as in C. 3. In C. i. 15. 24 and 36 a trochee occurs in the first foot (see note). The other Odes are i. 24, 33; ii. 12; iii. 10, 16; iv. 5, 12.

C. i. 7.—This measure takes its name from Alcman, the lyric poet of Sparta. It consists of two verses, of which the first is a complete hexameter, and the second is made up of the four last feet of an hexameter. To this belong C. i. 28, and Epod. xii.

C. i. 8.—There is no other Ode in this metre, which also consists of two verses. The first consists of a dactyl and two trochees, or a trochee and spondee, – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ | – ⏒. This takes its name from Aristophanes. The second is a verse, of which the first half consists of two trochees and a dactyl, with a long syllable added, and the second half is the first reversed, thus:

– ⏑ | – ⏒ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ‖ – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ | – ⏒

Horace always has a spondee in the second place.

C. i. 9.—This is the ordinary Alcaic metre, in which each stanza consists of four verses. The first two are divided thus:

⏓ | – ⏑ | – ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏒

though Horace usually substitutes a spondee for the second trochee, the only exception being iii. 5. 17. The caesura usually falls after the fifth syllable, to which rule exceptions will be found in C. i. 16. 21, 37; 5, 14; ii. 17. 21; iv. 14. 17. This caesura the Greeks did not observe. The first syllable of the verse is more commonly long than short. It is usual to look upon the first part of the verse as iambic, and to divide it thus:

⏓ – | ⏑ – | – |·

But I have no doubt it is trochaic. The third verse is also trochaic, consisting of a syllable (usually long) followed by four trochees, a spondee being substituted by Horace for the second trochee. The fourth verse consists of two dactyls and two trochees.

C. i. 11.—This is an Asclepiadean metre, rather peculiar. The division to which we are guided by the ear seems to separate each verse into three parts, as follows:

– – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ‖ – ⏑ ⏑ | – ‖ – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑

This classes it with the *ἀσυνάρτητοι*. Those who resort to the division by choriambi destroy the natural rhythm. To this belong i. 18; iv. 10.

C. ii. 18.—This Ode stands alone. The metre has its name from Hipponax of Ephesus. The first verse consists of three trochees, followed by a single syllable, long or short:

— ⏑ | — ⏑ | — ⏑ | ⏒

The second of five trochees preceded by such a syllable:

⏒ | — ⏑ | — ⏒ | — ⏑ | — ⏑ | — ⏒

C. iii. 12.—This Ode is also unlike any other. It is usual to divide it into feet called Ionic Minor (⏑ ⏑ — —), of which the two first verses contain four each, and the third contains two. Respecting this metre, see Bentley's note. It would seem that Horace, imitating the subject of an Ode of Alcaeus (see Introduction), tried the metre also. The Greek, as usual, has a much finer effect than the imitation.

C. iv. 7.—This metre takes its name from Archilochus, and consists of an hexameter verse, followed by a verse which is the latter half of a pentameter. There are no other Odes in this measure.

Epod. i.—x.—The first ten Epodes are in the same metre, consisting of alternate trimeter and dimeter iambic verses. They admit spondees only in the uneven places. An anapaest is once introduced in ii. 35.

Epod. xi.—This is one of the variations of the iambic introduced by Archilochus. The first verse is a trimeter iambic. The second is *ἀσυνάρτητος*, consisting of the last half of a pentameter followed by a dimeter iambic. This accounts for the short syllable in the middle of vv. 6, 10, 26, and the hiatus in vv. 14, 24. Bentley has a note on this metre which may be consulted.

Epod. xiii.—This metre consists of an hexameter verse, with one made up, as Epod. xi., of a dimeter iambic and half a pentameter, the difference being that these parts are here reversed.

Epod. xiv., xv.—These are composed of an hexameter followed by a dimeter iambic.

Epod. xvi.—This consists of an hexameter verse, followed by a pure iambic verse.

Epod. xvii.—This consists entirely of trimeter iambic verses, being the only Ode that does so.

The rule laid down by Meineke, and adopted by many editors, which affirms that the Odes which consist of single lines, or lines in alternate measure, are to be divided into stanzas of four verses, appears to me too doubtful to be adopted.

Q. HORATII FLACCI

CARMINUM

LIBER PRIMUS.

CARMEN I.

A.U.C. 730.

Whether this ode is an introduction to one book or three is a question that has been discussed and must be matter of opinion. I think it probable that the three first books were published together, with this as a preface; and if the chronological arrangement I have adopted (see Introduction) be correct it was written A.U.C. 730; but there is no internal evidence to lead to that conclusion. Bentley was of opinion that each book was produced separately. It is a graceful dedication to Maecenas of a work, the composition of which had occupied and amused the poet at intervals for some years. It was probably at his patron's instigation that he arranged his fugitive pieces and put them forth in this collected form. There is a mixture of real affection with the usual dedicatory flattery in this ode, the leading idea of which, as in most cases, Horace probably borrowed from the Greek. There is a fragment of Pindar (201 Bergk), preserved in Sextus Empiricus, which with others Horace may have had in mind, and it will account for the somewhat incongruous allusion to the Olympic games in the beginning of this ode. It is the only way of explaining the allusion to an almost obsolete practice, to bear in mind that this was the chief theme of Pindar's poetry. The fragment runs thus:—

> ἀελλοπόδων μέν τιν' εὐφραίνοισιν ἵππων
> τίμια καὶ στέφανοι· τοὺς δ' ἐν πολυχρύσοις θαλάμοις βιοτά·
> τέρπεται δὲ καί τις ἐπ' οἶδμ' ἅλιον ναῒ θοᾷ
> σῶς διαστείβων . . . . .

A fragment of Archilochus (33 Bergk), from Clemens Alexandrinus, runs:

> ἀλλ' ἄλλος ἄλλῳ καρδίην ἰαίνεται.

But the sentiment is common enough, and with the exception of the first illustration Horace has put the subject in his own way and given it a Latin dress. It will be observed, that while the leading sentiment is the common-place "different men have different tastes," Horace selects only the pursuits of worldly or mechanical minds to contrast (not without some contempt) with his own higher ambition. He had, no doubt, in his memory Virgil's lines (Georg. ii. 503, sqq.): "Sollicitant alii remis freta caeca," &c.

ARGUMENT.

Maecenas, my protector, my pride, in whom I delight, various are the aims of men. The Greek seeks glory from the race; the lords of the world are supremely happy, one in the honours of the state, the other in his well-filled barns. The farmer will not

plough the seas; the merchant is restless on land. One man loves his ease and his wine; another the camp and the din of war; while the huntsman braves all weathers for his sport. My glory is in the ivy crown, my delight to retire to the groves with the nymphs and the satyrs, where my muse breathes the flute or strikes the lyre. Placed by thee among the lyric choir I shall lift my head to the skies.

MAECENAS atavis edite regibus
O et praesidium et dulce decus meum,
Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
Collegisse juvat metaque fervidis
Evitata rotis palmaque nobilis.
Terrarum dominos evehit ad Deos,

1. *atavis*] A noun substantive, signifying properly an ancestor in the fifth degree, thus: 'pater,' 'avus,' 'proavus,' 'abavus,' 'atavus;' compounded of 'ad' and 'avus,' and corresponding to 'adnepos' in the descending scale. Maecenas belonged to the family of Cilnii, formerly Lucumones or princes of Etruria, who up to a late period possessed influence in the Etrurian town of Arretium, whence they were expelled by their own citizens B.C. 300. See Liv. x. 3. Compare Propert. iii. 9. 1:

"Maecenas, eques Etrusco de sanguine regum."

Martial, xii. 4. 2: "Maecenas atavis regibus ortus eques." See also C. iii. 29. 1. S. i. 6. 1, sqq. Virgil (G. ii. 40) addresses Maecenas in the same affectionate terms:

"O decus, o famae merito pars maxima nostrae,
Maecenas;"

and Propertius, ii. 1. 73:

"Maecenas nostrae pars invidiosa juventae,
Et vitae et morti gloria justa meae."

3. *Sunt quos*] *ἔστιν οὓς*, which Greek construction has been more closely followed by Propertius, iii. 9. 17: "Est quibus Eleae concurrit palma quadrigae." The indicative is used with 'sunt,' or 'est qui,' when particular persons are alluded to, as here the Greeks in opposition to the Romans. So Epp. ii. 2. 182: "Argentum—sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curat habere," where by the latter is distinctly indicated the wise man. This distinction may be observed, more or less evidently, in every passage of Horace, where the words occur (see Index, 'qui'), unless 'est qui' below (v. 19) be an exception. It is not impossible, that there he may mean an allusion to some particular person in a good-humoured way.

3. *curriculo*] This may mean either the chariot (formed from 'curro,' as 'vehiculum' from 'veho') or the course, and the commentators are divided on the subject. I see no way of deciding the controversy, since either sense will suit the passage, and both were in common use (see Forcell.). Because the Olympic games had not yet ceased to be celebrated after a fashion, Orelli thinks Horace may be writing from his own recollection, having been a spectator. But he is more likely, as suggested above, to have had Pindar in his mind than his own recollection of the faded horse-races.

4. *Collegisse*] Young verse-writers are sometimes misled in their use of the perfect for the present tense. It can only be so used to express a complete action, or an action frequently repeated, not a continuing course of action; according to the force of the Greek aorist. The best illustration of what follows is in the Iliad (xxiii. 338, sqq.), where Nestor thus instructs his son Antilochus:

ἐν νύσσῃ δέ τοι ἵππος ἀριστερὸς ἐγχριμφθήτω,
ὡς ἄν τοι πλήμνη γε δοάσσεται ἄκρον ἱκέσθαι
κύκλου ποιητοῖο· λίθου δ' ἀλέασθαι ἐπαυρεῖν.

See also Ov. Am. iii. 2. 11:

"Et modo lora dabo, modo verbere terga notabo,
Nunc stringam metas interiore rota."

6. *Terrarum dominos*] I understand this to signify the Romans, with a tinge of irony. Mart. xiv. 124, calls them "Romanos rerum dominos," as Virgil had done before (Aen. i. 282). Plutarch also (Tib. Grac. ix.) makes Gracchus say of the Roman Plebs, *ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίας τρυφῆς καὶ πλούτου πολεμοῦσι καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι, κύριοι τῆς οἰκουμένης εἶναι λεγόμενοι, μίαν δὲ βῶλον ἰδίαν οὐκ ἔχοντες.* Martial (viii. 2) calls Domitian

"Terrarum domino deoque rerum,"

Hunc si mobilium turba Quiritium
Certat tergeminis tollere honoribus;
Illum si proprio condidit horreo

and Rome herself (xii. 8. 1):

"Terrarum dea gentiumque."

The punctuation and construction of this passage have been a subject of much discussion. After much consideration I have adopted the solution of the difficulty first suggested, I believe, by Rutgersius, and have put a full stop after 'nobilis.' Graevius took the same view. For his strictures therefore upon this reading Bentley has an account to settle with his friend, whose opinion he probably did not know, for he does not mention him. His objections are that 'palma' cannot be separated from 'evehit' without violence to the construction, which is only begging the question; and that "palmaque nobilis," standing by itself, is "jejunum, et aridum, et omni venere spoliatum," which is a matter of taste likely to be prejudiced by the habit of joining the two verses, with which the ear of most readers is familiar. His third objection is that 'evehit' cannot be used impersonally, which I deny; it may be so used just as well as in our own language we may say: "It exalts a man to the gods—one if his ambition is gratified, another if his avarice." Bentley's last objection is the worst of all: "How can a man be said to be exalted to Heaven by having his barns full? I was not aware the road was so easy." If Bentley had written his notes in English, the greater part of them would only have raised a smile. This argument is a fair specimen of his criticism. He settles the question by changing 'evehit' into 'evehere,' which he makes dependent on 'nobilis;' whereby he thinks to get rid of the difficulty of making 'hunc' and 'illum' to depend on 'juvat.' But even with this unauthorized correction (which Orelli describes sufficiently when he says "nemo recepit"), that construction is very harsh, as any body will see who tries to construe the passage upon this hypothesis. But it is the one generally received now, though 'evehit' is retained. Mr. Tate strongly urges the construction of 'hunc' and 'illum' with 'dimoveas,' which he says is as old at least as Glareanus (a contemporary of Fabricius and the Stephens), but which, in fact, was the construction adopted by Acron and Cruquius' Scholiast, who calls it "zeugma ab inferiori." But it is a sufficient answer to this, that there could be no reason why the man who had risen to the highest honours and wealth should be induced to seek his fortunes at sea. Those who suppose 'Terrarum dominos' to be in apposition with 'Deos,' quote Ovid, Ep. ex Ponto i. 9. 35, sq.:

"Nam tua non alio coluit penetralia ritu
Terrarum dominos quam colis ipse Deos."

Others apply these words to the competitors, because they were usually kings or nobles: others render 'exalts them to the gods as lords of the world,' i. e. 'as if they were.' I believe I have stated all the opinions of any weight upon this passage. The reader will judge whether the reading I have followed does not give the simplest solution of the difficulty. Bentley is very ably refuted by Cunningham, Animadv. c. 15.

8. *tergeminis*] This refers to the three curule magistracies, those of the curule aedile, praetor, and consul. Though the quaestorship was the first step in the line of promotion, it is not included, because it was not a curule office. Not seeing that 'tergeminus' here signifies no more than 'triplex,' some have supposed the quaestorship, the tribuneship, and censorship to be included. But 'geminus' is used in this combination with cardinal numbers frequently. So Virgil (Aen. vi. 287) calls Briareus 'centumgeminus,' and Catullus (xi. 7) the Nile 'septemgeminus,' and Lucret. (v. 28) speaks of "tripectora tergemini vis Geryonai;" but the most unequivocal instance of this use of the word occurs in Paulus (Dig. 50. 16. 137): "Ter enixa videtur etiam quae trigeminos pepererit," which passage has been pointed out to me by Mr. Long. "Tollere honoribus" is not, as some take it, "tollere ad honores:" 'honoribus' is the ablative case, as (C. i. 21): "Vos Tempe totidem tollite laudibus." Sall. Jug. 49: "ut quemque—pecunia aut honore extulerat." Tac. Ann. i. 3: "Claudium Marcellum pontificatu et curuli aedilitate—M. Agrippam geminatis consulatibus extulit."

Certat—tollere] The poets, following the Greek idiom, use for convenience and conciseness this construction of the infinitive with verbs which in prose would require 'ut' with the subjunctive, or a supine, or 'ad' with a gerund, or some other construction. In the next ode we have "egit visere;" in the 12th, "sumis celebrâre;" in the 26th, "tradam portare," and so on. Dillenbr.

Quidquid de Libycis verritur areis.
Gaudentem patrios findere sarculo
Agros Attalicis conditionibus
Nunquam dimoveas, ut trabe Cypria
Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare.
Luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum
Mercator metuens otium et oppidi
Laudat rura sui; mox reficit rates
Quassas indocilis pauperiem pati.

has given a list of the principal verbs so used. Verbs of all kinds signifying desire and the reverse are frequently used with the infinitive, as in this ode: "demere spernit," "refugit tendere;" C. 9. 13, "fuge quaerere," &c. The student can now observe this usage for himself.

10. *de Libycis verritur areis*] See C. iii. 16. 26. 31. S. ii. 3. 87; and Cic. in Verr. Act. ii. 3. 14, Long's note. The 'area' was a raised floor on which the corn was threshed; and after the wind had winnowed it the floor was swept, and the corn was thus collected.

11. *findere sarculo*] There is something of contempt in these words, where we should have expected 'arare.' [There is a contrast presented between a man's small Italian estate, and the great provincial wheat-growing farms.] Fea refers to Apuleius's description of Samos, where "ruratio omnis in sarculo et surculo—ager frumento piger, aratro irritus" (Florid. ii.). 'Scindere' is the proper word for the plough; 'findere' for the hoe or lesser instruments.—'Attalicis conditionibus' signifies, 'the most extravagant terms.' There were three kings of Pergamum of this name, which was proverbial for wealth. Of the second it is recorded, that he gave large sums for paintings and other works of art, as much as 100 talents for a single picture (Plin. N. H. vii. 39). The third Attalus left his great wealth and his kingdom to the Romans (B.C. 134); and the name has passed into a proverb. See C. ii. 18. 5. Compare for 'conditionibus' Cic. ad Qu. Fr. i. 1. 2: "Nulla conditio pecuniae te ab summa integritate deduxerit."

13. *dimoveas*] Orelli says the difference between 'dimoveo' and 'demoveo,' which some editions have, is that the former is used when a diversion into a new channel is intended, the latter when no such meaning is to be expressed. Dillenbr. reverses this statement, and reads 'demoveas.' The meaning of the words must be derived from themselves, not from their use; for in the conflict of MSS., not only here, but in every place where they occur, it is impossible to derive it from the context. From the meaning of 'de,' 'down from,' I should be inclined to say that 'demoveo' is more properly used when the place from which the removal takes place is expressed, and 'dimoveo' when the sentence is absolute, as here. For instance, 'demovet' I imagine to be the proper reading in C. iv. 5. 14: "Curvo nec faciem littore demovet," where the MSS. have in many instances 'dimovet.' Other examples will be found by which the reader may judge for himself. The same remark applies to 'diripio' and 'deripio.' (C. iii. 5. 21 n.)—'Cypria,' 'Myrtoum,' 'Icariis,' 'Africum,' are all particular names for general, as 'Bithyna carina' (C. i. 35. 7). This need hardly have been mentioned, if reasons had not been discovered for the use of 'Cypria,' in which this common practice of Horace is overlooked. Turnebus, for instance, explains 'Cypria' by the fertility of Cyprus, which was so productive, that it could furnish all the materials for a ship from its keel to its top-gallant sails.—Horace's epithets for Africus, which was the W.S.W. wind, and corresponded to the Greek λίψ, are 'praeceps,' 'pestilens,' 'protervus' (C. iii. 23. 5). He uses the phrase 'Africae procellae' (C. iii. 29. 57) to signify the storms for which this wind was proverbial. —'Luctari,' 'certare,' 'decertare,' 'contendere,' are used by the poets with the dative case, instead of the ablative with 'cum,' after the manner of the Greek μάχεσθαί τινι.

16. *otium et oppidi Laudat rura sui*] He commends the peaceful fields about his native town; for 'otium et rura' may be taken as one subject. Bentley prefers 'tuta,' a conjectural reading of Valens Acidalius (Com. on Vell. Paterc. ii. 110), to 'rura,' and says he never met with an expression like "rura oppidi." Orelli quotes

Est qui nec veteris pocula Massici
Nec partem solido demere de die
Spernit, nunc viridi membra sub arbuto
Stratus, nunc ad aquae lene caput sacrae.
Multos castra juvant et lituo tubae
Permixtus sonitus bellaque matribus
Detestata. Manet sub Jove frigido
Venator tenerae conjugis immemor,
Seu visa est catulis cerva fidelibus,

three: Lucan. i. 419, "rura Nemetis," or 'Nemossi;' Sil. Ital. iv. 227, "rura Casini;" viii. 433, "rura Numanae." Gronovius approved of this conjecture, and by it corrected a verse of Paulinus.

18. *indocilis—pati*] Examples of this Greek construction for 'ad patiendum' are very numerous. Bentley, as we have seen, tries to apply it to v. 6, reading 'nobilis evehere.' To go no further than this book, we have 'audax perpeti,' 'blandum ducere,' 'nobilem superare,' 'impotens sperare,' 'callidum condere,' 'doctus tendere,' 'praesens tollere,' 'ferre dolosi,' 'fortis tractare,'—'Pauperies,' 'paupertas,' 'pauper,' are never used by Horace to signify 'privation,' or any thing beyond a humble estate, as among many other instances "meo sum pauper in aere" (Epp. ii. 2. 12). "Probamque pauperiem sine dote quaero" (C. iii. 29. 56). Aristophanes describes shortly the difference between 'egens' (*πτωχός*) and 'pauper' (*πένης*), and his description will generally explain Horace's meaning when he uses the latter word:—

πτωχοῦ μὲν γὰρ βίος ὃν σὺ λέγεις ζῆν ἔστιν μηδὲν ἔχοντα,
τοῦ δὲ πένητος ζῆν φειδόμενον καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις προσέχοντα,
περιγίγνεσθαι δ' αὐτῷ μηδὲν, μὴ μέντοι μήδ' ἐπιλείπειν.—Plut. 552, sqq.

'Paupertas,' 'inopia,' 'egestas,' is the climax given by Seneca (de Tranq. Animi, 8).

20. *solido demere de die*] That is, to interrupt the hours of business. So (C. ii. 7. 6), "morantem saepe diem mero fregi." 'Solidus' signifies that which has no vacant part or space; and hence 'solidus dies' comes to signify the business hours, or occupied part of the day. Juvenal says (xi. 204):—

—— "Jam nunc in balnea salva
Fronte licet vadas, quamquam solida hora supersit
Ad sextam."

Senec. Ep. 84, "Hodiernus dies solidus est: nemo ex illo quicquam mihi eripuit." Stat. Silv. iv. 3. 36,—

"At nunc, quae solidum diem terebat,
Horarum via facta vix duarum."

The 'solidus dies' ended at the hour of dinner, which with industrious persons was the ninth in summer, and tenth in winter. The luxurious dined earlier (as "Exul ab octava Marius bibit," Juv. i. 49), the busy sometimes later. See Becker's Gallus, Exc. i. sc. 9, on the meals of the Romans. The commencement of the day varied with the habits of different people.

22. *caput*] This is used for the mouth, as well as the spring of a river. Virg. Georg. iv. 319, "Tristis ad extremi sacrum caput astitit amnis." Caesar (B. G. iv. 10) says of the Rhine, "multis capitibus in Oceanum influit." Here it is the spring. Shrines were usually built at the fountain-head of streams, dedicated to the nymphs that protected them, which explains 'sacrae.'

23. *lituo tubae*] The 'lituus' was curved in shape and sharp in tone, and used by the cavalry: 'tuba,' as its name indicates, was straight, and of deep tone, and used by the infantry. "Non tuba directi, non aeris cornua flexi" (Ov. Met. i. 98). Lipsius de Mil. Rom. says the 'lituus' was in shape a mean between the 'tuba' and the 'cornu;' not so straight as the one, nor so twisted as the other. Aulus Gellius (N. A. i. 11) makes a distinction between the three, but does not explain what it is. See C. ii. 1. 17.

24. *Bellaque matribus Detestata*] 'Detestatus' is nowhere else used passively, except by the law-writers, who use it for one convicted by evidence (Dig. 50. 16. 238). 'Modulatus' (C. i. 32. 5), 'metatus' (ii. 15. 15), are likewise used passively.

25. *sub Jove*] Epod. xiii. 2: "Nivesque deducunt Jovem." The Latin writers represented the atmosphere by Jupiter, the Greeks by Hera (Serv. ad Aen. i. 51).

Seu rupit teretes Marsus aper plagas.
Me doctarum hederae praemia frontium
Dis miscent superis; me gelidum nemus
Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
Secernunt populo, si neque tibias
Euterpe cohibet nec Polyhymnia
Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton.
Quod si me lyricis vatibus inseris,
Sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

28. *teretes*] This word Festus describes to mean 'long and round as a pole,' which definition will not always help us to the meaning. It has always more or less closely the meaning of roundness or smoothness, or both as here. It contains the same root as 'tero,' 'tornus,' τείρω, and its cognate words, and its meaning is got from the notion of rubbing and polishing. Horace applies it to a woman's ancles, a smooth-faced boy, the cords of a net, and a faultless man (see Index). It is applied by Ovid (Fast. ii. 318) to a girdle, and by Virgil (Aen. xi. 579) to the thong of a sling; where, as here, it represents the exact twisting of a cord. 'Slender' will not do; for 'plagae' were nets of thick cord with which the woods were surrounded, to catch the larger beasts as they were driven out by dogs and beaters. Smart renders the words, "circling toils;" Francis, "spreading toils;" Dacier omits 'teretes' altogether. [Ritter explains 'teretes' correctly. 'Teretes plagae' are nets, the cords of which are made of a great number of threads, fitted together, and fashioned into a round form. But still we want one word, which shall express both thick or strong and round.] Marsus for Marsicus, as Colchus for Colchicus, Medus for Medicus, and many others, is the only form Horace uses.

29. *Me doctarum hederae praemia frontium*]—'Te' has been proposed for 'me;' and Mr. Tate has declared, that this "true reading, on necessity arising from internal evidence against 'me' and the MSS., after the assent of scholars generally given, may now take its place as it were by acclamation." Orelli says, in opposition to Mr. Tate, "conjecturam—jam ab omnibus explosam esse arbitror." It was originally conjectured by Hare, and the only editors as far as I know, who had adopted it when Mr. Tate wrote, are Jones and Sanadon. Other critics have defended it, but very lamely: and more recently Fea has adopted this reading, but on grounds very different from his predecessors. "Thou, Maecenas," he says, "art ever occupied in crowning poets with the ivy, and they in return exalt thee to the gods in their songs." The ivy, which was sacred to Bacchus, made a fit and usual garland for a lyric poet. "Doctarum frontium," which Mr. Tate defends, as applied to Maecenas, is the proper description of poets, who by the Greeks were called *σοφοί*. So *ἀοιδοὶ σοφισταί* (Pind. Isth. ii. 36).

34. *Lesboum—barbiton*] The lyre of Sappho and Alcaeus (C. i. 32. 5).

35. *Quod si*] A reference to the Index will show that 'quod si' does not occur, as Orelli says it does, but rarely in the poets. The MSS. vary between 'inseris' and 'inseres.' The present seems to be more in keeping with what goes before, and Horace had no occasion to express a doubt as to whether Maecenas ranked him among lyric poets. Although the personal pronoun 'tu' is emphatic in this sentence, Horace omits it, as the poets often do, where no opposition of persons is intended. Orelli and Dillenbr. have quoted a fragment of Sappho (15 Bergk), from which it might appear that the last line was imitated: but the reading is so doubtful, that nothing certain can be made out of it. The idea will be found frequently in Ovid.—'Lyricis' is less common than 'melicis,' to describe the lyric poets of Greece.

CARMEN II.

A.U.C. 725.

This ode was probably written on the return of Caesar Octavianus [named Augustus, B.C. 27] to Rome, after the taking of Alexandria, when the civil wars were ended, and the temple of Janus was shut, A.U.C. 725. Horace expresses the opinion which Tacitus (Ann. i. 9) states was held by reflecting men of all parties, "non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisse quam ut ab uno regeretur," that the only remedy left for the troubles of the state was an absolute government in the hands of one person. He has been charged with deserting his republican principles, and even urging the destruction of those whose party he had once belonged to, and with whom he had fought at Philippi. But Horace urges reform, not bloodshed; and he had lived long enough to see that reform was not to be expected at the hands of republican leaders, or from any but him whose genius was now in the ascendant. It is not therefore in any mean spirit that he urges Octavianus to take upon himself the task of reducing to order the elements of the state, which so many years of civil war had thrown into confusion.—None of Horace's odes are more justly celebrated than this for the imagery it contains, for its genuine feeling, and for the delicacy with which it flatters Octavianus, investing him with divine attributes, but inviting him to exercise them as a father correcting and defending his children, and thus to avenge in the noblest manner his great-uncle's murder. The way in which he introduces the name of Caesar unexpectedly at the end has always appeared to me an instance of consummate art.

The prodigies described at the beginning of this ode are those which were said to have followed the death of C. Julius Caesar. They are related also by Virgil, Georg. i. 466—489, which passage, and the verses that follow it to the end of the book, should be read in connexion with this ode. It will appear to any reader of both very probable that Horace had this description in his mind when he wrote. It has been thought that Horace could not have referred to prodigies which had occurred so long before (A.U.C. 710, fifteen years before this ode was written), when he was at Athens, and therefore could not have witnessed them. Other prodigies therefore have been assumed as the subject of these opening stanzas. But the only other occasions, about this time, when the Tiber is recorded to have overflowed its banks, were A.U.C. 727 and 732, the earliest of which years would be too late for this ode, in which the allusions to the state of Rome and the triumphs of Augustus (v. 49), and the proposal that he should assume supreme authority, would in that case have been out of date and unnecessary. One of the chief purposes professed by Augustus was the avenging of his adoptive father's death; see Suet. Octav. X.: "Nihil convenientius ducens quam necem avunculi vindicare tuerique acta." Tacitus also speaks of him (Ann. i. 9) as "pietate erga parentem—ad arma civilia actum;" which his enemies turned against him, saying, "Cassii et Brutorum exitus paternis inimicitiis datos, quanquam fas sit privata odia in publicis utilitatibus remittere." According to Dion Cassius (liii. 4) his declared purpose was *ὄντως τῷ τε πατρὶ δεινῶς σφαγέντι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ μεγάλων καὶ ἐπαλλήλων κακῶν ἐξελέσθαι.* Ovid (Fast. v. 573, sqq.) introduces him as uttering this prayer to Mars:

"Si mihi bellandi pater est Vestaeque sacerdos
Auctor, et ulcisci numen utrumque paro;
Mars, ades et satia scelerato sanguine ferrum,
Stetque favor causa pro meliore tuus.
Templa feres et me victore vocaberis ultor."

This being the case, Horace could not judiciously have passed over the death of C. Julius

Caesar, in an ode which hailed the return of Octavianus; nor could he have alluded to it better than in connexion with those prodigies which seemed to speak the wrath of Heaven against civil discord. Other poets wrote of these prodigies, which were very notorious. See Tibull. ii. 5. 71, sqq.; Ovid, Met. xv. 782, sqq.; and one phenomenon poetically described by Horace is recorded by Dion. (xlv. 17): *καὶ ἰχθῦς ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀμύθητοι κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐκβολὰς ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἐξέπεσον.*

If this ode is read with C. ii. 15, and the others mentioned in the Introduction to that ode, the feeling with which Horace entered into the mission of Augustus as the reformer will be better understood.

ARGUMENT

Portents enough hath Jove sent upon the earth, making it afraid lest a new deluge were coming, as the Tiber rolled back from its mouth threatening destruction to the city, the unauthorized avenger of Ilia!

Our sons shall hear that citizens have whetted for each other the steel that should have smitten the enemy.

What god shall we invoke to help us? What prayers shall move Vesta to pity? To whom shall Jove assign the task of wiping out our guilt? Come thou, Apollo; or thou, smiling Venus, with mirth and love thy companions; or thou, Mars, our founder, who hast too long sported with war; or do thou, son of Maia, put on the form of a man, and let us call thee the avenger of Caesar; nor let our sins drive thee too soon away; here take thy triumphs; be thou our father and our prince, and suffer not the Mede to go unpunished whilst thou art our chief, O Caesar.

JAM satis terris nivis atque dirae
Grandinis misit Pater, et rubente
Dextera sacras jaculatus arces
  Terruit Urbem,
Terruit gentes, grave ne rediret
Seculum Pyrrhae nova monstra questae,
Omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos
  Visere montes,

1. *Jam satis—*] See Introduction.

dirae] It is very common in Horace (though not peculiar to him) to find an epithet which is attached to the latter of two substantives, but belongs to both, as here, and "fidem mutatosque Deos" (C. i. 5. 6); "poplitibus timidoque tergo" (C. iii. 2. 16), and many other places which the student will observe for himself. Horace uses this construction so frequently, that it may be looked upon as a feature in his style; and he often uses it with effect.

2. *rubente*] Virgil has (G. i. 328) "Corusca dextra," where, however, it may be doubted whether 'corusca' belongs to 'fulmina' or to 'dextra.' Some MSS. have 'rubenti.' But Bentley (on C. i. 25. 17) quotes Verrius Flaccus, a grammarian of the Augustan age, who lays down the rule that in Horace all nouns ending in 'ns' have the termination of the ablative in 'e,' not 'i.' This is not true in respect to some words, which though they have the force of adjectives, are in fact participles. For instance, "Ab insolenti temperatam laetitia" (C. ii. 3. 3). Bentley, therefore, attributes too much perhaps to the authority of his grammarian in adopting this as an invariable rule in respect to the participle.

3. *arces*] The sacred buildings on the Capitoline hill. They were called collectively Capitolium or Arx (from their position), Arx Capitolii, and sometimes by hendiadys, "Arx Capitoliumque" (Livy, v. 39, &c.) They embraced the three temples of Jup. Opt. Max., Juno, and Minerva, of Jupiter Feretrius, and of Terminus.

10. *columbis*] The proper name for a wood-pigeon is 'palumbus,' or '—ba,' or

Piscium et summa genus haesit ulmo
Nota quae sedes fuerat columbis,
Et superjecto pavidae natarunt
Aequore damae.
Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis
Littore Etrusco violenter undis
Ire dejectum monumenta regis
Templaque Vestae;
Iliae dum se nimium querenti
Jactat ultorem, vagus et sinistra
Labitur ripa Jove non probante u-
xorius amnis.

—bes;' and therefore some have proposed, contrary to the MSS., to adopt 'palumbis' here. But 'columbus' '-ba,' are the generic terms for pigeons.—'Damae' is both masculine and feminine. Georg. iii. 539: "timidi damae cervique fugaces."

11. *superjecto*] 'sibi et terris' adds Lambinus. But 'sibi' is not wanted. Virgil uses the word (Aen. xi. 625), "Scopulosque superjacit undam."

13. *flavum*] This common epithet of the Tiber arose out of the quantity of sand washed down the stream. Aen. vii. 31: "Vorticibus rapidis et multâ flavus arenâ." It has been argued from 'vidimus' that Horace wrote of what he had seen, and therefore the prodigies could not be those at Caesar's death. But he means that his generation had seen the prodigies he refers to, as Virgil says of the eruptions of Aetna:

"Quoties Cyclopum effervere in agros
Vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam."—Georg. i. 471.

13, 14. *retortis Littore Etrusco violenter undis*] "its waters driven violently back from its mouth at the shore of the Etruscan sea." So I am inclined to take it, with Orelli, Dillenbr., and others. Some take 'Littore Etrusco' for the Etruscan or right bank of the river, as opposed to 'sinistra ripa' (v. 18). 'Littus' is used for 'ripa' (as Forcell. shows) by Virgil, as 'ripa' is used for 'littus' by Horace (C. iii. 27. 24). But 'littus Etruscum' means the shore of the Etruscan sea in Carm. Saec. 38, Epod. xvi. 40, and 'retortis' can only signify driven back, and that must be from the mouth. Moreover the notion of the reflux of the river seems to have been common. Fea remarks that the overflowings of the Tiber are still by the common people accounted for by the violence of the sea driving back the stream. That this is an old opinion we learn from the statement of Seneca, quoted by Mitsch., to the effect that a river suddenly overflows its banks, "si crebrioribus ventis ostium caeditur et reverberatus fluctu amnis restitit; qui crescere videtur quia non effunditur." (Nat. Quaest. iii. 26. 1.)

15. *monumenta regis*] This signifies the palace of Numa adjoining the temple of Vesta, hence called 'atrium regium' (Liv. xxvi. 27), as forming a kind of 'atrium' to the temple. Ovid (Fasti, vi. 263) thus alludes to this building:—

"Hic locus exiguus, qui sustinet atria Vestae,
Tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numae;"

which he varies a little elsewhere (Trist. iii. 1. 29, sq.):

"Hic locus est Vestae qui Pallada servat et ignem:
Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numae."

Fea says that the church of Sta. Maria Liberatrice stands on this spot, and that it is proved by certain inscriptions of the Vestal Virgins found there in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

17. *Iliae — ultorem*] Tiber is represented as taking upon himself without the sanction of Jove, and in consequence of Ilia's complaints, to avenge the death of C. Julius Caesar, the descendant of Iulus. Ilia or Rea Silvia (as Niebuhr says the name is to be written, and not Rhea) was said by Ennius, according to the Scholiast Porphyrion, to have been thrown into the Tiber by command of Amulius, and for this reason she is represented as married to that river, though she had been previously betrothed to the Anio, to whom Ovid marries her (Amor. iii. 6. 45, sqq., a beautiful passage). Silius (xii. 543) makes Ilia hide herself in the bosom of her spouse

Audiet cives acuisse ferrum
Quo graves Persae melius perirent;
Audiet pugnas vitio parentum
Rara juventus.
Quem vocet divum populus ruentis
Imperi rebus? prece qua fatigent
Virgines sanctae minus audientem
Carmina Vestam?
Cuí dabit partes scelus expiandi
Juppiter? Tandem venias precamur
Nube candentes humeros amictus
Augur Apollo;

as Hannibal approaches the Anio. That there were two legends, therefore, in this as in most cases, must be admitted. Cruquius' commentator gets rid of the difficulty in true Scholiast fashion by saying that Ilia was buried by the banks of the Anio, which carried her remains away, and washed them into the Tiber; and hence she was said to have been married to the Tiber. Servius (on Aen. i. 277) remarks on Horace's version, which he says is supported by other writers. Claudian is one. Speaking of the Tiber he says,

"Palla graves humeros velat quam neverat uxor
Ilia, percurrens vitreas sub gurgite telas."

(In Prob. et Olyb. Cons. 224.) Jove may be supposed to have disapproved the presumption of the river-god, because he had reserved the task of expiation for other hands and happier means. [As to 'uxorius,' comp. Virgil, Aen. iv. 266. The same division as in 'u-xorius' occurs in C. i. 25. 11, C. ii. 16. 7.]

21. *cives acuisse ferrum*] 'inter se' or 'in semetipsos' is readily understood. Mitscherlich and others make 'audiet acuisse' a prophecy, 'shall hear them sharpen,' whereas it should be rendered 'shall hear of their having sharpened.' Horace is lamenting what has been.

Persians, Medes, and Parthians are names freely interchanged by Horace. The growth of the Parthian power from the condition of an insignificant dependency to the absorption of nearly the whole of the vast empire of the Seleucidae, is a question of history which need not be entered upon here. It will be borne in mind however with reference to the above confusion of names that the Parthian empire, at the time Horace wrote, extended nearly from the Indus to the Roman province of Syria; and that the Parthians were in the habit of making incursions into that province, which fact is referred to in the last stanza of this ode. Although the name of Augustus, assisted by their own disputes, did something towards keeping them in check, they were held by the Romans to be their most formidable enemies, as the readers of Horace will easily perceive. Augustus meditated, but never carried on war with the Parthians, and the Romans never till the reign of Trajan gained any successes against them. Their empire was broken up and succeeded by the Persian kingdom of the Sassanidae during the reign of Alexander Severus, A.D. 226.—The opening of Lucan's first book may be compared with this ode.

24. *Rara juventus*] It took years of peace and the enactment of stringent marriage-laws to restore the population of Rome, which was thinned not only by bloodshed but by indifference to marriage and laxity of morals.

25. *Quem vocet divum*] The passionate appeal of the chorus in Aesch. S. c. Theb., beginning v. 92: τίς ἄρα ῥύσεται, τίς ἄρ' ἐπαρκέσει θεῶν ἢ θεᾶν; may be compared with this. Vesta, the tutelary goddess of Rome (Virg. G. i. 499, sqq.

"Dii patrii Indigetes, et Romule, Vestaque mater,
Quae Tuscum Tiberim et Romana palatia servas"),

is represented as deaf to the prayers of her virgins, because Caesar as Pontifex Maximus had particular charge of her temple and rites. So in Ovid she exclaims:

—— "meus fuit ille sacerdos;
Sacrilegae telis me petiere manus.—
At quicunque nefas ausi prohibente deorum
Numine polluerant pontificale caput,

Sive tu mavis, Erycina ridens,
Quam Jocus circum volat et Cupido;
Sive neglectum genus et nepotes
Respicis, auctor
Heu nimis longo satiate ludo,
Quem juvat clamor galeaeque leves
Acer et Mauri peditis cruentum
Voltus in hostem;

Morte jacent merita. ——
Hoc opus, haec pietas, haec prima elementa fuerunt
Caesaris ulcisci justa per arma patrem."
(Fast. iii. 699, sqq.) And when Augustus was made Pontifex Maximus Ovid writes (iii. 421):

"Ignibus aeternis aeterni numina praesunt Caesaris.——
Ortus ab Aenea tangit cognata sacerdos Numina; cognatum Vesta tuere caput.
Quos sancta fovet ille manu, bene vivitis ignes.
Vivite inexstincti flammaque duxque precor."

Aeneas was said to have preserved the fire of Vesta and brought her to Rome. 'Carmina' is opposed to 'prece' as a set formula to other prayers. 'Carmen' has that meaning in respect to legal or any other formal documents. Liv. i. 26: "Lex horrendi carminis." Epp. ii. 1. 138: "Carmine Di superi placantur, carmine Manes."

31. *Nube candentes humeros amictus*] So Homer describes him, εἱμένος ὤμοιιν νεφέλην (Il. xv. 308). Virg. (Aen. viii. 720): "candentis limine Phoebi." 'Candenti' is the reading of the Scholiasts and one or two old editions. Fea adopts it, and supposes the 'nubes' to be a 'nimbus' or 'glory' round about his head. Graevius' notion that "nube candentes humeros amictus" has reference to the eclipse reckoned among the prodigies at Caesar's death is not worthy of him. But the fault is Bothe's, who edited Graevius' notes from marginal readings in his copy of Cruquius' edition not intended for publication. [The Romans have no active participles of the past tense, and so they use passive participles in some cases, where the accusative receives the action of the verbal notion contained in the participle. Compare C. i. 1. 21, 'membra stratus;' C. ii. 7. 7, 'coronatus capillos;' Sat. i. 1. 5, 'fractus membra.']

33. *Sive*] See i. 3. 16 n. 'Erycina ridens' corresponds to φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη. Ἵμερος and Ἔρως were the two sons of Venus. [Venus had a temple on the mountain Eryx, in the north-west part of Sicily. Cic., In Q. Caecil. c. 17; In Verr. Act. ii. 2. 8.] 'Jocus' is an invention of Horace's. The reasons for appealing to Apollo as the stedfast friend of Troy, and, according to his flatterers, the father of Augustus (not because he was Φοῖβος καθάρσιος as Duentzer says), Venus as the mother of Aeneas and of the Julian family, and Mars as the father of Romulus, are sufficiently obvious. Mercury is selected as the representative of Augustus, because he is the messenger of peace (Ovid, Fast. v. 665):

"Pacis et armorum superis imisque deorum Arbiter."

36. *Respicis*] Cic. (de Leg. ii. 11) proposes the title 'Fortuna respiciens,' which he explains by 'ad opem ferendam,' for a temple of Fortune.

ludo] See C. i. 28. 17: "Dant alios Furiae torvo spectacula Marti."

39. *Mauri peditis*] As the African troops were chiefly cavalry, and according to some writers distinguished rather for cowardice than bravery, Marsi has been substituted for Mauri by some editors, on the conjecture of Tanaquil Faber and against all the MSS. But other writers speak more highly of the Mauritanians; and the force of 'peditis,' which would have no force at all with Marsi, here appears to be that the rider has had his horse killed under him, or has dismounted to attack his enemy hand to hand, or in consequence of a wound. See S. ii. 1. 13: "Aut labentis equo describit vulnera Parthi." On foot the Roman cavalry routed the Hernicans (Liv. vii. 8), and Statorius had no difficulty in forming a very fine body of infantry out of the Numidian soldiers of Syphax (Liv. xxiv. 48). It has been conjectured that Horace took the idea from a painting. Bentley has caught up 'Marsi' as "certissima emendatio." Dacier, the inventor's son-in-law, supports the reading with the assertion that he had seen it in some of the oldest editions. Bentley wishes he had access to those very rare editions, and is afraid this is only a dream that has come to the Frenchman 'per portam eburneam.'

Sive mutata juvenem figura
Ales in terris imitaris, almae
Filius Maiae, patiens vocari
Caesaris ultor:
Serus in caelum redeas diuque
Laetus intersis populo Quirini;
Neve te nostris vitiis iniquum
Ocior aura
Tollat: hic magnos potius triumphos,
Hic ames dici pater atque princeps,
Neu sinas Medos equitare inultos
Te duce, Caesar.

41. *juvenem*] So Augustus is called, though he was forty years old at this time. So Virg. (G. i. 500):—

"Hunc saltem everso juvenem succurrere saeclo
Ne prohibete."

'Juvenis' and 'adolescens' were used for any age between 'pueritia' and 'senectus.' Cicero speaks of himself as 'adolescens' at the time he put down Catiline's conspiracy, when he was forty-four years old, and as 'senex,' when he delivered his 2nd Philippic, at which time he was sixty-two. "Defendi Rem publicam adolescens, non deseram senex" (Phil. ii. 46). But the reader will find many examples in Forcellini, under the articles 'adolescens' and 'juvenis.'

[43. *Filius* is supposed by Ritter to be for the vocative.]

patiens vocari] A Graecism. "Patiarque vel inconsultus haberi" (Epp. i. 5. 15); "Cum pateris sapiens emendatusque vocari" (Epp. i. 16. 30).

44. *Caesaris ultor*] Estré, a very diligent scholar and candid man, declares himself perfectly unable to account for this language of Horace. It confounds and disturbs, he says, all his notions of Horace's character (Prosop. p. 277). See Introduction to this ode.

45. *Serus in caelum redeas*] Ovid, Met. xv. 868, sqq.:—

"Tarda sit illa dies et nostro serior aevo
Qua caput Augustum quem temperat orbe relicto
Accedat caelo."

See also Trist. v. 2. 47. The adjective for the adverb is common in respect of time. The instances in Horace are numerous.

46. *populo Quirini*] Some MSS. have Quirino. But the genitive is the general reading, and corresponds better to the regular form 'populus Romanus Quiritium.'

49. *triumphos*] Augustus had just celebrated, or was just about to celebrate, three triumphs on three successive days, for his victories (1) over the Pannonians and Dalmatians, (2) at Actium, and (3) at Alexandria. 'Triumphos' is governed by 'ames,' as 'pocula' is governed by 'spernit' (i. 1. 19); in both which cases we have an accusative case and an infinitive mood governed by the same verb.

50. *pater*] The title of 'pater patriae' was not assumed by Augustus till A.U.C. 752. Ovid addresses him by that title (Fast. ii. 127):—

"Sancte pater patriae, tibi plebs, tibi curia nomen
Hoc dedit; hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen eques.
Res tamen ante dedit. Sero quoque vera tulisti
Nomina: jampridem tu pater orbis eras.
Hoc tu per terras quod in aethere Jupiter alto
Nomen habes; hominum tu pater, ille Deum."

It was the highest title of honour that could be conferred on a citizen, and was first given by the Senate to Cicero (the army had formerly bestowed it on Camillus), on the occasion of his suppressing Catiline's conspiracy. Juv. viii. 243:—

"Sed Roma parentem,
Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dixit,"

where 'libera' seems to mean that the senate was no longer free when Augustus took the name. See C. iii. 24. 27 n.

princeps] Tac. Ann. i. 1, "Cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine principis sub imperium accepit."

51. *equitare inultos*] See above, v. 21 n.

CARMEN III.

The date of this ode has been much discussed. It is the chronologists' stumbling-block. If it was written on the occasion of that voyage to Athens from which Virgil only returned to die, the date must be A.U.C. 735. How that interferes with the reckoning of Franke and others may be seen by referring to the introductory remarks to this edition. Franke however denies that this ode has reference to that voyage. He even thinks it doubtful whether it is addressed to Virgil the poet; and though he is in general very acute and judicious, his zeal for the theory he advocates ran away with his judgment when it led him to think that Quintilius, whose death is lamented in C. 24 of this book, is the person here addressed, and that perhaps he was drowned on the voyage, since it is clear, says he, from that ode that he met with an untimely and violent death. Coming from most other people this theory would not be worth mentioning. That it is the resort of an advocate in difficulty is clear on the face of it. He thinks these two odes are closely connected, though the link has been lost to us from the obscurity of the allusions, but he finds a trace of it in the words "Navis quae tibi creditum Debes" (v. 6 of this ode); and C. 24. 11, "Tu frustra pius heu! non ita creditum." There is no weight in this argument at all; nevertheless, there is no certainty that the ode was written on the occasion supposed. Virgil may have made or contemplated a voyage before his last, and there is so much difficulty attending the date A.U.C. 735 that I am inclined to think such must have been the case. This leaves the date of the ode in uncertainty. Franke's best argument is, that if the publication of these odes took place after Virgil's death, it must have been immediately or very soon after, even according to the chronology of Kirchner and others who are opposed to him; and that it would have been in the worst taste and feeling to have inserted this ode at such a time. There can be little doubt, I think, but he would have suppressed it, or accompanied it with one expressing his own and the universal sorrow. I cannot imagine a greater mockery than the insertion of an ode addressed to Virgil on the death of his friend, and an ode praying for his safe voyage, at a time when all Virgil's friends must have been bewailing his death, to which no allusion is made in any part of Horace's writings. This last fact would be accounted for if we supposed Virgil to have died during the time when Horace had almost if not entirely suspended this kind of writing. Franke's attempt to show that there was not that mutual affection between Virgil and Horace which would warrant the expressions in this ode is very weak. But others have affirmed the same because Virgil nowhere mentions Horace, and because he did not leave him his literary executor, but chose Varius and Tucca rather than Horace. But Virgil left his Æneid not to be published but destroyed, and there is no reason why he should have chosen Horace for such a purpose. A man may have more friends than executors, and does not always give that office to those he loves best. As for the other argument, if the nature of Virgil's poems be considered, it is not worth noticing.

Compare with this ode Statius' 'Propempticon' to Metius Celer, 'a most noble and pleasant youth,' whom as he could not accompany he sent upon his way with a beautiful address, suggested partly it would seem by this of Horace (Silv. iii. 2).

ARGUMENT.

We commit to thee Virgil, O thou ship; deliver him safe on the shores of Attica, and preserve him whom I love as my life; and may the skies and winds prosper thee. Hard and rash was the man who first tempted the sea and defied the winds. In what shape should he fear the approach of death who unmoved could look on the monsters of the deep and the swelling waves and dangerous rocks? In vain did God separate lands if man is to leap over the forbidden waters. So doth he ever

rush into sin. Prometheus brought fire into the world, and with that theft came all manner of diseases; Dædalus soared on wings, and Hercules burst into Hell. Deterred by nothing we would climb Heaven itself, and our guilt suffers not Jove to lay aside his bolts.

Sic te diva potens Cypri,
Sic fratres Helenae lucida sidera,
Ventorumque regat pater
Obstrictis aliis praeter Iapyga,
Navis, quae tibi creditum
Debes Virgilium finibus Atticis

1. *Sic*] This use of 'sic' is not easily explained. It is usual to explain it as expressing a wish dependent on the accomplishment of a condition. It would thus be 'so may the winds favour you as you discharge the debt you owe.' But in order that the ship should discharge her debt the winds must be favourable, and to wish her a favourable wind and pleasant voyage after she had delivered her freight, while without that condition she could not deliver it at all, is nonsense. Horace seems to mean this—'I pray thee, O ship, deliver up thy trust in safety, and to that end may the stars and winds prosper thee.' In Virgil (Ecl. ix. 30) Lycidas urges Moeris to recite him some verses, and he says :—

"Sic tua Cyrneas fugiant examina taxos;
Sic cytiso pastae distendant ubera vaccae."

Here 'sic' expresses an earnest and affectionate prayer for the person addressed, followed by an entreaty to him; but it cannot be called a condition so much as a strong expression of feeling, and such I presume it to mean in the present instance, where it amounts to no more than 'utinam' in a strong form, as *ὡς* does in Greek; the object of the wish being a means by which a desired end may be accomplished. There are other passages where 'sic' follows the prayer on which it depends, as C. i. 28. 25 :—

——"Ne parce malignus arenae—particulam dare:
Sic quodcunque minabitur Eurus—"

and Tibullus (ii. 5, 121):

"Adnue; sic tibi sint intonsi, Phœbe, capilli."

In these places the condition and its consequence are clearly marked, and an opposite wish is implied if the condition be not fulfilled.

'Potens,' like its kindred word *πότνια*, is used with a genitive after it. Venus from her supposed origin was imagined to have power over the sea; hence Horace calls her 'marina' (C. iii. 26. 5; iv. 11. 15). She had the titles *εὔπλοία, λιμένιας*, had temples built for her in harbours, and is represented on coins with a rudder, shell, and dolphin. Ovid (Heroid. xvi. 23) makes Paris say of her :—

"Illa dedit faciles somnos ventosque secundos;
In mare nimirum jus habet orta mari;"

and Lucret. (i. 8):—

——"Tibi rident aequora ponti,
Placatumque nitet diffuso lumine caelum."

Castor and Pollux had among other titles that of *ἀρωγόναυται*. The appellation 'lucida sidera' is conjectured to be derived from certain meteoric appearances after storms, which the ancients supposed to indicate the presence of Castor and Pollux. Similar phenomena are still called by the Italian sailors the fire of St. Elmo, a corruption it is believed from Helena. Compare Eurip. Helen. 1495, seqq. :—

μόλοιτέ ποθ' ἵππειον ἅρμα
δι' αἰθέρος ἱέμενοι
παῖδες Τυνδάριδαι
λαμπρῶν ἄστρων ὕπ' ἀέλλαισιν
οἳ ναίετ' οὐράνιοι.

. . . .

ναύταις εὐαεῖς ἀνέμων
πέμποντες Διόθεν πνοάς.

See also Plin. N. H. ii. 37, and C. iv. 8. 31. Aeolus is steward of the winds in Homer (Odyss. x. 21), king in Virgil, and father here. The Iapygian or N.W. wind, so called from Iapygia in Apulia whence it blows down the Hadriatic, and the usual name of which was Favonius, was favourable for a voyage from Brundusium, where Virgil would embark for Greece. It was called by the Greeks, *ἀργέστης*: Arist. de Mundo, c. 4: *ἀργέστης δ ἀπὸ τῆς θερμῆς δύσεως ὅν τινες καλοῦσιν Ὀλυμπίαν οἱ δὲ Ἰάπυγα.*

6. *finibus Atticis*] Orelli and Dillenbr.

Reddas incolumem precor,
Et serves animae dimidium meae.
Illi robur et aes triplex
Circa pectus erat qui fragilem truci
Commisit pelago ratem
Primus, nec timuit praecipitem Africum
Decertantem Aquilonibus
Nec tristes Hyadas, nec rabiem Noti,
Quo non arbiter Hadriae
Major tollere seu ponere volt freta.
Quem Mortis timuit gradum
Qui siccis oculis monstra natantia,

understand this to be the dative case governed by 'debes' and 'reddas.' I am inclined to think it the case of the place where the debt was to be paid ['in terra Attica,' Ritter], or thing entrusted to be delivered, and that 'debes' and 'reddas' are both used absolutely (see Argument). 'Reddere' is the word for delivering a letter, and it may be so understood here.

8. *animae dimidium meae.*] See C. ii. 17. 5. The Scholiasts have preserved a Greek proverb: φιλία ἐστὶ μία ψυχὴ ἐν δυοῖν σώμασι. The definition of a friend ἥμισυ τῆς ψυχῆς is attributed to Pythagoras.

9. *Illi robur et aes triplex*] This too is an imitation of the Greek, as Aesch. Prom. 242: σιδηρόφρων τε κἀκ πέτρας εἰργασμένος. There is no necessity for interpreting this with Dillenbr. as a shield of oak and breastplate of brass: we are to understand a man whose heart is hard as if cased in oak and a triple coat of brass, and that is enough. A good metaphor is often spoilt by explanation. Tibullus applies the same language with some play on the words to the inventor of swords (i. 10. 1):

"Quis fuit horrendos primus qui protulit enses?
Quam ferus et vere ferreus ille fuit!"

Again, Ovid (Amor. iii. 6. 59),

"Ille habet et silices et vivum in pectore ferrum,
Qui tenero lacrimas lentus in ore videt."

Propert. (i. 17. 13) says,

"Ah! pereat quicunque rates et vela paravit
Primus et invito gurgite fecit iter!"

15. *arbiter*] This is explained by the next line. Elsewhere 'Notus' is called 'dux turbidus Hadriae' (C. iii. 3. 5). 'Ponere freta' is like Virg. (Aen. i. 66), 'mulcere fluctus,' and Soph. Aj. 674: δεινῶν δ' ἄημα πνευμάτων ἐκοίμισε στένοντα πόντον. 'Sive' is omitted before 'tollere,' as the Greeks frequently omitted εἴτε in the first clause.

17. *gradum*] This is not 'degree,' but 'step.' See the argument. It is like "Nunc leti multa referta via," Tibull. i. 3. 50.

18. *siccis oculis*] ξηροῖς ἀκλαύστοις ὄμμασιν (Aesch. S. c. Theb. 696). Bentley unauthorized (except by Heinsius, who did it before him) substitutes 'rectis' for 'siccis,' considering that fear is not a passion to draw forth tears. But the ancients were less exact in ascribing the proper signs to emotion, or they wept less sparingly than men do now. Caesar describing the effect of fear on his men says, "Hi neque vultum fingere neque interdum lacrimas tenere potuerunt" (B. G. i. 39). Bentley may have been led to the word 'rectis' by Dryden's translation, "Who unconcerned with stedfast eyes could view?" But nothing is less probable than that 'rectis' should have been changed by the copyists into 'siccis' so invariably that the former has disappeared altogether. Cunningham suggests but does not adopt 'fixis.' But fear is not the only sensation with which the sailor views danger. Propertius (iii. 7. 55.) makes Pætus remember his mother as he was about to drown, and weep; and Ovid (Met. xi. 539) describing sailors in a storm says,

"Non tenet hic lacrimas: stupet hic: vocat ille beatos
Funera quos maneant."

It was enough to make them weep to think that their bodies would not meet with

Qui vidit mare turgidum et
Infames scopulos Acroceraunia?
Nequicquam deus abscidit
Prudens Oceano dissociabili
Terras si tamen impiae
Non tangenda rates transiliunt vada.
Audax omnia perpeti
Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas.
Audax Iapeti genus
Ignem fraude mala gentibus intulit.
Post ignem aetheria domo
Subductum macies et nova febrium
Terris incubuit cohors,
Semotique prius tarda necessitas

burial. 'Sicci oculi' are fitting accompaniments of a heart so hard as this venturous discoverer is said to have had, The MSS. vary between 'turgidum' and 'turbidum' in v. 19. Bentley adopts the latter, as "fortius epitheton quod majorem terrorem incutit." 'Turbidum' may represent the muddy appearance of the sea after a storm, the other speaks of its swelling waves.

20. [*Acroceraunia*] The Alta Ceraunia of Virgil, Georg. i. 332, mountains on the coast of Epirus. Compare Virg. Aen. iii. 506.]

22. *dissociabili*] Used actively, as 'Penetrabile telum' (Aeneid), "Genitabilis aura Favoni" (Lucret. i. 11), and in Horace 'Amabilem' (C. i. 5. 10), 'Illacrumabilem' (ii. 14. 6), which is used passively C. iv. 9. 25. Gesner gives a long list of similar words with an active signification. Bentley reads 'dissociabiles,' assuming the common reading to be a corruption of 'dissociabilis' and that to be put for his word, by which he understands 'lands not meant to be united.' The active sense he says has no authority, but it has abundant support from analogy. Tacitus uses it passively (Agr. 3), "res olim dissociabiles miscuerit principatum et libertatem." The common reading agrees with Lucret. (v. 203), "Et mare quod late terrarum distinet oras." 'Prudens' is 'providens,' foreseeing the evil to come.

25. *Audax omnia perpeti*] Compare with this Soph. Antig. 332 sqq.:

> πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ κοὐδὲν ἀν-
> θρώπου δεινότερον πέλει.
> τοῦτο καὶ πολιοῦ πέραν
> πόντου χειμερίῳ νότῳ
> χωρεῖ περιβρυχίοισιν
> περῶν ὑπ' οἴδμασιν.

A verse of Aristophanes (Nub. 234): πάσχει δὲ ταὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ κάρδαμα, where πάσχει has in a qualified way the meaning of ποιεῖ, has been quoted to support the same sense in 'perpeti.' But it probably means no more than endurance to the end. 'Vetitum' with 'nefas' is not altogether redundant. It expresses crimes which are obviously forbidden, as shown by the obstructions thrown in the way of their commission.

27. *Iapeti genus*] This is after the use of γένος, which occurs not rarely in the Tragoedians. Eurip. Cyclops 104, δριμὺ Σισύφου γένος, for Ulysses; Virg. Aen. iv. 12: "genus esse Deorum."—Prometheus, the son of Iapetus, also claimed to be the inventor of ships (Aesch. P. V. 467).

28. *fraude mala*] 'Mala' merely means mischievous or fatal theft, referring to its consequences. The epithet is not here redundant, perhaps less than in Soph. Oed. Col. 1026, τὰ γὰρ δόλῳ τῷ μὴ δικαίῳ κτήματ' οὐχὶ σώζεται. The old commentators refer to the distinction between 'dolus malus' a fraud with bad intent, and 'dolus bonus' with good intent. Ulpian (Dig. 4. 3. 1), referring to the praetor's words, "Quae dolo malo facta esse dicentur . . . judicium dabo," says "non fuit autem contentus praetor dolum dicere, sed adjecit malum quoniam veteres dolum etiam bonum dicebant et pro sollertia hoc nomen accipiebant, maxime si adversus hostem latronemve quis machinaretur."

39. *Subductum*] 'Sub' in composition has sometimes that force of ὑπό which sig-

Leti corripuit gradum.
Expertus vacuum Daedalus aëra
Pennis non homini datis;
Perrupit Acheronta Herculeus labor.
Nil mortalibus ardui est;
Caelum ipsum petimus stultitia neque
Per nostrum patimur scelus
Iracunda Jovem ponere fulmina.

nifies 'suppression' and so 'deception' in every form. But it does not always convey a bad meaning.

31. *incubuit*] Lucretius, vi. 1141:—

—— "Morbus
Incubuit tandem populo Pandionis omni."

In what follows 'prius' belongs to 'semoti,' and 'tarda necessitas leti' are one subject. It might be translated thus, 'the power, once slow, of death remote before hastened its step.' So that 'prius' also affects 'tarda' ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, as the grammarians say.

[35. *Pennis*] Perhaps 'pinnis' is the true form here.]

36. *Herculeus labor*] So Odyss. xi. 600, βίη Ἡρακλείη for Hercules. "Catonis virtus" (C. iii. 21. 11): "virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli" (S. ii. 1. 72) may be taken in the same way.

CARMEN IV.

Lucius Sestius served with Horace under Brutus, and they were no doubt on terms of intimacy (see Dict. Biog. Sestius 6). But this ode has probably as little to do with L. Sestius as with any of Horace's other friends. The poet borrowed his name to give point to an ode written at the beginning of spring and moralizing on the uncertainty of life and the duty of enjoying it. The same remark, with a change in the names, will apply to C. iv. 7. Traces of imitation from the Greek are observed by some commentators, and some Sicilian poem containing references to Mount Aetna is fixed upon as the source of this ode. Also it has been conjectured, that it may have been written at Baiae or Velia in sight of the Liparaean volcanic islands, which may or may not have been the case. We do not want both explanations; perhaps neither. Beyond the word 'urit,' which seems to be a translation of φλέγει, I am not aware that there are as many traces of the Greek as might be found in most of Horace's odes.

The time must be quite the commencement of the spring. The whole description, in which the present tense is used throughout, indicates the beginning of those things that are described; and though Ovid, referring to the month of April (Fast. iv. 131), speaks of the launching of the ships,—

"Vere monet curvas materna per aequora puppes
Ire, nec hibernas jam timuisse minas,"—

Horace's words clearly refer to an earlier month. Rutgersius contends very strongly that April is the month to which the descriptions of this ode belong, especially vv. 11, 12, which, he says, refer to the Palilia, the festival of Rome's birthday, which was the 21st April. But that is much too late. See note on v. 11. Rutgersius contradicts himself by saying that the allusion in v. 9 refers to the practice of Roman matrons bathing with their heads crowned with myrtle, which took place on the calends of April. Ov. Fast. iv. 139. Plut. Numa, c. 19: τὸν Ἀπρίλλιον ἐπώνυμον ὄντα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐν ᾧ θύουσί τε

τῇ θεῷ καὶ ταῖς καλάνδαις ἐστεφανωμέναι αἱ γυναῖκες μυρσίνῃ λούονται. The question whether April was so named from ἄφρος in honour of Venus, or from 'aperio' as opening the pores of the earth, is here decided in favour of the goddess, and so by Ovid, Fast. iv. 61 sqq., but the latter is the more probable derivation. The ancients were bad etymologists.

ARGUMENT.

The winter is thawing; the spring is returning; the ships are being launched; the herds quit their stalls, and the ploughman his fireside, and the meadows are no longer white with frost. Venus and the Graces are leading the dance, and the Cyclops' forge is burning. Let us bind the head with myrtle or the earth's first flowers, and sacrifice a lamb or kid to Pan. Death calls on rich and poor alike. Life is short, O Sestius! and our hopes we must contract. The grave awaits thee, and when there no more shalt thou preside at feast or sigh for the fair young Lycidas.

Solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni,
Trahuntque siccas machinae carinas,
Ac neque jam stabulis gaudet pecus aut arator igni;
Nec prata canis albicant pruinis.
Jam Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente Luna,
Junctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes
Alterno terram quatiunt pede, dum graves Cyclopum
Volcanus ardens urit officinas.

2. *machinae*] The machines mentioned are called by Caesar (B. C. ii. 10) 'phalangae' (rollers). Vessels were drawn up on shore from the Ides of November to the Ides of March, during which time "Defendens pisces hiemat mare" (S. ii. 2. 17).

3. *neque—aut—nec*] The two first of these form one branch of the sentence and the last the other. "Neque (pecus aut arator) gaudet nec prata albicant."

5. *Jam Cytherea choros ducit Venus*] Tibull. ii. 3, 3: "Ipsa Venus laetos jam nunc migravit in agros." 'Imminente Luna' is no more than with the moon overhead. But Heinsius renders it "at the new moon:" ἱσταμένῃ σελήνῃ. 'Cytherea Venus' is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. But it is analogous to Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων. Cunning. proposes 'levis' for 'Venus.'

7. *graves*] This epithet may have a variety of meanings, and each editor gives his own version. Perhaps Horace meant 'laborious.' The eruptions of Aetna, where the thunderbolts of Jove were supposed to be forged, taking place chiefly in the summer and early autumn, the Cyclops are fitly represented as preparing these bolts in spring. See Cic. de Divin. ii. 19: "Non enim te puto esse eum qui Jovi fulmen fabricatos esse Cyclopas in Aetna putes."

dum] One of the old commentators quaintly observes, that while his wife is dancing Vulcan is sweating.

8. *urit*] This seems to be an adaptation of φλέγει, 'lights up,' and is an unusual sense for 'uro.' Rutgersius therefore preferred the reading 'visit,' which occurs in some MSS. of high character. He quotes Apollon. Rhod. iii. 41:

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν (Ἥφαιστος) εἰς χαλκέωνα καὶ ἄκμονας ἦρι βεβήκει
νήσοιο πλαγκτῆς εὐρὺν μυχὸν, ᾧ ἔνι πάντα
δαίδαλα χαλκεύειν ῥιπῇ πυρός· ἡ δ' (Ἀφροδίτη) ἄρα μούνη
ἧστο δόμῳ δινωτὸν ἀνὰ θρόνον ἀντὰ θυράων,

where there is certainly a resemblance to this passage of Horace, but not strong enough to make it probable he had it in his memory when he wrote this ode. By a rather remarkable coincidence Bentley appears to have hit upon these lines of Apollonius, and to have made them a part of his argument for 'visit,' without knowing that Rutgersius, with whose notes he was familiar, had done the same before him. Scaliger proposed 'urget,' which is farther from the true reading than 'visit,' between which and 'urit' the preponderance of evidence and probability is greatly in

Nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput impedire myrto
Aut flore terrae quem ferunt solutae.
Nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis,
Seu poscat agnam sive malit haedum.
Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
Regumque turres. O beate Sesti,
Vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam.
Jam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes

favour of the latter. Why should the copyists have changed 'visit' into 'urit?' The reverse would be intelligible. That it is said of Venus (C. iii. 28. 15), "Paphon junctis visit oloribus," is no argument at all. Ovid (Fast. iv. 473) has "Antraque Cyclopum positis exusta caminis," which was possibly imitated from this.

9. *nitidum*] sleek with oil. There is no necessity to suppose, with Rutgersius, that this refers to the practice of matrons bathing with myrtle crowns on the 1st of April.

11. *Fauno decet immolare*] The Faunalia took place on the Ides of December. But a lesser festival was observed on the Ides of February, at the advent of Faunus (Pan, the two being, as is well known, identified by the later Romans). See C. iii. 18. Ovid, Fast. ii. 193: "Idibus agrestis fumant altaria Fauni." At that time the flocks and herds went out to graze, and the god was invoked for their protection. 'Immolare' admits of two constructions: with an ablative, as (Livy xli. 18) "immolantibus Jovi singulis bubus," and with an accusative, as (Virg. Aen. x. 519) "inferias quas immolet umbris." Horace himself has the latter construction elsewhere (S. ii. 3. 164): "Immolet aequis hic porcum Laribus." So Virgil (Ecl. iii. 77), "faciam vitula." Servius quotes this passage as having the ablative case of the victim. But it appears (according to Orelli, who however has 'agna' and 'haedo') that in the tables of the Fratres Arvales the accusative is used with 'immolare,' and the ablative with 'facere;' and the reason is obvious: the latter is an elliptical expression in which 'sacrum' is understood, as Fea remarks. The MSS. vary. If the accusative be the true reading, as I believe it is, the ablative may have got into the MSS. without any remarkable oversight; 'agnam' would be written 'agnā,' and 'haedom' (for 'haedum') would be written 'haedō.' These marks were frequently omitted through haste or carelessness. Ven. has 'agnam' and 'aedos,' where it seems probable that the MS. followed by Landinus had the mark 'ā' in the first word, but omitted it in the second, and that the editor added the 's' to 'haedo;' or that this had been done by the copyist of the MS. he followed. Most of the modern editors have adopted the reading with the ablative. Lambinus has the accusative, which is approved by Rutgersius.

13. *pulsat*] Ovid, Heroid. xxi. 46, "Persephone nostras pulsat acerba fores."

14. *Reges*] This word is commonly applied to the rich by Horace (S. i. 2. 86), and by Terence too, as Phormio (i. 2. 20): "Oh! regem me esse opertuit." Sestius was a favourite of Fortune, as a reference to his life will show. "Beatus dicitur qui multa habens sine malo aliquo degit" is Cicero's definition. [Horace here uses 'beatus' in the sense of rich, as in S. ii. 8. 1; C. ii. 4. 13; iii. 7. 3; iv. 9. 46, &c. Ritter.]

16. *premet*] From this word, which belongs more properly to 'nox,' we must understand appropriate words for 'Manes' and 'domus.' Orelli supplies 'circumvolitabunt' and 'teget.'

fabulaeque Manes] This is explained by Juv. S. ii. 149:—

"Esse aliquos Manes ——
Nec pueri credunt nisi qui nondum aere lavantur."

Horace may have had in mind the following epigram of Callimachus:—

ὦ Χαρίδα, τί τὰ νέρθε; πολὺ σκότος· αἱ δ' ἄνοδοι τί;
ψεῦδος· ὁ δὲ Πλούτων; μῦθος· ἀπωλόμεθα.

Persius has imitated Horace, S. v. 152: "cinis et Manes et fabula fies." 'Fabulae' therefore signifies 'unreal.' Propert. on the contrary says (iv. 7. 1), "Sunt aliquid Manes; letum non omnia finit."—'Exilis' is variously interpreted, either as 'bare,' as it is in Epp. i. 6. 45: "Exilis domus est qua non et multa supersunt," or 'shadowy,' or 'narrow,' meaning the grave, which is called 'Leti domus,' 'Ditis aeterna domus'

Et domus exilis Plutonia: quo simul mearis,
Nec regna vini sortiere talis
Nec tenerum Lycidan mirabere, quo calet juventus
Nunc omnis et mox virgines tepebunt.

in an ancient epitaph given at length by Rutgersius in his Lect. Venus. He understands it in the last sense, and so does Cruquius; Bentley and others in the first; Orelli in either of the two first. I prefer the first. ["Domus 'exilis' appellatur, quod angusto spatio ingens multitudo inanium umbrarum stipata est." Ritter.] For other instances of 'simul' for 'simul ac' see Index.—'Mirabere,' as expressing affection, savours of the Greek θαυμάζειν (Epod. iii. 10).

18. *talis*] 'Such wine as this!' is the interpretation which marvellously pleases (mirifice placet) Baxter and Gesner. No man, say they, can have a true taste for wine or poetry, who does not adopt it.

CARMEN V.

Of this ode Scaliger pronounces that it is "pure nectar." Its beauty all admit. That it expresses any but a poetical jealousy on the part of Horace I do not believe. That Pyrrha was a freedwoman of exquisite beauty but loose character, and one of Horace's early loves, is all imagination, and we have no clue to the origin of the poem, which expresses a lover's jealousy under the pretence of being glad of escape from the toils of an inconstant mistress. Milton's translation of the ode is well known.

ARGUMENT.

What pretty boy art thou toying with now, Pyrrha? He thinks, poor credulous youth, it will always be thus with thee, and will timidly wonder when the tempest ariseth. I pity those who have no experience of thee; for my part I have escaped out of the storm as the walls of the Sea-god show, whereon my dripping garments and the picture of my wreck are hung.

Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa
Perfusus liquidis urget odoribus
Grato, Pyrrha, sub antro?
Cui flavam religas comam
Simplex munditiis? Heu quoties fidem
Mutatosque deos flebit et aspera
Nigris aequora ventis
Emirabitur insolens

1. *multa—in rosa*] "Et caput in verna semper habere rosa," Prop. iii. 5. 22. It is equivalent to στεφάνοις πυκασθείς, Eur. Alc. 796, which is expressed like this of Horace by the same author (Herc. Fur. 676), μὴ ζῴην μετ' ἀμουσίας, αἰεὶ δ' ἐν στεφάνοισιν εἴην. So Cicero de Fin. ii. 20: "potantem in rosa." Tusc. v. 26: "An tu me in viola putabas aut in rosa dicere?" [On a bed strewed with roses, as Ritter properly explains it. Compare 'multo milite,' C. i. 15. 6.]

2. *liquidis—odoribus*] Pliny (N. H. xiii. 2) thus describes 'sicci odores:' "Siccis odoribus constant quae diapasmata vocantur." 'Sicci odores' were made by pounding dry things. 'Liquidi odores' were 'unguenta,' oils.

5. *Simplex munditiis*] 'Munditia,' in the singular and plural, signifies elegance of dress without pretension. Ovid, A. A. iii. 133: "munditiis capimur: non sint sine lege capilli."

8. *Emirabitur*] This word is not found

Qui nunc te fruitur credulus aurea;
Qui semper vacuam, semper amabilem
Sperat nescius aurae
Fallacis. Miseri quibus
Intentata nites! Me tabula sacer
Votiva paries indicat uvida
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris deo.

in other good authors. It is a stronger form of 'miror,' which is a common effect of 'e' and 'de' in composition, as among many other instances, 'decertantem' in the third ode. 'Demiror' is a word used by Cicero and others, and adopted here by some editors; but there is nothing to object to in 'emirabitur,' which is the reading of all the MSS. Bentley conjectures 'ut mirabitur;' but he does not insert it in the text. 'Insolens' is either used absolutely or with a genitive.

9. *aurea*] 'All gold' is Milton's translation, and none other that I know of will do. The reader's own tact must fill up the idea, which is a complex one. It is not merely "illa meis oculis aurea semper erit," as Ovid says, nor only "auro contra cara est," as Plautus. It implies perfection, just as 'aurea mediocritas' signifies that perfect state which transgresses neither to the right nor to the left.

10. *vacuam*] "Elige de vacuis quam non sibi vindicet alter," Ov. Herod. xx. 149. See also C. i. 6. 19: "Cantamus vacui sive quid urimur."—'Amabilem' Gesner understands actively. It may be either, or both. See C. i. 3. 22.

12. *tabula*] This practice of persons escaped from shipwreck hanging up in the temple of Neptune or other sea-god a picture representing their wreck and the clothes they escaped in, is mentioned twice again by Horace, S. ii. 1. 33; A. P. 20. Also among many others by Virgil, Aen. xii. 768:

"Servati ex undis ubi figere dona solebant
Laurenti divo, et votas suspendere vestes."

The temples of Isis were thus adorned after the introduction of her worship into Rome, which was not till the latter years of the Republic. She was worshipped in Greece as Πελαγία, and the Romans placed themselves under her protection at sea. Tibullus says to her (i. 3. 27):—

"Nunc, dea, nunc succurre mihi; nam posse mederi
Picta docet templis multa tabella tuis."

And Juvenal asks (S. xii. 28): "Pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci?"

15. *potenti—maris*] Milton translates "the stern god of sea," not observing that 'potens' governs 'maris' as "potens Cypri," C. i. 3. 1, and 'lyrae potens,' C. i. 6. 10.

CARMEN VI.

A.U.C. 725.

Notwithstanding Agrippa's close connexion with Augustus, it is very probable that between that stern man and Horace there was but little sympathy or intercourse, and without personal affection his muse did not rise to its highest flights in the way of personal eulogy. And during the time that he was writing the odes which compose the three first books, judging by their character we may believe that he really felt unequal or indisposed for singing the praises of a military hero, and that he considered such subjects unsuited to him. Twice he checks himself when he gets upon heroic themes (C. ii. 1. 37; iii. 3. 69), but not till he has shown how competent he was, had he pleased, to have handled them, as he showed when he resumed this style of composition in later years, and wrote that noble ode in praise of Drusus (iv. 4).

It has been conjectured with probability, and it is confirmed by a Scholium, that this ode was written soon after the battle of Actium, when Agrippa's glory was at its height. It would seem that the general had asked Horace to write an ode in his honour; but he had the good sense to decline a task which he might not have executed satisfactorily to the great man or himself: at the same time he declined in the most graceful way by intimating that Agrippa deserved an Epic rather than an ode, and the pen of Varius rather than of Horace. As to this L. Varius Rufus, see S. i. 5. 40 n.

ARGUMENT.

Varius shall sing in Homeric strain of thy victories by sea and land. My humble muse dares not sing of these, of the wrath of Achilles, or the wanderings of Ulysses, or the fate of Pelops' house, nor will she disparage thy glories and Caesar's. Who can fitly sing of Mars mail-clad, of Meriones black with the dust of Troy, of Diomed a match for gods? I sing but of feasts and of the battles of boys and girls.

SCRIBERIS Vario fortis et hostium
Victor Maeonii carminis alite,
Quam rem cunque ferox navibus aut equis
  Miles te duce gesserit.
Nos, Agrippa, neque haec dicere nec gravem
Pelidae stomachum cedere nescii
Nec cursus duplicis per mare Ulixei
  Nec saevam Pelopis domum

2. *carminis alite*] 'Alite' is in apposition with Vario. Because in prose the ablative of the agent without a preposition is not admissible, 'alite,' which is the reading of all the MSS., has been sometimes altered to 'aliti.' But Horace has the same construction Epp. i. 1. 94: "Curatus inaequali tonsore.". S. ii. 1. 84: "Laudatus Caesare." C. iii. 5. 24: "Marte populata nostro." Orelli's note about the ablative absolute would not explain one in ten of the instances in which this poetical construction occurs. It is most frequently found in Ovid. The Scholiasts Acron and Comm. Cruq. finding 'alite,' and not connecting it with 'Vario,' rendered it as if it were 'under the auspices of Homeric verse,' and they have found some followers.

3. *Quam rem cunque*] The construction is by attraction. The full expression would be 'scriberis et scribetur omnis res quamcunque.' Muretus' reading is 'qua rem cunque' for 'wherever,' which Bentley adopts in his text with a great deal of his own sort of argument, which brings no conviction to plain minds. The MSS. do not vary. Bentley calls to his assistance, as 'vir eruditus,' one whose cumbrous pedantry he would have been the first to discover, had he not found occasion to agree with him, Walter Chabot, whose ponderous commentary I have attempted to make use of in vain. Agrippa's great success up to this time had been in the Perusian war (in which he had the principal command under Augustus), in Gaul and Germany, by land; and against Sex. Pompey and at Actium, by sea.—'Te duce' is used advisedly, as the 'auspicia' belonged only to Augustus.

5. *neque haec—nec gravem*] This is as if he had said: 'I should not think of singing of these victories any more than I should of the wrath of Achilles.' Compare C. iii. 5. 27—30:

"— neque amissos colores
  Lana refert medicata fuco,
Nec vera virtus cum semel excidit
  Curat reponi deterioribus."

'As the stained wool does not recover its lost colour, so true virtue once lost will not be replaced by the baser sort.' 'Gravem stomachum' is plainly a translation of μῆνιν οὐλομένην, and 'cedere nescii' is explained by 'inexorabilis,' A. P. 121. This construction with 'nescius' is not uncommon. Aen. xii. 527: "Rumpuntur nescia vinci pectora." Ovid, Ep. ex Pont. ii. 9. 45: "Marte ferox et vinci nescius armis."

7. *duplicis*] διπλοῦς. This quality of

Conamur tenues grandia, dum pudor
Imbellisque lyrae Musa potens vetat
Laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas
  Culpa deterere ingeni.
Quis Martem tunica tectum adamantina
Digne scripserit aut pulvere Troico
Nigrum Merionem aut ope Palladis
  Tydiden superis parem?
Nos convivia, nos proelia virginum
Sectis in juvenes unguibus acrium
Cantamus vacui, sive quid urimur
  Non praeter solitum leves.

Ulysses is vehemently described by Hecuba in Euripides' play of the Trojan Women (v. 285):—

ὃς πάντα τἀκεῖθεν ἐνθάδ'
ἀντίπαλ' αὖθις ἐκεῖσε διπτύχῳ γλώσσᾳ
φίλα τὰ πρότερ' ἄφιλα τιθέμενος πάντων.

Hector says of himself (Rhesus, 394):—

φιλῶ λέγειν
τἀληθὲς ἀεὶ κοὐ διπλοῦς πέφυκ' ἀνήρ.

Several MSS. have 'duplices,' which those editors who adopt it explain of the voyage to and from Troy; but they do not explain what there was in the first to make the subject of a poem. 'Duplices' is a mistake, though it appears in the oldest Blandinian MS., and is so quoted by Priscian. ap. Bentley, who proposes 'reducis.'

8. *saevam Pelopis domum*] Alluding to Varius' tragedy Thyestes, of which Quintilian (x. 1. 98) says, "Varii Thyestes cuilibet Graecorum comparari potest." It is probable, however, the comparison would not have been fatal to the Grecian muse. A conspective view of the atrocities of this unfortunate house, as they are so often referred to, may not be out of place here, or without its moral. The founder, Tantalus, served up his own son Pelops at a feast of the gods. Pelops, restored to life, murdered Oenomaus, his father-in-law, and his own son Chrysippus (Thucyd. i. 9). Atreus, the son of Pelops, murdered and placed before their father as a meal the children of Thyestes, his brother, who had previously seduced the wife of Atreus. Atreus was killed by Aegisthus, his nephew and supposed son, who also seduced the wife of his cousin, Agamemnon (the son of Atreus), who was murdered by the said wife Clytemnestra, and she by her son Orestes, who was pursued to madness by the Erinnyes of his mother: all which events furnished themes for the Greek tragedians, and were by them varied in their features as suited their purpose, or according to the different legends they followed.

11. *Laudes*] The Scholiasts (on Epp. i. 16. 27) affirm that Varius wrote a panegyric on Augustus (Porphyrion calls it 'notissimum panegyricum'), and it seems that Horace means indirectly to refer to it here.

[15. *ope Palladis*] See Homer, Il. v.]

18. *Sectis*] Bentley having proposed with much confidence 'strictis,' and adopted it in his text, afterwards gave way to the general opinion of scholars, and withdrew his emendation. See Museum Criticum, 1814, i. p. 194. 'Strictis' has a barbarous air. In 'sectis' there is an agreeable irony. [Ritter mistranslates it 'gespitzt.']

19. *sive quid urimur*] For 'quid' Lambinus has 'quod' on the authority of many of his MSS., 'quod' signifying 'because.' 'Quid' is more elegant. The omission of 'sive' has been noticed before (C. i. 3. 15).

CARMEN VII.

L. Munatius Plancus, who followed C. Julius Caesar both in Gaul and in his war with Pompey, after Caesar's death attached himself to the republican party, but very soon afterwards joined Augustus; then followed Antony to the East, and A.U.C. 722, the year before Actium, joined Augustus again. It is supposed that about this time, perhaps at the suggestion of Augustus, who was anxious to secure Plancus and to keep him from leaving Italy, Horace wrote him this ode while his mind was perplexed and he was perhaps meditating retirement from Rome to Greece.

I think all this is very doubtful, and with Estré (p. 308) I cannot but think it uncertain whether this Plancus is intended at all. It may have been his son, who is probably the Munatius referred to in Epp. i. 3. 31, or some other Plancus. But even if the father be the man, I cannot see any such serious purpose in the ode as the above theory implies, nor do I believe Augustus attached any such value to the renegade's assistance. He appears to have been a contemptible person. That the temple of Janus was not closed at the time is true (v. 20); but that does not fix the date before the battle of Actium. I think the name of Plancus is again used more as a convenience than any thing else, though there is perhaps a little more individuality given to this ode than to the fourth. The story of Teucer has all the appearance of a Greek origin.

L. Munatius Plancus, above referred to, was consul in A.U.C. 712. See C. iii. 14. 27.

"Non ego hoc ferrem, calidus juventa,
Consule Planco."

ARGUMENT.

Let others sing of the noble cities of Greece, and dedicate their lives to the celebration of Athens and all its glories. For my part I care not for Lacedaemon and Larissa, as for Albunea's cave, the banks of Anio, and the woods and orchards of Tibur. The sky is not always dark, Plancus—drown care in wine, whether in the camp or in the shades of Tibur. As Teucer, though driven from his father's home, bound poplar on his head and cheered his companions, saying, "Let us follow fortune, my friends, kinder than a father: despair not while Teucer is your chief; Apollo has promised us another Salamis; drown care in wine, for to-morrow we will seek the deep once more."

LAUDABUNT alii claram Rhodon aut Mytilenen
Aut Epheson bimarisve Corinthi
Moenia vel Baccho Thebas vel Apolline Delphos
Insignes aut Thessala Tempe.
Sunt quibus unum opus est intactae Palladis urbem

1. *Laudabunt*] This future is like 'scriberis' in the last ode (v. 1), 'others shall if they please.' 'Claram' perhaps the Schol. Acron is correct in rendering 'bright' with reference to its cloudless skies, like those of Syracuse, where Cicero says one might on some part of every day get a sight of the sun (In Verr. ii. 5. 10.) 'Mytilene' is written 'Mitylenae' or 'Mytilenae' in the MSS. of Cicero, who thus describes it (de Leg. Agr. ii. 16), "Quid Mytilenae? urbs et natura et situ et descriptione aedificiorum et pulchritudine imprimis nobilis: agri jucundi et fertiles." The coins have very regularly ΜΥΤΙΛ. I am not aware that any writers except Horace and Ovid, who imitated many of Horace's expressions, used the word 'bimaris,' which is equivalent to ἀμφιθάλασσον as Xenophon calls Athens (Vect. i. 7, and to διθάλασσος.

[4. *Thessala Tempe*] 'Tempe' is a contracted plural, as appears from the form of the word in Herodotus (vii. 173), ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα.]

5. *Sunt quibus*] 'There are those who make it the single business of their lives to

Carmine perpetuo celebrare et
Undique decerptam fronti praeponere olivam.
Plurimus in Junonis honorem
Aptum dicet equis Argos ditesque Mycenas.
Me nec tam patiens Lacedaemon
Nec tam Larissae percussit campus opimae,
Quam domus Albuneae resonantis

tell of chaste Minerva's city in unbroken song, and to gather a branch from every olive to entwine their brow.' A 'perpetuum carmen' is a continuous poem (Ovid, Met. i. 4); and 'a branch from every olive,' or more literally 'an olive-branch from every quarter,' can only mean that the various themes connected with the glory of Athens are as olive-trees, from each of which a branch is plucked to bind the poet's brow. The figure is appropriate to the locality (Herod. v. 82. Soph. Oed. Col. 694 sqq.). Following the conjecture of Erasmus, Lambinus and many of the earlier editors, including Dacier, preferred reading 'undique decerptae frondi praeponere olivam,' 'to prefer the olive to boughs gathered from all other trees.' But as Bentley shows, there is no necessity for altering the reading of all the MSS. which is that of the text. 'Indeque' (omitting 'et') would not be a bad emendation, if emendation were wanted. It is adopted by Mitsch. 'Arces' is the reading of some MSS. for 'urbem,' and Bentley adopts it on the usual ground, that it is the less likely word of the two to have been coined, but the best MSS. have 'urbem.'

8. ['Plurimus' is sometimes supposed to be equivalent to 'plurimi;' others take it in the sense of 'copious,' 'one who expends much labour on his subject.'] 'In honorem,' 'to do honour to.' Propertius (iv. 6. 13) says, "Caesaris in nomen ducuntur carmina," which is an analogous case. See Hom. Il. iv. 51:

> ἦ τοι ἐμοὶ τρεῖς μὲν πολὺ φίλταταί εἰσι πόληες,
> Ἄργος τε Σπάρτη τε καὶ εὐρυάγυια Μυκήνη.

[Argos is used only in the nom. and accus. neuters of the singular. The Latin plural is 'Argi,' '-orum.'] 'Dites Mycenas' is later: Μυκήνας τὰς πολυχρύσους (Soph. Elect. 9). 'Opimae Larissae' is Homeric; Λάρισσα ἐριβώλαξ (Il. ii. 841). 'Patiens' is the Spartan's historical character, but also that of Horace's age, and he may have been at Lacedaemon and Larissa in his campaigning. Cicero (Tusc. v. 27) says, "Pueri Spartiatae non ingemiscunt verberum dolore laniati. Adolescentium greges Lacedaemone vidimus ipsi incredibili contentione certantes pugnis, calcibus, unguibus, morsu denique, ut exanimarentur prius quam se victos faterentur." 'Percussit' is generally used with the ablative of the instrument or cause. Standing alone in this way and in the aoristic perfect it savours very much of ἔπληξε, and the ode has traces of the Greek in nearly every part.

12. *Albuneae resonantis*] One of the Sibyls worshipped at Tibur gave her name to a grove and fountain. See Virg. (Aen. vii. 81 sqq.):

> "lucosque sub alta
> Consulit Albunea: nemorum quae maxima sacro
> Fonte sonat."

13. *Tiburni lucus*] Tiburnus (or -tus) Catillus and Coras were the mythical founders of Tibur. Aen. vii. 670:

> "Tum gemini fratres Tiburtia moenia linquunt,
> Fratris Tiburti dictam cognomine gentem."

The brothers had a 'cultus' there and a grove. Tiburnus was the tutelar deity of Tibur, as Tiberinus was of the river Tiber, Anienus of the Anio, &c. They are in fact adjectives. Tibur was famous for its orchards. See Prop. iv. 7. 81: "Pomosis Anio qua spumifer incubat arvis;" and Ovid, Am. iii. 6. 45: "Tiburis Argei pomifera arva rigas" (if Bentley is right in reading 'pomifera' for 'spumifer').

14. As early as the Schol. Porphyrion there were those who divided the ode at this place into two; and in some MSS. this division is found and a fresh inscription for the latter half. "Hanc Oden quidam putant aliam esse, sed eadem est." Porph.

Et praeceps Anio ac Tiburni lucus et uda
  Mobilibus pomaria rivis.
Albus ut obscuro deterget nubila caelo
  Saepe Notus neque parturit imbres
Perpetuo, sic tu sapiens finire memento
  Tristitiam vitaeque labores
Molli, Plance, mero, seu te fulgentia signis
  Castra tenent seu densa tenebit
Tiburis umbra tui. Teucer Salamina patremque
  Cum fugeret tamen uda Lyaeo
Tempora populea fertur vinxisse corona,
  Sic tristes affatus amicos:
Quo nos cunque feret melior fortuna parente
  Ibimus, o socii comitesque.
Nil desperandum Teucro duce et auspice Teucro;
  Certus enim promisit Apollo
Ambiguam tellure nova Salamina futuram.
  O fortes pejoraque passi
Mecum saepe viri, nunc vino pellite curas;
  Cras ingens iterabimus aequor.

15. *Albus Notus*] This is the λευκόνοτος of the Greeks. We have also 'candidi Favonii' (C. iii. 7. 1) and 'albus Iapyx' in (C. iii. 27. 19), where it represents a treacherous wind. Horace prefers the forms in 'eo,' as 'deterget,' 'tergere' (S. ii. 2. 24), 'densentur' (C. i. 28. 19).

19. *fulgentia signis*] The standards in front of the 'praetorium' were decorated with gold or silver.

In 'tenebit' the commentators find support for their opinion that this ode was written to induce Plancus to settle quietly; as if the future implied 'whether you mean (as I hope you do) to take possession of your villa at Tibur.'

21. *Teucer—fugeret*] [See Velleius, i. 1, and Strabo, p. 682. Teucer is said to have founded Salamis in Cyprus.] 'Cum fugeret tamen' is an imitation of the Greek καὶ φεύγων ὅμως. This use of 'tamen' is not uncommon in Cicero, as "Quod quum ita sit, nihil fingam tamen" (Verr. Act. ii. 2. 73, where Mr. Long has given other instances). Teucer selected Hercules as his protector, and so wore a crown of his poplar.

27. *duce et auspice*] Horace puts technical distinctions into Teucer's lips of which he could know nothing; nevertheless there is no necessity for Bentley's alteration, 'auspice Phoebo.' ['Auspice Teucri,' Apollinem dicit. Keller.] 'Certus' is equivalent to σαφής in εἰ Ζεὺς ἔτι Ζεὺς χὠ Διὸς Φοῖβος σαφής (Oed. Col. 623).

29. *Ambiguam*] Salamis in Cyprus might be confounded with Teucer's island Salamis.

[32. *iterabimus*] Compare C. i. 34, 'iterare cursus,' and C. ii. 19. 12, 'iterare mella.']

CARMEN VIII.

The principle of identification has led to strange confusion and inventions respecting the name assumed in this ode. I find from Estré that one scholar has affirmed, that by Lydia Horace meant Julia, and by Sybaris Marcellus. The reader has only to compare the odes in which this name occurs, and he will form his own opinion. Here there is no sign of jealousy, but anxiety for the reputation of Sybaris; in C. i. 13 there is violent jealousy of Telephus; in iii. 9 there is a lover's coquetting and reconciliation; while in i. 25 Lydia is a worn-out prostitute looking for lovers who will not come. If we had more of Anacreon's poetry to guide us, we should probably see such traces of the origin of all these odes as would put the matter in the right light. The name of Sybaris is obviously intended to represent the character into which the youth has fallen.

ARGUMENT.

Lydia, why art thou spoiling Sybaris thus, so that he shuns all manly exercises? He who was once so active, why does he no longer ride, and swim, and wrestle, and throw the quoit and javelin in the Campus Martius? Why does he hide himself with thee, like Achilles, in woman's apparel?

Lydia, dic, per omnes
Te deos oro, Sybarin cur properas amando
Perdere; cur apricum
Oderit campum patiens pulveris atque solis?
Cur neque militaris
Inter aequales equitat, Gallica nec lupatis
Temperat ora frenis?
Cur timet flavum Tiberim tangere? Cur olivum
Sanguine viperino
Cautius vitat, neque jam livida gestat armis
Brachia saepe disco,
Saepe trans finem jaculo nobilis expedito?
Quid latet, ut marinae
Filium dicunt Thetidis sub lacrimosa Trojae
Funera ne virilis
Cultus in caedem et Lycias proriperet catervas?

2. *properas*] The reading of nearly all the MSS. is 'properes;' but the Scholiasts had 'properas,' and Bentley has said, I think truly, that the other reading probably arose out of 'oderit.' But that word has an indicative sense, and the direct form seems better throughout. Most modern editors, including Bentley, have 'properes,' and some good MSS. have 'equitet,' 'temperet,' which are adopted by Lambinus, Cruquius, and others. They were stopped by 'timet,' or they would probably have changed 'vitat' and 'gestat' into the subjunctive.

[9. *Sanguine viperino*] See Epod. iii. 6.]

[14. *sub—funera*] 'Just before the lamentable slaughters.' In C. 9 'sub noctem,' 'just before night,' 'at night fall.' See Epod. ii. 44 n.]

CARMEN IX.

This is a drinking-song for the winter, imitated from an ode of Alcaeus, of which the following fragment has been preserved in Athenaeus (34 Bergk):

ὕει μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐκ δ' ὀρανῶ μέγας
χείμων, πεπάγασιν δ' ὑδάτων ῥόαι
*   *   *   *
*   *   *   *
κάββαλλε τὸν χείμων' ἐπὶ μὲν τιθεὶς
πῦρ, ἐν δὲ κίρναις οἶνον ἀφειδέως
μέλιχρον, αὐτὰρ ἀμφὶ κόρσᾳ
μάλθακον ἀμφιτίθη γνόφαλλον.

Though the obvious fact that this ode is a close imitation of a Greek writer might well lead us to believe that it is a mere work of art, some of the chronologists have found it a date, each according to his own views. Dillenburger thinks it was written soon after the battle of Philippi, when Horace's friends were apt to dwell on unpleasant topics, and required to have their spirits kept up. Jani supposes it was written at the country-house of one Thaliarchus, not far from Mount Soracte. Buttmann, too, thinks this is a proper name (though of course fictitious), in which I see no reason to agree with him.

ARGUMENT.

See Soracte stands out with snow, the woods are bending with their burthen, and the sharp frost hath frozen the streams. Heap logs on the fire, and draw your best Sabine wine, feast-master, and leave the rest to the gods, at whose bidding the fierce winds are still and the woods have rest. Ask not what is to come: enjoy the present day; let the dance be ours while we are young, the Campus Martius, the promenade, the nightly assignation, and the coy girl that loves to be caught.

VIDES ut alta stet nive candidum
Soracte, nec jam sustineant onus
Silvae laborantes geluque
Flumina constiterint acuto.
Dissolve frigus ligna super foco
Large reponens, atque benignius
Deprome quadrimum Sabina,
O thaliarche, merum diota.

1. *stet*] This signifies a fixed and prominent appearance which perhaps is best expressed by the words I have used in the Argument. 'Stant lumina flamma' (Aen. vi. 300) might perhaps be rendered in the same way, and "Stant et juniperi et castaneae hirsutae" (Virg. Ecl. vii. 53), "Jam pulvere caelum stare vident" (Aen. xii. 407), have something of the same meaning. Soracte was one of the Faliscan range of hills, about 2200 feet high, and 24 miles from Rome. It is now called Monte San Oreste. There is a miserable village of that name at the S.E. end of the range (Westphal, Die Römische Kampagne, p. 139). Soracte is clearly seen from the northern point of the city. Apollo had a temple there: "Summe deum sancti custos Soractis Apollo," Aen. xi. 785.

4. *constiterint*] See Ov. Tr. v. 10. 1: "Ut sumus in Ponto ter frigore constitit Ister." 'Acuto' corresponds to the ὀξεῖα χιών of Pindar (Pyth. i. 20), and 'penetrabile frigus' of Virgil. But Horace also applies it to heat (Epp. i. 10. 17): "Cum semel accepit solem furibundus acutum."

7. *Deprome quadrimum Sabina,—diota*] The first of these words may signify either

Permitte divis cetera, qui simul
Stravere ventos aequore fervido
Deproeliantes nec cupressi
Nec veteres agitantur orni.
Quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere, et
Quem Fors dierum cunque dabit lucro
Appone, nec dulces amores
Sperne puer neque tu choreas,
Donec virenti canities abest
Morosa. Nunc et campus et areae
Lenesque sub noctem susurri
Composita repetantur hora;

taking down the jar from the 'apotheca' or drawing the wine from the 'diota' (which is the same as the 'amphora,' 'testa,' or 'cadus') into the crater or bowl in which it was mixed with water. Here it means the latter. The name of the wine is applied to the vessel containing it here, as in 'Graeca testa' (i. 20. 2); 'Laestrygonia amphora' (iii. 16. 34). Sabine wine was not among the best, nor was it of the worst sort. It was a sweet wine, and probably after four years' keeping was in its prime. Horace calls it elsewhere (C. i. 20. 1) "vile Sabinum," but that was as compared with Maecenas' more expensive sorts. Of the other Italian wines that Horace mentions, the best was from the Caecubus ager in the south of Latium; the second in rank was the Falernian, of which there were several varieties. An inferior sort came from Surrentum (also in Campania), which was improved by mixing with Falernian dregs (S. ii. 4. 55). On a par with Falernian he seems to place the wine of the Alban hills (S. ii. 8. 16). The wine of the Massic range was apparently of delicate flavour (S. ii. 5. 54). Among the costly wines of the rich he mentions the Calenian from Cales, now Calvi, in Campania, and that of the Formian hills (C. i. 20. 9, 11). The worst wine he speaks of (S. ii. 3. 143) was from the neighbourhood of Veii, a red wine (Mart. i. 104. 9, "Veientani bibitur faex crassa rubelli"). There were other wines of different qualities grown in Italy, the best of which, and placed by Augustus above Caecuban, was the Setine, from Setia (Sezza) in the Volscian territory. Westphal says a good wine is still grown there. The Romans also imported wines from the Aegean and Asia Minor, of which Horace mentions those from the islands of Cos, Lesbos, and Chios. Of these the first was a white wine, the second seems to have been the least powerful, the third was most highly valued. He speaks of Mareotic wine from the neighbourhood of Alexandria (C. i. 37. 14), the vine producing which Virgil mentions (Georg. ii. 91). But it does not appear that it was drunk at Rome. Horace's classification does not agree altogether with Pliny's.

[9. *qui simul*] Compare 'quorum simul,' C. i. 12. 27, and 'simul atra,' ii. 16. 2.]

14. *Fors*] 'Chance.' Cic. (De Leg. ii. 11) distinguishes 'Fors' from 'Fortuna' thus: "Fortuna valet in omnes dies; Fors in quo incerti casus significantur magis." 'Fors' and 'Sors' differ as cause and effect:

"Qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo quam sibi sortem
Seu ratio dederit seu Fors objecerit."

(S. i. 1. 1). Nevertheless the Scholiasts Acron and Porph. appear to have read 'Sors,' and several editors since. Bentley reads 'Fors.' [As to 'quem—cunque, compare C. i. 6. 3; 7. 25.]

lucro appone] Cic. Ad Div. 9. 17: "de lucro prope jam quadriennium novimus," i. e. of good luck and contrary to expectation. Liv. (40, c. 8) has the same expression: "De lucro vivere me scito." [Comp. 'illi . . apponet annos' (C. ii. 5. 14); and Terence, 'postulare id gratiae apponi sibi' (Andr. ii. 1. 31).]

17. *virenti*] Epod. 13. 4: "dumque virent genua." Ποιῆν τε δεῖ ἇς γόνυ χλωρόν, Theoc. xiv. 70; and Wuestemann's examples. Propert. iv. 5. 57: "Dum vernat sanguis, dum rugis integer annus." The same expression is also applied to old age. Tac. Agr. 29: "cruda et viridis senectus." [Conington (Aen. i. 374) suggests that 'composita hora' may mean 'evening;' but

Nunc et latentis proditor intimo
Gratus puellae risus ab angulo,
  Pignusque dereptum lacertis
    Aut digito male pertinaci.

'sub noctem' expresses the time, and 'composita' is equivalent to 'constituta.' Comp. Juv. Sat. iii. 12.]

18. *areae*] Courts and open places about the temples and in different parts of the town, used as promenades and for games. 'Any place in a city not built upon' is the jurist's definition of 'area.' [(Dig. 50. 16. 211.) 'Ponendaeque domo quaerenda est area primum' (Hor. Epp. i. 10. 13).]

23. *dereptum*] There is the usual variation in the MSS. here, some reading 'direptum.' See C. i. 1. 13 n.; iii. 5. 21 n. ['Male pertinaci,' 'which pretends to resist.']

CARMEN X.

This ode is said by the Scholiast Porphyrion to be taken from Alcaeus, and according to him is a mere translation, for he commences his commentary by calling it "Hymnus in Mercurium ab Alcaeo lyrico poeta." He says the story of Apollo's cows was invented by Alcaeus, aud his assertion is confirmed by Pausanias (vii. 20. 2): *βουσὶ γὰρ χαίρειν μάλιστα Ἀπόλλωνα Ἀλκαῖός τε ἐδήλωσεν ἐν ὕμνῳ τῷ εἰς Ἑρμῆν, γράψας ὡς ὁ Ἑρμῆς βοῦς ὑφέλοιτο τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.* The first line of a Sapphic ode of Alcaeus has been preserved, which seems to have been that which Horace imitated: *Χαῖρε Κυλλάνας ὁ μέδεις, σὲ γάρ μοι* (3 Bergk). The attributes and legends belonging to Hermes, the Greek divinity, are transferred to Mercurius the Latin, who was originally a different conception from Hermes. Ovid (Fast. v. 663 sqq.) gives much the same account of Mercurius in his happy manner. He also mentions the story of the cows. His description begins with the same apostrophe as this, 'Clare nepos Atlantis.'

ARGUMENT.

Mercury, thou who in their infancy didst tame the human race by the gifts of speech and the palaestra, of thee will I sing, thou messenger of the gods, thou master of the lyre and prince of thieves. Why, while Apollo was threatening thee for stealing his cows, he turned and laughed to find his quiver was gone. By thee Priam passed through the Grecian camp (Il. xxiv. 334). Thou conductedst souls to their last home, thou favourite of gods above and gods below!

Mercuri facunde nepos Atlantis,
Qui feros cultus hominum recentum
Voce formasti catus et decorae
  More palaestrae,
Te canam magni Jovis et deorum
Nuntium curvaeque lyrae parentem,
Callidum quidquid placuit jocoso
  Condere furto.

[2. *recentum*] 'Newly created.' Comp. Sat. i. 3. 99, &c. 'Voce,' by music, as Ritter says.]

Te boves olim nisi reddidisses
Per dolum amotas puerum minaci
Voce dum terret, viduus pharetra
  Risit Apollo.
Quin et Atridas duce te superbos
Ilio dives Priamus relicto
Thessalosque ignes et iniqua Trojae
  Castra fefellit.
Tu pias laetis animas reponis
Sedibus virgaque levem coërces
Aurea turbam, superis deorum
  Gratus et imis.

13. *Quin et*] See C. ii. 13. 37.

CARMEN XI.

The swarms of impostors from the East, that pretended to tell fortunes and cast nativities at Rome in the time of the empire, became a public nuisance, and they were expelled and laws passed against them, but without the effect of putting them down. Tacitus (Hist. i. 22) describes them as "Genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur." They were numerous in Cicero's time. He says (De Div. i. 19), "Contemnamus etiam Babylonios et eos qui e Caucaso caeli signa servantes numeris stellarum cursus et motus persequuntur." As might be supposed, they were most successful in engaging the attention of women (Juv. vi. 569 sqq.), and Horace here addresses himself to one of that sex, whom he calls Leuconoë, whether in compliment or otherwise may be doubted. Pindar expresses folly by λευκαὶ φρένες (Pyth. iv. 109).

ARGUMENT.

Look not into the book of fate, Leuconoë, nor consult the astrologers. How much better to be satisfied, whether we have yet many winters to see or this be the last! Be wise, strain the wine, think of the shortness of life, and cut your expectations short too. Even as we speak time flies—live to-day, trust not to-morrow.

Tu ne quaesieris, scire nefas, quem mihi, quem tibi
Finem di dederint, Leuconoë, nec Babylonios
Tentaris numeros. Ut melius quidquid erit pati,
Seu plures hiemes seu tribuit Juppiter ultimam,
Quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare
Tyrrhenum. Sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi
Spem longam reseces. Dum loquimur, fugerit invida
Aetas: carpe diem quam minimum credula postero.

[3. *Ut melius*] Cicero, De Lege Agraria, ii. 16: 'ut occulte latet, ut recondita est, ut furtim tota decemviris traditur.' In Epod. ii. 19, 'Ut gaudet,' &c., and v. 61, 'ut juvat.']

[6. *spatio brevi*] 'From the short span of life.' 'Vitae summa brevis,' C. i. 4. 15.]

CARMEN XII.

A.U.C. 725—729.

Marcellus married Julia, the daughter of Augustus, A.U.C. 729, and died 731. The allusion in v. 45 of this ode makes it quite certain that it was written before the death of Marcellus, and after he had attained an age in which he could give promise of sustaining the distinction of his name. The meaning of that stanza is plainly this: "The fame of the house of Marcellus, taking its birth from the great Claudius the victor of Syracuse, is growing up through successive generations like the insensible growth of a tree, and promises to come to maturity in Octavia's son." Franke thinks the ode was written before Augustus went against the Cantabrians in 729, and about the time of Marcellus' marriage, when he was only in his eighteenth year. Others place it after Augustus' return from Spain in A.U.C. 730, and the closing of the temple of Janus. I think with Franke some allusion to this event would have been made had the ode been written then. Torrentius thinks it was one of those hymns which by order of the Senate (according to Dion Cassius) were addressed to Augustus, as a god, after the battle of Actium. At that time Marcellus was in his fourteenth year, but even then Augustus was very fond of him and had great hopes of him. The poem has much of the appearance of an ode for music, but a hymn composed on the occasion Torrentius supposes could hardly have failed to allude to the successes it was intended to celebrate. I prefer Franke's opinion to the others; but there is no possibility in my judgment of fixing the date precisely. A.U.C. 729 appears to be the latest year to which it can be properly assigned, and 725 the earliest.

The opening is taken from the second Olympic ode of Pindar, which begins—

ἀναξιφόρμιγγες ὕμνοι
τίνα θεόν, τίν' ἥρωα, τίνα δ' ἄνδρα κελαδήσομεν;

But the rest of the ode seems to be original. Pindar asks whom he shall sing, and immediately sings of Theron. Horace, though he makes Augustus the climax of his song, goes through the praises of Jove and his children, and then of twelve of Rome's principal worthies, before he comes to Augustus. The common inscriptions, therefore, "AD AUGUSTUM," or "DE AUGUSTO," do not seem to express the scope of this ode, which is rather to celebrate the popular divinities and heroes of Rome than Augustus exclusively; though this design is so worked out as to draw the chief attention to him.

ARGUMENT.

Whom wilt thou sing among gods or men, Clio? Whose name shall the echoes of Helicon or Pindus repeat, or of Haemus whose woods followed the sweet music of Orpheus? Whom before the almighty Father, who knows no equal or second? After him cometh Pallas and then brave Liber, and the huntress Diana, and Phoebus the archer, and Hercules and Leda's sons, the horseman and the fighter, before whose star the tempests fly. Then shall it be Romulus, or the peaceful Numa, or proud Tarquin, or Cato that nobly died? Regulus, and the Scauri, and Paulus, who gave up his great soul to the Carthaginian gratefully, I will sing, and Fabricius, and Curius, and Camillus, all trained for war in poverty's school. The fame of Marcellus is growing up insensibly like a tree, and the star of Julius is brighter than all stars. To thee, great Father, is given the care of Caesar; share with him thy kingdom. Putting Parthians to flight and subduing the nations of the East, he shall rule the world as thy vicegerent with a righteous sway, while thou dost shake Olympus and hurlest thy bolts upon the haunts of impiety.

Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
Tibia sumis celebrare, Clio,
Quem deum? Cujus recinet jocosa
  Nomen imago
Aut in umbrosis Heliconis oris
Aut super Pindo, gelidove in Haemo
Unde vocalem temere insecutae
  Orphea silvae
Arte materna rapidos morantem
Fluminum lapsus celeresque ventos,
Blandum et auritas fidibus canoris
  Ducere quercus?
Quid prius dicam solitis parentis
Laudibus, qui res hominum ac deorum,
Qui mare ac terras variisque mundum
  Temperat horis?
Unde nil majus generatur ipso,
Nec viget quidquam simile aut secundum:
Proximos illi tamen occupavit
  Pallas honores.
Proeliis audax neque te silebo,
Liber, et saevis inimica virgo

2. *sumis celebrare*] See C. i. 1. 8 n. Horace invokes the Muses without much discrimination; but Clio is not improperly invoked here as the muse of history, to which the names of the worthies recounted belong. Calliope the Epic muse is invoked C. iii. 4. 2; Melpomene the tragic is asked for a dirge i. 24. 3; Euterpe and Polyhymnia the proper lyric muses occur i. 1. 33. 'Imago' is used absolutely for the echo (for which the Romans had no corresponding term) by Cicero, Tusc. iii. 2: "ea (laus bonorum) virtuti resonat tanquam imago." Virgil gives the full expression Georg. iv. 50: "Vocisque offensa resultat imago." See C. i. 20. 8.

15. [*Qui mare ac terras*] Roman usage requires the plural 'maria,' for it means all parts of the sea, as in Lucretius v. 592: "Quod maria ac terras omnes coelumque rigando compleat."]—'variisque mundum.' 'Mundum' here signifies the heavens, as in Georg. i. 240:—

"Mundus ut ad Scythiam Rhipaeasque arduus arces
Consurgit, premitur Libyae devexus in Austros."

And Lucret. v. 1436:—

"At vigiles mundi magnum versatili' templum
Sol et luna suo lustrantes lumine circum."

17. *Unde nil majus*] 'Unde' in Horace sometimes refers to persons (see Index). See also Cicero de Senect. c. 4: "fore unde discerem neminem." Terent. Eun. i. 2. 35: "E praedonibus unde emerat."

19. *Proximos*] This signifying the next in order without reference to distance does not contradict what goes before. 'Secundum' means close proximity. This will appear more plainly from Cicero (Brutus, 47): "Duobus igitur summis Crasso et Antonio L. Philippus proximus accedebat, sed longo intervallo tamen proximus. Itaque eum, etsi nemo intercedebat qui se illi anteferret, neque secundum tamen neque tertium dixerim." Pallas is said to hold the next place to Jupiter, not absolutely, but among those 'qui generantur ipso,' and only these are mentioned.

Beluis nec te, metuende certa
  Phoebe sagitta.
Dicam et Alciden puerosque Ledae,
Hunc equis, illum superare pugnis
Nobilem; quorum simul alba nautis
  Stella refulsit
Defluit saxis agitatus humor,
Concidunt venti fugiuntque nubes,
Et minax, quod sic voluere, ponto
  Unda recumbit.
Romulum post hos prius an quietum
Pompili regnum memorem an superbos
Tarquini fasces dubito, an Catonis
  Nobile letum.
Regulum et Scauros animaeque magnae
Prodigum Paullum superante Poeno
Gratus insigni referam Camena
  Fabriciumque.
Hunc et incomptis Curium capillis
Utilem bello tulit et Camillum

21. *Proeliis audax*] It will be readily seen that Horace confounds the Latin divinity Liber with the Greek Dionysus or Bacchus, whose Indian wars and contest with the giants (C. ii. 19. 21) are here alluded to. Bentley puts a stop after these words and applies them to Pallas. [Ritter also.]

26. *Hunc equis—*] S. ii. 1. 26.

29. *Defluit saxis agitatus humor*] The waters that in their fury covered the rocks flow back to their bed. Torrentius comparing Epp. i. 2. 42, "Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis," renders 'defluit' 'ceases to flow down the rocks.' Theocritus describes a calm produced by the influence of the Twins (xxii. 17). [See also Seneca, Nat. Qu. i. 1, 'in magna tempestate apparent quasi stellae velo insidentes.' Adjuvari se tunc periclitantes existimant Pollucis et Castoris numine. Ritter.]

34. *superbos Tarquini fasces*] It has been disputed whether this refers to Tarquinius Priscus or Superbus. But for the epithet applied to 'fasces' there could be no doubt. The Scholiasts suppose Priscus to be the person alluded to, and more editors hold that opinion than the other. Those who contend for Superbus quote Cicero, Phil. iii. 4, where comparing this king with M. Antonius he makes him out to be better than history draws him. But Cicero spoke for a purpose, and his statements are chiefly negative. On another occasion he wrote differently, saying, "Quis est qui—Tarquinium Superbum—non oderit?" (De Am. 8). It may be admitted, however, that the propriety of all the names in this catalogue of worthies is not obvious. Why, for instance, among so small a number the Scauri should appear, of whom the best, M. Aemilius, who was consul A.U.C. 639, and who had good qualities mixed up with many that were bad, was not worthy of so great a distinction, nobody has attempted to explain. It is certainly only necessary to suppose M. Aemilius Scaurus alluded to here as in Juvenal, xi. 90, where he is introduced in similar company, and in the plural number:—

"Cum tremerent autem Fabios, durumque
  Catonem,
Et Scauros, et Fabricios."

The place in which Cato's name is mentioned is also an offence to some, and Bentley wishes to sweep him out altogether, and substitute Curtius, reading 'anne Curti' for 'an Catonis.' But as he has made no converts, and does not adopt his own conjecture, it is not necessary to meddle with his argument.

Saeva paupertas et avitus apto
  Cum lare fundus.
Crescit occulto velut arbor aevo
Fama Marcelli; micat inter omnes
Julium sidus velut inter ignes
  Luna minores.
Gentis humanae pater atque custos
Orte Saturno, tibi cura magni
Caesaris fatis data: tu secundo
  Caesare regnes.
Ille, seu Parthos Latio imminentes
Egerit justo domitos triumpho
Sive subjectos Orientis orae
  Seras et Indos,
Te minor latum reget aequus orbem;
Tu gravi curru quaties Olympum,
Tu parum castis inimica mittes
  Fulmina lucis.

[43. *Saeva paupertas*] Poverty is a severe discipline.—'Rure ager cum aedificio fundus dicitur,' Dig. 50. 16. 211.]

45. *Crescit occulto velut arbor aevo*] Horace may have remembered the words of Pindar (Nem. viii. 40): αὔξεται δ' ἀρετὰ χλωραῖς ἐέρσαις ὡς ὅτε δένδρεον ᾄσσει. 'Occulto aevo' means by an imperceptible growth, as Ovid, Met. x, 519: "Labitur occulte fallitque volatilis aetas." As the name of Marcellus (whom I understand with Orelli to be the Marcellus who took Syracuse) stands for all his family, and particularly the young Marcellus (see Introduction), so the star of C. Julius Caesar and the lesser lights of that family are meant by what follows. Those who suppose Marcellus to be the 'Julium Sidus,' relying upon Ovid (Tr. ii. 167) calling Drusus and Germanicus 'Sidus juvenile,' and Fabius 'Fabiae sidus gentis' (ex Ponto, iii. 3. 2), forget that he never was adopted into the Julian family. By it is meant Caesar himself, at whose death a comet is reported to have appeared, which was supposed to be his spirit translated to the skies. (See Suet. Caesar, c. 88; Ovid, Met. xv. 749.) Addison (Dialogues on Medals, 2) mentions a medal struck in honour of Augustus in the reign of Tiberius, in which he is represented with Caesar's star resting on his head, according to that description of Virgil (Aen. viii. 680):

—— "geminas cui tempora flammas
Laeta vomunt patriumque aperitur vertice
  sidus."

56. *Seras et Indos*] See notes on C. iii. 29. 27; iv. 15. 23.

[57. *latum*] Keller and Ritter have 'laetum.']

CARMEN XIII.

The same remark applies to this ode as to many others, that those who believe it to have reference to real persons, and the jealousy to be any thing but a poetical jealousy, have mistaken the character of Horace's writings. It would be difficult to imagine the man who wrote these verses really jealous while he was writing them, or much acquainted with that passion. The ode is too slight for us to judge whether it was taken from a Greek original; but the expression in v. 16 shows that Greek ideas were running in the writer's head, which may be said, I feel satisfied, of almost every one of his amatory compositions.

ARGUMENT.

Lydia, while thou art praising Telephus' neck, Telephus' arms, oh! my heart is ready to burst. My mind tosses about, my colour comes and goes; and the tear stealing down my cheek tells of the slow fire that burns within. It galls me when his rough hands hurt thy shoulders, or his teeth leave their mark on thy lips: think not he will be constant who could hurt that nectared mouth. How happy they whom love binds fast to the day of their death!

Cum tu, Lydia, Telephi
Cervicem roseam, cerea Telephi
Laudas brachia, vae meum
Fervens difficili bile tumet jecur.
Tum nec mens mihi nec color
Certa sede manet, humor et in genas
Furtim labitur arguens
Quam lentis penitus macerer ignibus.
Uror, seu tibi candidos
Turparunt humeros immodicae mero
Rixae sive puer furens
Impressit memorem dente labris notam.
Non, si me satis audias,
Speres perpetuum dulcia barbare

2. *cerea Telephi*] For 'cerea,' Bentley on the authority of Flavius Caper, one of the old grammarians who misquotes this passage, substitutes 'lactea.' He is very well answered by Cunningham. That reading however shows the sense in which Caper quoting from memory understood 'cerea,' 'white as wax,' not [as it ought to be understood] 'soft,' 'pliant.'

6. *manet*] The MSS. vary between this and 'manent.' Ven., 1483, has 'manet.' So also has the oldest Berne MS. of Orelli, and many others. Cruquius' Blandinian MSS. had all 'manent.' There is more probability of 'manent' having been substituted on account of the metre for 'manet,' than 'manet' for 'manent;' but the lengthening of a short syllable in such positions is not uncommon. So C. ii. 13. 16: "Caeca timet aliunde fata." Bentley lays down the rule, and Zumpt approves it, that two substantives in the singular number coupled by 'nec' and 'nec' have the verb in the singular, which he says usage and reason demand. I do not see the reason in the case of disjunctive any more than of conjunctive particles, and to assume the usage is to beg the question. [Madvig quotes Cicero, de Fin. iii. 21, 'nec justitia nec amicitia esse omnino potuerunt nisi ipsae per se expetantur.' Ritter: but the reason of the plural being used here is explained by 'ipsae . . . expetantur.'] That the singular verb is admissible no one will deny, and I have admitted it on good authority. [Ritter has 'manent.']

13. *Non — Speres*] This more emphatic negative (Key's L. G. 1402) is used

Laedentem oscula, quae Venus
Quinta parte sui nectaris imbuit.
Felices ter et amplius
Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec malis
Divolsus querimoniis
Suprema citius solvet amor die.

not uncommonly, in prohibitive sentences, instead of 'ne,' as "non—sileas," S. ii. 5. 91; "non ulceret," Epp. i. 18. 72; "non sit qui tollere curet," A. P. 460.

16. *Quinta parte sui nectaris imbuit*] The Schol. on Pind. Pyth. 8. 116 (81 Boeckh), quoted by Jani, says, τὸ μέλι τῆς ἀθανασίας δέκατον μέρος ᾠήθησαν εἶναι: and Ibycus (30 Bergk), according to Athenaeus (ii. p. 39): φησὶ τὴν ἀμβροσίαν τοῦ μέλιτος κατ' ἐπίτασιν ἐννεαπλασίαν ἔχειν γλυκύτητα, τὸ μέλι λέγων ἔνατον εἶναι μέρος τῆς ἀμβροσίας κατὰ τὴν ἡδονήν. All that we can gather from these quotations, is that some of the Greek poets had notions about the relative sweetness of nectar and honey which Horace has here imitated.

18. *irrupta*] Not found elsewhere.

20. *Suprema citius*] This construction for 'citius quam suprema' only occurs once again in Horace, in "plus vice simplici" (C iv. 14. 13).

CARMEN XIV.

Before A.U.C. 724.

ἀσυνέτημι τῶν ἀνέμων στάσιν·
τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται
τὸ δ' ἔνθεν· ἄμμες δ' ὂν τὸ μέσσον
νᾶϊ φορήμεθα σὺν μελαίνᾳ,
χειμῶνι μοχθέντες μεγάλῳ μάλα·
πὲρ μὲν γὰρ ἄντλος ἱστοπέδαν ἔχει,
λαῖφος δὲ πᾶν ζάδηλον ἤδη
καὶ λακίδες μεγάλαι κατ' αὐτό.
χόλαισι δ' ἄγκυραι.

This fragment (18 Bergk) of one of Alcaeus' odes (the first verse of which is manifestly imperfect) is thus introduced by Heraclides, the Alexandrian grammarian: ἐν ἱκανοῖς δὲ καὶ τὸν Μιτυληναῖον μελοποιὸν εὑρήσομεν ἀλληγοροῦντα. τὰς γὰρ τυραννικὰς ἐξουσίας χειμερίῳ προσεικάζει καταστήματι θαλάσσης ἀσυνέτην καὶ τῶν ἀνέμων στάσιν.—Τίς οὐκ ἂν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς προτρεχούσης περὶ τὸν πόντον εἰκασίας ἀνδρῶν πλωϊζομένων θαλάττιον εἶναι νομίσειε φόβον; ἀλλ' οὐχ' οὕτως ἔχει· Μύρσιλος γὰρ ὁ δηλούμενός ἐστι καὶ τυραννικὴ κατὰ Μιτυληναίων ἐγειρομένη σύστασις. There can be no doubt that this ode of Alcaeus was in Horace's mind when he wrote, and that it is an allegorical description of the political troubles of Mytilene; it is therefore surprising to find Graevius supporting Muretus' opinion, that no political allegory is meant by Horace, but only an address to the ship which had brought him from Philippi, and was returning with his friends on board, whom he wished to persuade to remain at Rome. That Bentley and Dacier were of that opinion, I confess is less surprising to me. Quintilian (Inst. Orat. viii. 6. 44) illustrates the term 'allegory' by the figures employed in this ode, saying, "Navem pro re publica, fluctuum tempestates pro bellis civilibus, portum pro pace atque concordia dicit." It is not easy to determine what was the particular period when the aspect of public affairs drew forth this ode. The Scholiasts are at variance. Porphy-

rion, whom Lambinus follows, supposes Horace is addressing himself to the fears of Brutus, and dissuading him from renewing the battle at Philippi, after the death of Cassius—a strange time for writing verses after the manner of Alcaeus, and an unusual way for a military tribune to offer counsel to his commander-in-chief. Acron supposes Horace to be alluding to the designs of the republican party, under Sextus Pompeius. This opinion is supported at some length by Buttmann, Mythol. i. 343 sq., who argues that the ship does not signify the commonwealth, for that Horace speaks as if he were separated from the subject of the allegory: that to advise the citizens to abstain from civil wars (represented by the sea), because they were in a crippled condition, would be to imply that they might engage in them if they were not in that condition; also that there would be no propriety in representing the state as a dismasted ship in the time of Augustus. He therefore considers that all this refers to the efforts of the broken but restless party to which Horace had been lately attached to repair their fortunes under the leading of Sext. Pompeius. 'Nudum remigio latus,' he says, refers to the number of their best men cut off at and since Philippi (he might have added the desertion of Menas). The 'desiderium,' spoken of in v. 18, means the lingering affection and anxiety Horace had for the party he had first cast in his fortunes with, and 'taedium' the vexation he had suffered in common with Brutus and all his best officers at the state of the republican forces at Philippi. 'Pontica pinus' he considers a very masterly allusion to Pompey the Great, as the conqueror of Mithridates, which is Acron's opinion. I give this theory in deference to the author, who has few equals in critical sagacity, and who in the essay in which these views are put forward has done good service to the interpretation of Horace on the principles of common sense. I should mention however that the theory has but few supporters, of whom Gesner certainly is one, and his was no mean judgment. Passow is another. Franke cannot sufficiently express his astonishment at Buttmann's strange doctrine. Having made up his mind that none of the odes in these three books were written before Actium, A.U.C. 723, he adopts the opinion of Torrentius, Masson, Sanadon, and others, that Horace wrote this ode at the time when Augustus was thinking of retiring from the head of affairs (A.U.C. 725), and when he was dissuaded by Maecenas in a speech in which he likened the state to a vessel tost upon the waters without a pilot (Dion Cass. 52. 16). It does not seem to have occurred to Franke, that supposing the historian to have related the actual words of Maecenas, which is somewhat improbable, it is as likely he got his image from Horace as Horace from Maecenas. But the image was common and always will be, and it is as plain as possible that Horace got his notion not from Maecenas but from Alcaeus. Besides, the cautions contained in this ode are plainly addressed, not to Augustus, but to the citizens, and so far from requiring such cautions, they were importunate in requesting him to remain as he was.

Kirchner, who speaks of Buttmann's opinion as 'infelicissima,' has no hesitation in referring the ode, with Epod. vii., to the year before the battle of Actium, when the flames of war were kindling again between Augustus and Antonius. Jani, Mitsch., Doering are of the same opinion, and Dillenbr. rather prefers it. Orelli is silent.

Having now stated all the opinions that I have seen upon this much-disputed ode, I must leave the reader to judge for himself. That there was many an hour when Horace sighed for peace between the day he found himself established in his scribe's office to that which brought Augustus home in triumph is certain, and that he felt as a man of weak nerves might feel in a storm during the troubles of that long period may well be supposed. I think it is very hard to say at what precise juncture in those stirring times the notion entered his head of sitting down to write an ode in close imitation of Alcaeus, though we may safely affirm, that the idea would only be natural while Rome was disturbed, and therefore that the ode was written before the death of M. Antonius in A.U.C. 724. Of the theories above given I prefer Acron's.

A few of the inscriptions that appear in the MSS. will show the diversity of opinion that has always existed as to the application of this ode. I give them exactly as I find them.

Per allegoriam, i. e. inversionem M. Brutum alloquitur.
Contra Navem. Allegoricos (i. e. ἀλληγορικῶς).
Ad rem publicam.
Ad rem publicam bellum civile reparantem.
In M. Brutum bellum civile praeparantem.
Ad Brutum amicum. Ad Navim Bruto reparanti bellum (Bruti reparantis).
Ad Bruti Navim. In S. Pompeium civile bellum renovantem.

ARGUMENT.

Thou art drifting to sea again, thou ship; oh! haste and make for the harbour; oars lost, mast split, yards crippled, and rigging gone, how canst thou weather the wide waves? Thy sails are torn, thy gods are gone, and noble hull though thou be, there is no strength in thy beauty. If thou be not fated to destruction avoid the rocks, thou who wert but late my grief and art now my anxious care.

O navis, referent in mare te novi
Fluctus! O quid agis? Fortiter occupa
Portum. Nonne vides ut
Nudum remigio latus,
Et malus celeri saucius Africo
Antennaeque gemant ac sine funibus
Vix durare carinae
Possint imperiosius
Aequor? Non tibi sunt integra lintea,
Non di, quos iterum pressa voces malo.
Quamvis Pontica pinus,
Silvae filia nobilis,
Jactes et genus et nomen inutile,
Nil pictis timidus navita puppibus
Fidit. Tu, nisi ventis
Debes ludibrium, cave.

[4. *remigio latus*] Ritter properly puts a comma after 'latus,' and does not connect it with 'gemant.' As to 'remigium,' compare Epp. i. 6. 63.]

6. *sine funibus*] I have rendered this 'deprived of her rigging.' Some understand it to mean 'without girding ropes,' referring to St. Luke's description of their undergirding the ship in which St. Paul was sailing to Rome: *μόλις ἰσχύσαμεν περικρατεῖς γενέσθαι τῆς σκάφης· ἣν ἄραντες βοηθείαις ἐχρῶντο ὑποζωννύντες τὸ πλοῖον* (Acts xxvii. 16, 17). This process is not unknown in modern times, and is called 'frapping' a ship, by the French 'ceintrer un vaisseau.' Captain Back, in the account of his return from the Arctic regions in 1837, thus describes the undergirding of his ship: "A length of the stream chain-cable was past under the bottom of the ship four feet before the mizen-mast, hove tight by the capstan, and finally immovably fixed to six ring-bolts on the quarter-deck. The effect was at once manifested by a great diminution in the working of the parts already mentioned, and in a less agreeable way by impeding her rate of sailing." (See Smith's excellent Dissertation on the Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul, p. 66.) I doubt whether Horace meant any allusion to this practice.

10. *Non di*] "Accipit et pictos puppis adunca deos" (Ov. Heroid. xvi. 112). "Jacet ipse in litore et una Ingentes de puppe dei" (Pers. vi. 29). There was usually a niche in the stern of a ship where the image of the tutelary god was kept.

11. *Pontica pinus*] The best ship timber was got from Pontus. See Introduction.

15. *nisi—Debes ludibrium*] Orelli takes

Nuper sollicitum quae mihi taedium,
Nunc desiderium curaque non levis,
Interfusa nitentes
Vites aequora Cycladas.

'nisi debes' as if it were 'ne debeas,' and 'debes ludibrium' for the Greek ὀφλισκάνεις γέλωτα. I do not see how 'nisi debes' can stand for 'ne debeas,' and agree rather with Dillenbr. ['cave' means 'take care of yourself.']

17. *Nuper sollicitum*] This is the most obscure part of the ode. It would be very intelligible as spoken by Alcaeus, who having gone through the long and anxious struggle between the democratical party and the nobles, and seen the triumph of the former, and the settlement of a tyranny which he abhorred in his native city, may be supposed to have felt for her the anxious affection these words imply. Horace may have found something of this sort in Alcaeus' ode. How the words are reconciled with Buttmann's theory will be seen in the Introduction. Taking the ode as an address to the state, we can only understand Horace to mean, that while he was attached to Brutus, or before he had secured his pardon, he had no other feelings than fear for his own safety and disgust with the state of the country, but now under Augustus he watches its fate with the affection and anxiety of a friend.

19. *nitentes*] This is like 'fulgentes' (C. iii. 28. 14), shining in the sun. The Cyclades abounded in white marble.

CARMEN XV.

This is probably an early composition of Horace, made up of materials from the Greek, and written merely to exercise his pen. The Scholiasts found a political allusion in the ode: Paris being M. Antonius, and Helen Cleopatra; and Baxter, ὁ διλογίστης, has seized upon the notion, which others also have adopted. The judicious reader will see that there is no probability of such being the drift of the ode. Nereus is made to speak because the sea-gods were endowed with the gift of prophecy. Porphyrion on this ode says it is an imitation of Bacchylides, who makes Cassandra foretell the destruction of Troy as Horace does Nereus. There is a fragment (29 Bergk) which is supposed to belong to the poem referred to by this Scholiast, but it bears no resemblance to Horace's ode.

ARGUMENT.

Paris is carrying off Helen, when Nereus causes a calm and thus prophesies their fate. With dark omen art thou carrying home her whom Greece hath sworn to recover. Alas! for the sweating of horse and rider, and the deaths thou art bringing upon Troy. Pallas prepareth her arms and her fury. Under Venus' shelter comb thy locks and strike thy lyre, and hide thyself in thy chamber: but it shall not avail thee. Seest thou not Laertes' son, Nestor of Pylos, Teucer of Salamis, and Sthenelus the fighter and bold charioteer? Merion too and the son of Tydeus, from whom thou shalt flee panting as the stag fleeth from the wolf, thou who didst boast better things to thy fair one. Achilles' wrath may put off the evil day, but the fire of the Greek shall consume the homes of Troy.

Pastor cum traheret per freta navibus
Idaeis Helenen perfidus hospitam,

2. *Helenen*] Horace uses the Greek inflexions in his odes, and the Latin in his iambic verses, satires, and epistles (Bentley). This might be expected, especially when, as in this instance, the imitation of Greek writers is obvious.

Ingrato celeres obruit otio
  Ventos ut caneret fera
Nereus fata: Mala ducis avi domum
Quam multo repetet Graecia milite,
Conjurata tuas rumpere nuptias
  Et regnum Priami vetus.
Heu heu quantus equis, quantus adest viris
Sudor! quanta moves funera Dardanae
Genti! Jam galeam Pallas et aegida
  Currusque et rabiem parat.
Nequicquam Veneris praesidio ferox
Pectes caesariem grataque feminis
Imbelli cithara carmina divides;
  Nequicquam thalamo graves
Hastas et calami spicula Cnosii
Vitabis strepitumque et celerem sequi
Ajacem; tamen heu serus adulteros
  Crines pulvere collines.
Non Laërtiaden exitium tuae
Gentis, non Pylium Nestora respicis?
Urgent impavidi te Salaminius
  Teucer et Sthenelus sciens
Pugnae, sive opus est imperitare equis
Non auriga piger; Merionen quoque
Nosces. Ecce furit te reperire atrox
  Tydides melior patre,
Quem tu cervus uti vallis in altera
Visum parte lupum graminis immemor
Sublimi fugies mollis anhelitu,
  Non hoc pollicitus tuae.

7. *Conjurata—rumpere*] This is a legitimate prose construction. "Conjuravere patriam incendere" (Sal. Cat. 52. See Liv. 22. 38).

13. *Veneris praesidio*] See Hom. Il. iii. 54, and on v. 16 see Il. iii. 380; vi. 321. Horace's description of Paris is drawn, not from Homer, who makes him brave, but from later writers who altered the Homeric characters. See Heyne, Exc. i. Aen. ii. See also Aen. iv. 215 sq.

15. *divides*] 'Dividere carmina' is perhaps to sing and play alternately. [It seems to mean 'distribute,' that is to touch the several strings in accordance with the notes of the song. See C. i. 36. 6.]

24. *Teucer et*] In this verse, and in v. 36, Horace has introduced a trochee in the first foot, contrary to his own custom, but in accordance with the practice of the Greeks. Here 'que' has been added to 'Teucer,' or 'te' substituted for 'et,' by way of sustaining the metre. [Ritter has 'te' on the authority of some MSS.] 'Sciens pugnae' is Homer's *πολέμου εὖ εἰδώς*, and 'Tydides melior patre' is taken from Sthenelus' vaunt, Il. iv. 405: *ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι.*

[31. *Sublimi*] "*μετεώρῳ πνεύματι*, cum spiritus ex pectore ductus per os prorumpit," Ritter. But it is hard to find a word for 'sublimi.' Perhaps 'panting,' 'heaving' may do. 'High panting,' Conington.]

Iracunda diem proferet Ilio
Matronisque Phrygum classis Achilleï;
Post certas hiemes uret Achaïcus
Ignis Iliacas domos.

33. *diem*] For 'diem supremum.' In this form the expression is like the Hebrew which we meet with frequently in the Scriptures: "Remember the children of Edom in the day of Jerusalem" (Ps. xxxvii. 7), and "they that come after him shall be astonished at his day as they that went before were astonished" (Job xviii. 20).

[36. *Iliacas*] Glareanus says that he found 'Pergameas' in some MSS. Keller has 'Pergameas.']

CARMEN XVI.

The poet Stesichorus, as the story goes, lost his eyesight as a punishment for a poem in which he appears to have repeated the ordinary stories against Helen, and did not recover it till he had written another poem recanting his opprobrious verses. Of this *παλινῳδία*, which is referred to in Epod. xvii. 42, and which was very familiar to the ancients, Plato has preserved the opening verses in the Phaedrus, p. 243, A. It begins thus:—

οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος·
οὐδ' ἔβας ἐν νηυσὶν εὐσέλμοις,
οὐδ' ἵκεο Πέργαμα Τροίας. (29 Bergk.)

This poem had a plain purpose with which the ode before us has nothing in common. Nevertheless it has been generally supposed till of late years to be an imitation of Stesichorus, and some of the grammarians have prefixed to the ode the title "Ad Tyndaridem," no doubt under the same impression. The foundation of this opinion appears to have been the statement of Acron: "Hanc oden in satisfactionem facit amicae suae, imitatus Stesichorum poëtam Siculum qui vituperationem scribens Helenae caecatus est et postea responso Apollinis laudem ejus scripsit et oculorum aspectum recepit." He does not therefore say that Horace imitated the ode of Stesichorus, but only his example. It is very probable, as Buttmann suggests, they got the name from the next ode and put it before this, which contains no name nor any clue to the person addressed. Some MSS. have the inscription "Palinodia Gratidiae ad Tyndaridem," and whoever invented this inscription must have supposed the ode to have been addressed to the daughter of that woman, whom he lampoons in his Epodes. Cruquius' Scholiast affirms that it is addressed to that person herself, and there are many who follow this view of the case, among others Heindorf on S. i. 8. Franke is decidedly of that opinion, and supposes this ode to have been written about the same time with Epod. xvii., and for the same mock purpose. I think there can be little doubt in the mind of any one who reads this poem, that it was composed (though not in seriousness) with reference to some verses Horace had actually written, and that it is not a mere translation of Stesichorus' or any other poem, while at the same time there are Greek ideas in it, which he borrowed from that or some other source. Beyond this I am not bold enough to go.

ARGUMENT.

Lovely daughter of a lovely mother, destroy those libellous verses how thou wilt. Cybele, Apollo, Liber agitate not their votaries' hearts as anger does, which is stopped neither by sword, nor by waves, nor fire, nor by the falling of the skies themselves. When Prometheus was bidden to take a part from every animal to give to man, he implanted in our hearts the lion's fury. Wrath laid Thyestes low, and hath brought proud cities to

the dust. Be appeased. In the sweet season of youth I was tempted by hot blood to write those rash verses. I would now lay aside all unkindness, if thou wilt but let me recall my libel and give me back thy heart.

O MATRE pulchra filia pulchrior,
Quem criminosis cunque voles modum
Pones iambis, sive flamma
Sive mari libet Hadriano.
Non Dindymene, non adytis quatit
Mentem sacerdotum incola Pythius,
Non Liber aeque, non acuta
Sic geminant Corybantes aera
Tristes ut irae, quas neque Noricus
Deterret ensis nec mare naufragum
Nec saevus ignis nec tremendo
Juppiter ipse ruens tumultu.
Fertur Prometheus addere principi
Limo coactus particulam undique
Desectam, et insani leonis
Vim stomacho apposuisse nostro.
Irae Thyesten exitio gravi
Stravere, et altis urbibus ultimae
Stetere causae cur perirent
Funditus imprimeretque muris
Hostile aratrum exercitus insolens.
Compesce mentem: me quoque pectoris
Tentavit in dulci juventa
Fervor et in celeres iambos
Misit furentem; nunc ego mitibus
Mutare quaero tristia, dum mihi
Fias recantatis amica
Opprobriis animumque reddas.

8. *Sic geminant*] So all the MSS. [except three]. Bentley conjectures 'si geminant' in the sense of 'cum,' and he is followed by Mitsch., Jahn, and Fea [and Keller]. But the received reading is intelligible.

13. *Fertur Prometheus*] This story is not found elsewhere. Whether Horace got the foundation of it from the story told by Plato, Protag. 30 sqq.; or whether he found it in this form in Stesichorus' palinode or some other Greek poem, or invented it to suit his own purpose, cannot be determined. 'Principi limo' corresponds to *πρῶτον ἄρχον πηλόν* in Soph. Frag. (432 Dind.), *καὶ πρῶτον ἄρχον πηλὸν ὀργάζειν χεροῖν.*

18. *ultimae Stetere causae*] Liv. vii. 9: "Ea ultima fuit causa . . . cur bellum Tiburti populo indiceretur." The final or proximate cause: that which immediately leads to a thing. See Virg. Aen. vii. 553: "Stant causae belli."

24. *celeres*] A. P. 251: "iambus pes citus." The quality of the measure is mentioned as some palliation perhaps of the severity of the verses.

CARMEN XVII.

It may entertain the reader to know that a treatise was once written on the subject of Horace's Tyndaris, in which it was proved to the satisfaction of the writer that she was a freedwoman of Rhaemetalces, king of Thrace; that she is the person Horace elsewhere speaks of as Thressa Chloë, simply Chloë, and Venus Marina; also that she was a poetess. It being assumed that the last ode was addressed to Tyndaris, according to the common inscriptions, it is supposed by many that the lovers had made up their quarrel, and that Horace here proposes a meeting to seal their reconciliation. All this which is plainly unreasonable should be put aside by any who wish to understand Horace. There is no connexion between the two odes, except that the title, which belongs to this, has been borrowed for the other, and there is no reason to suppose that Horace, writing at his farm, had any other than an imaginary Tyndaris, with an imaginary Cyrus, in his mind.

ARGUMENT.

Tyndaris, often doth Pan leave Lycaeus to visit Lucretilis, protecting my flocks from sun and wind; my goats go unharmed and fear not snake or wolf when his sweet pipe sounds in the vale of Ustica. The gods love me for my piety and my muse. Here Plenty awaits thee; here shalt thou retire from the heat and sing of the loves of Penelope and Circe for Ulysses. Here thou shalt quaff mild Lesbian in the shade, nor shall strife be mingled with the cup, nor shalt thou fear the jealous Cyrus, lest he lay his violent hand upon thee.

Velox amoenum saepe Lucretilem
Mutat Lycaeo Faunus et igneam
  Defendit aestatem capellis
    Usque meis pluviosque ventos.
Impune tutum per nemus arbutos
Quaerunt latentes et thyma deviae
  Olentis uxores mariti,
    Nec virides metuunt colubras
Nec Martiales Haediliae lupos,

1. *Lucretilem*] 'Mons Lucretilis' is identified by De Chaupy and others with the lofty mountain (or range) called Monte Gennaro, that overhangs the valley of the Licenza—Horace's Digentia (Epp. i. 18. 104),—in which his estate lay. De Chaupy gives a very agreeable account of the scenery, to show that it was "un séjour plein d'attraits pour le Dieu Pan," a place to which Faunus might well resort from his Arcadian home Lycaeus. Ustica, the Scholiasts say, was a mountain or a mountain and valley. Acron favours the latter, interpreting 'cubantis' by 'depressae.' Porphyrion, on the other hand, and Comm. Cruq. refer the epithet 'ad resupinam regionem ejus.' De Chaupy, who illustrates 'personuere saxa' by the echoes he himself heard on the spot, which he identifies with Horace's estate, and the bare rocks that here and there show themselves, thinks he can also fix upon this spot Ustica on the slope of the hills, and he therefore does not allow Acron's interpretation of 'cubantis.' The construction with 'muto,' 'permuto,' by which the remoter object becomes the nearer, is not peculiar to Horace, and it occurs several times in his works. Virg. Georg. i. 8: "Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista." Ἀλλάσσειν, ἀμείβειν also admit of this double construction, sometimes the thing given in exchange being in the accusative, sometimes the thing taken. See Heindorf on S. ii. 7. 110.

[3. *Defendit aestatem*] Comp. Sat. i. 3. 14, and Virg. Eclog. vii. 47: "solstitium pecori defendite.']

7. *Olentis uxores mariti*] See Georg. iii. 125, "Quem legere ducem et pecori

Utcunque dulci, Tyndari, fistula
Valles et Usticae cubantis
Levia personuere saxa.
Di me tuentur, dis pietas mea
Et Musa cordi est. Hic tibi copia
Manabit ad plenum benigno
Ruris honorum opulenta cornu.
Hic in reducta valle Caniculae
Vitabis aestus et fide Teïa
Dices laborantes in uno
Penelopen vitreamque Circen;
Hic innocentis pocula Lesbii
Duces sub umbra, nec Semeleïus
Cum Marte confundet Thyoneus
Proelia, nec metues protervum
Suspecta Cyrum, ne male dispari

dixere maritum." Theoc. viii. 49, ὦ τράγε τᾶν λευκᾶν ἄνερ. Ov. Fast. i. 333:

"Ita rex placare sacrorum
Numina lanigerae conjuge debet ovis."

9. *Nec Martiales Haediliae lupos*] 'Haediliae' is the reading of nearly every MS., and in the margin of B, Orelli says, is written 'mons,' and so he and Dillenbr. understand it—one of the Sabine hills. 'Haedilia,' the reading of some MSS., and most of the old editions, is only a corruption of the other. Bentley takes to himself the credit of suggesting 'haeduleae,' formed from 'haedus,' as 'equuleae,' 'hinnuleae,' from 'equus' and 'hinnus.' But Auratus and Torrentius had anticipated his conjecture, though they thought only of the masculine 'haedulei.' 'Haeduleae' has been very generally adopted since Bentley. Gesner says this reading 'haeduleae' occurs 'in bonis libris:' but he does not mention which they are, and Bentley had never seen them, or he would have mentioned that he had done so. 'Haediliae' Lambinus and some others prefer, as signifying 'the folds,' but no such word is found elsewhere, and there is no analogy to support it. If there were such a word, the antepenultimate syllable would be long, as in 'ovīle.'

14. *Hic tibi copia*] The order of the words is 'hic copia opulenta ruris honorum manabit ad plenum tibi benigno cornu.' 'Here plenty, rich in the glories of the country, shall pour herself out for thee abundantly from her generous horn.' 'Ad plenum' occurs in the same sense Georg. ii. 244:—

"Huc ager ille malus dulcesque a fontibus undae
Ad plenum calcentur."

The 'cornu copiae,' so common in ancient works of art, was a symbol belonging to the goddess Fortuna, to whom it is said to have been presented by Hercules. It was supposed originally to have been the horn of Amalthea, which Hercules won from Achelous.

[17. *reducta*] 'retired,' 'solitary,' as in Epod. ii. 13, and Georg. iv. 420. 'Remotus' has a like meaning in C. ii. 19. 1.]

18. *fide Teïa*] "Perhaps," says Torrentius, "Anacreon had a song upon the subject, for to talk of adapting the Odyssey of Homer to the lyre of Anacreon is absurd." Horace had some reason for choosing this subject, but who shall say what it was? Why Circe is called 'vitrea' has been much disputed. Smart and Francis translate the word 'frail.' Dacier refers it to her complexion, "qui était uni comme une glace." It probably means, as Turnebus says, no more than 'caerula' in Epod. xiii. 16: "nec mater domum caerula te revehet;" and 'virides' in Ov. Tr. i. 2. 59: "Pro superi viridesque Dei quibus aequora curae."

19. *laborantes in uno*] See Argument.

22. *Semeleïus—Thyoneus*] Bacchus is here called by both the names of his mother Semele, who was also named Thyone, ἀπὸ τοῦ θύειν.

25. *male dispari*] 'Male' is here used as in S. i. 3. 31, "Male laxus calceus;" and

Incontinentes injiciat manus
Et scindat haerentem coronam
Crinibus immeritamque vestem.

45, "male parvus." Cyrus was not fortunate in his amours, if we are to believe Dacier, who tells us with as much confidence as if he had written the odes himself, "c'est le même dont il est parlé dans l'ode 33, et qu' Horace appelle 'turpis,' laid, vilain."

CARMEN XVIII.

There is preserved in Athenaeus, x. p. 430, a single line of Alcaeus, of which the first verse of this ode is almost a literal translation. The metre also is the same. The verse is as follows (44 Bergk): *μηθὲν ἄλλο φυτεύσῃς πρότερον δένδρεον ἀμπέλω.* The rest of the ode is, in all probability, a close adaptation of the poem of Alcaeus. If we were not put upon the right scent, as I think we are, by the above fragment, we should suppose Horace had a friend Varus, who had a villa at Tibur, and who was making a plantation there. Varus was the cognomen of his and Virgil's friend Quintilius, whose death is lamented in C. xxiv. of this book. But whether or no he is the person here referred to, or (which appears to Buttmann, and I agree with him, the better way of putting it) whose name is used for the purpose of giving spirit to the ode, it is quite impossible to say. "Sterilem agrum frustra rimeris," as Franke judiciously says on another equally impossible question. It has been doubted whether Horace wrote 'Vare' or 'vere,' in consequence of a note which appears in the two Scholiasts, Acron and Comm. Cruq., "suadet ut cum vernum competens tempus est nullam arborem prius quam vitem ponat," from which it has been inferred that they had 'vere' in their copies. Some confirmation of this theory is derived from Virg. Georg. ii. 319 sq.:—

"Optima vinetis satio cum vere rubenti
Candida venit avis longis invisa colubris."

All existing MSS. and editions have 'Vare.' Jahn affirms that the person is 'haud dubie,' the same as Canidia's old lover, Epod. v., and Weichert (de L. Varii et Cassii Parmensis vita) says the same. Such boldness appears to me most irrational. The respectable names of these scholars have misled the writer of the article Varus (xii.) in Smith's Dict. Biog., who might have corrected his judgment by referring to Estré, to whose work he refers others.

Torrentius believes the person to be that unfortunate Varus whose legions were cut off by Arminius in Germany, A.D. 10. But as he supposes Catullus to have addressed the same person (C. x.), who was his junior by at least half a century, his judgment is worth nothing. Other conjectures have been hazarded by scholars of repute, which Estré has stated and disposed of very clearly.

"Of Quintilius' Villa ruins yet remain at Tivoli in the quarter called after him Quintigliolo," says Fea, a credulous but industrious commentator.

ARGUMENT.

The vine is the first tree thou shouldst plant, Varus, by the walls of Tibur. Hardships are only for the sober, wine drives away all cares. Who croaks of battles and poverty rather than of Bacchus and Venus, when he is mellow? But that no man exceed, let him think of the bloody frays of the Centaurs, and Lapithae, and of the Thracians,

over their cups, when the appetite confounds right and wrong. I'll not arouse thee unbidden, beautiful Bassareus, nor drag thy mysteries from their secret places. Silence the horn and drum, whose followers are vain glory and broken faith.

Nullam, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem
Circa mite solum Tiburis et moenia Catili.
Siccis omnia nam dura deus proposuit, neque
Mordaces aliter diffugiunt sollicitudines.
Quis post vina gravem militiam aut pauperiem crepat?
Quis non te potius, Bacche pater, teque, decens Venus?
At ne quis modici transiliat munera Liberi
Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa super mero
Debellata, monet Sithoniis non levis Euius,
Cum fas atque nefas exiguo fine libidinum
Discernunt avidi. Non ego te, candide Bassareu,
Invitum quatiam, nec variis obsita frondibus
Sub divum rapiam. Saeva tene cum Berecyntio
Cornu tympana, quae subsequitur caecus Amor sui
Et tollens vacuum plus nimio Gloria verticem,
Arcanique Fides prodiga, perlucidior vitro.

[1. *Nullam—severis*] Comp. C. i. 11, "Tu ne quaesieris."]

2. *Tiburis et moenia Catili*] ἓν διὰ δυοῖν. See C. i. 7. 13 n. Horace shortens the penultimate syllable of Catillus' name, and the same liberty is taken with the name of Porsenna, Epod. xvi. 4 n.

8. *super mero*] It is disputed whether this means 'over their wine,' or 'about their wine.' ['Super' with an ablative case may mean 'above,' as in C. iii. 1. 17, or 'upon,' as in Virgil, Ecl. i. 80; but neither meaning will suit this passage. See the Argument. Ritter explains it 'super mero = humi effuso,' and he compares 'super foco,' 'super Pindo;' but the comparison is not appropriate.] At the marriage-feast of Peirithous, king of the Lapithae, the Centaurs, being guests, attempted in their drunkenness to carry off the bride Hippodamia and the other women present, which led to a contest, and the Centaurs were beaten. 'Cum' (v. 10) refers to 'super mero,' which applies also to the Sithonians, a people of Thrace, on the borders of Macedonia. The quarrel of Bacchus with the Thracians, on account of Lycurgus' treatment of his vines, and the habitual drunkenness visited upon them, are well known. See C. i. 27. 1 sq., and ii. 19. 16.

10. *Cum fas atque nefas*] 'When the greedy of wine distinguish between right and wrong by the slender line of their lusts,' that is, the slender distinction that lust so inflamed can draw. 'Avidus' is used absolutely for 'avidus pugnae,' C. iii. 4. 58.

12. *quatiam*] This is explained by Aen. iv. 301:—

—— "qualis commotis excita sacris
Thyias ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho
Orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron,"

where Servius in his commentary quotes this passage of Horace. The whole passage is Greek in its character. The Liberalia bore little analogy to the Dionysia, to which the thyrsus and the cista with its sacred contents (whatever they may have been) and its covering of vine and ivy belonged. The picture of vain glory holding high its head, full only of the fumes of debauch, is very happy, whether original or not. The other characteristic of the maudlin state is repeated once or twice. See Epod. xi. 14. S. i. 4. 89.

[15. *plus nimio*] Ritter compares Plautus, Mil. Glor. ii. 6. 104, 'plus multo.']

CARMEN XIX.

Glycera (Γλυκέρα) is one of Horace's favourite names. She is set down as the Cinara of C. iv. 13. 21 (see n.), but with what show of reason, beyond their having the same number of syllables, it is not easy to see. We need not take Horace too much at his word when he says that his days of love were over. Many a young sentimentalist has imagined this and found himself mistaken as the poet appears to have done. Those who choose to insist that Horace is confessing on his own account that "the heyday of his blood was tamed," put this ode rather late, A.U.C. 729 or 730. Others find in the allusion to the Parthian (v. 12) occasion to fix the date a few years later (734 or 735), when the standards of Crassus had been recovered from that troublesome enemy. This important epoch is ever before the minds of one section of the chronologists: "dies noctesque quidam veluti spectris territi cogitassent de signis et captivis a. 734 a Parthis Augusto redditis," says Franke, whose acumen, however, while it has led him on the whole into a more consistent and probable chronological scheme than Kirchner and others, is not above being misled by too much zeal for its own inventions. I should be no more disposed with him to say Horace wrote this ode while the Arabian expedition (i. 29) was pending, than with his adversaries that he wrote it five or six years later. When or under what circumstances or to whom (if any body) he wrote, we must be content to be ignorant. (See C. iv. 1, Introduction.)

ARGUMENT.

The mother of love, Semele's son, and wantonness recall my heart to love I thought I had put away for ever. I burn for Glycera purer than marble, and that mischievous face so dangerous to look upon. With all her strength hath Venus come upon me, and bids me sing no more of idle themes, the Scythian and the Parthian. Build me an altar, slaves, bring boughs and incense and wine, for I would soften the goddess with a victim.

MATER saeva cupidinum
Thebanaeque jubet me Semeles puer
Et lasciva Licentia
Finitis animum reddere amoribus.
Urit me Glycerae nitor
Splendentis Pario marmore purius;
Urit grata protervitas
Et voltus nimium lubricus adspici.
In me tota ruens Venus
Cyprum deseruit, nec patitur Scythas

1. *Mater saeva Cupidinum*] This verse occurs again C. iv. 1. 5. Catull. iii. 1, "O veneres cupidinesque." The multiplication of the forms of ἔρως was derived from the Greeks by the Romans. 'Semeles' is the form most generally adopted now. The older editions and the great majority of MSS. have 'Semelae.' But, as before observed, Horace seems to prefer the Greek form in the odes. 'Semele,' which occurs in some MSS., and in Ven. 1842, is probably intended for the true form, and may have led to the other. Duentzer affirms that Horace does not use the genitive in 'es.' Why not the genitive as well as the nominative and accusative? Such assertions have no meaning.

8. *lubricus*] Forcellini derives this from the verb 'labor.' He quotes this passage, and I have followed his interpretation in the Argument. It is hard to get a word exactly corresponding to 'lubricus.' [Ritter compares σφαλερός. The English word in the argument is as good as any.]

Et versis animosum equis
Parthum dicere nec quae nihil attinent.
Hic vivum mihi caespitem, hic
Verbenas, pueri, ponite turaque
Bimi cum patera meri:
Mactata veniet lenior hostia.

9. *tota ruens*] This is like Eur. Hipp. 443: Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητὸν ἢν πολλὴ ῥυῇ.

10. *Scythas*] Under this name Horace, with the historians of this period, understood all the nations on and beyond the Tanais, as well as those on and north of the Danube, as the Geloni, Getae, Daci, with one or more of whom the Romans were at this time perpetually at war. The allusion to the Parthians is explained by Justin's description (xli. 2): "Cominus in acie praeliari aut obsessas expugnare urbes nesciunt. Pugnant autem procurrentibus equis aut terga dantibus. Saepe etiam fugam simulant ut incautiores adversum vulnera insequentes habeant." See also Virg. Geor. iii. 31: "Fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis;" and C. ii. 13. 17: "Miles sagittas et celerem fugam Parthi."—See Plato, Laches, p. 191, A.

[12. *quae nihil attinent*] That is 'ad me.'] Compare Anacreon (Pseudo):—

τί δέ μοι λόγων τοσούτων
τῶν μηδὲν ὠφελούντων;
(53 Bergk.)

All other things were nothing to a man in love.

11. *vivum—caespitem*] This rude sort of altar was enjoined upon the Israelites in the wilderness in preference to any other (Exod. xx. 24). The word 'verbena' was used for any boughs employed for crowning the altar or for sacred purposes. 'Verbenae sunt omnes herbae frondesque festae ad aras coronandas, dictae quasi herbenae.' Schol. Acron. on C. iv. 11. 7. He means, I suppose, that 'verb' and 'herb' are the same root, and he is probably right.

CARMEN XX.

A.U.C. 730 (?).

In the thirteenth ode of the second book Horace relates how he was nearly killed by the falling of a tree. In the seventeenth ode of the same book he associates this accident with the recovery of Maecenas from sickness, and his reception with applause in the theatre. The eighth of the third book was written on the first anniversary of his accident, and therefore the year after Maecenas' recovery. The dates therefore of both these events to which the odes that more expressly belong to them give no clue, may be determined if we can determine that of C. iii. 8. It will be seen by referring to the introduction to that ode that there is great difference of opinion upon the subject, and but small means of deciding it. But upon the date of Maecenas' recovery depends the date of this ode, in which he is invited to drink some Sabine wine bottled on that occasion. Now wine of this sort was not in its prime under four years' keeping (C. i. 9. 7 n.), and was not likely to have been fit to drink under two years. After, therefore, the reader has satisfied himself better than I can satisfy him of the date of C. ii. 13 and 17, he will put this not less than two years later, and he will have got an approximate date. Franke puts it in A.U.C. 729 or 730.

ARGUMENT

You shall have some poor Sabine, Maecenas, bottled at that time when the echoes of the Vatican resounded your praise. You drink Caecuban and Calenian, but the vines of Falernum and Formiae are not for me.

Vile potabis modicis Sabinum
Cantharis Graeca quod ego ipse testa
Conditum levi, datus in theatro
  Cum tibi plausus,
Care Maecenas eques, ut paterni
Fluminis ripae simul et jocosa
Redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
  Montis imago.
Caecubum et prelo domitam Caleno
Tu bibes uvam: mea nec Falernae
Temperant vites neque Formiani
  Pocula colles.

1. *Vile potabis modicis Sabinum Cantharis*] It has been said before that Sabine wine was none of the worst; but it was cheap and poor compared with the best, to which Maecenas was used, and this probably had not had the benefit of keeping. Horace commends it therefore by referring to the circumstances under which it was bottled. (I use that term for the process *diffundendi* or *condendi* for want of a better.) If it was made on his own farm, which Maecenas gave him, this would enhance the compliment, which would be increased by his having done it with his own hand. Jani (a good scholar, but unwise commentator) thinks on the other hand Horace meant to give his friend a hint to bring some better wine with him.—The most ordinary kind of earthenware jug was called 'cantharus,' supposed to be the name of the inventor. Horace had tried to improve his wine by putting it into a 'testa' or 'amphora,' which had contained some of the rich wine of the Aegaean. (See C. i. 9. 7 n.)

5. *Care Maecenas eques*] Bentley, on the authority of one MS, of the Royal Society, edits 'clare' for 'care.' He admits that 'care' is consistent with the occasion and the familiar friendship between Maecenas and Horace (C. ii. 20. 7). But he thinks 'eques' wants an epithet: besides Martial (vi. 58) has,

"Sospite me sospes Latias reveheris ad urbes,
Et referes pili praemia clarus eques."

But the character of the ode and the great preponderance of authority in the MSS. lead me to prefer the common reading. Martial was not thinking of Horace or Maecenas, but of his friend Aulus Pudens. A verbal coincidence, however unconnected the passages may be in other respects, is always enough to furnish Bentley with an argument in support of a favourite theory. Maecenas was content with the equestrian rank and would take no higher: hence the frequent repetition of the title 'eques' by Horace and others. (See iii. 16. 20.)

7. *Vaticani Montis imago*] The theatre must have been that of Pompey, which was opposite to the Vatican hill and on the left bank of the river, the hill being on the right or Etruscan bank, which gives propriety to the words 'paterni fluminis ripae,' for Maecenas was of Etruscan origin (C. i. 1. 1 n.). Fea says he has observed the echoes of sounds striking on the Janiculum, which was part of the Vatican hill. The antepenultimate syllable of Vaticanus is long in Martial and Juvenal. On 'imago' see C. 12. 3 n.

10. *Tu bibes*] The future has here the same signification as above, C. 6. 1, 7. 1. 'You may drink if you please the richer wines. I have none such.' Respecting the wines here mentioned see above, C. 9. 7 n. Some of Lambinus' MSS. had 'Caecubam,' which Jani says is 'ornatius et concinnius,' and Fea adopts it too. [Keller has adopted the bad reading 'Tum bibes.']

CARMEN XXI.

The year after Augustus returned to Rome from the taking of Alexandria, that is A.U.C. 726, he dedicated a temple to Apollo on the Palatine hill (C. i. 31), and instituted quinquennial games in honour of Apollo and Diana, and called them the 'Ludi Actiaci.' For their first celebration Franke supposes Horace to have written this ode, and Cruquius' Scholiast bears him out by a remark which, though by some confusion it has got transferred to the saecular ode, belongs plainly to this. The scholiasts and some commentators following them believed this ode to be an introduction to the saecular. Sanadon, on whom our translator Francis pinned his faith, held that opinion, and placed them together, and so does the translator. Franke's opinion is rendered doubtful by the word 'principe' (v. 14), for Augustus did not get that title till the ides of January, A.U.C. 727, and therefore after the first celebration of the Actian games. Others refer this ode to a later year, 732, when, as we learn from Dion Cassius (liv. 1), Rome was visited by pestilence and famine. It is more likely, as Orelli remarks, to have been an exercise from fancy suggested by some such festival as that of 726. It has not the dignity or pretensions of an ode written for such a special occasion.

ARGUMENT.

Sing, ye damsels, of Diana; sing, ye youths, of Apollo and Latona dear to Jove, of Diana who rejoices in the streams and woods of Algidus, or Erymanthus, or Cragus. Praise ye no less Tempe and Delos Apollo's birth-place, and the shoulder that is graced with the quiver and the lyre—that in answer to your prayer he may turn the griefs of war, famine, and plague from Rome and her Prince upon the heads of her enemies.

Dianam tenerae dicite virgines,
Intonsum, pueri, dicite Cynthium
Latonamque supremo
Dilectam penitus Jovi.
Vos laetam fluviis et nemorum coma,
Quaecunque aut gelido prominet Algido
Nigris aut Erymanthi
Silvis aut viridis Cragi;
Vos Tempe totidem tollite laudibus
Natalemque, mares, Delon Apollinis,
Insignemque pharetra
Fraternaque humerum lyra.
Hic bellum lacrumosum, hic miseram famem

[2. *Intonsum*] Homer's ἀκερσεκόμης, Il. xx. 39.]

5. *coma*] Several MSS. have 'comam,' and among them all Cruquius' Blandinian MSS., the oldest of which is held in great repute. Also the oldest Berne, and so Ven. 1483. Bentley prefers that reading.

6. *Algido*] Algidus was a mountain in Latium, sacred to Diana (C. S. 69). It is elsewhere called 'nivalis' (c. iii.23.9). Cragus in Lycia and Erymanthus in Arcadia were mountains on which the goddess was supposed to hunt.

9. *tollite laudibus*] Comp. i. 1. 8. Tempe is mentioned because there Apollo purified himself after slaying the serpent Pytho.

12. *Fraterna*] Invented by Mercury (C. i. 10. 6).

13. *Hic bellum lacrumosum*] War in general, not civil war only as Bentley supposes, or the wars intended against the Arabs and Britons as Dillenbr. Bentley, in order to give Diana something to do, "ne nihil omnino hic agat," wishes to substitute 'haec' for 'hic.' But he has no authority, and Apollo was especially ἀλεξίκακος, particularly in respect of Augustus,

Pestemque a populo et principe Caesare in
Persas atque Britannos
Vestra motus aget prece.

his reputed son. Jani and Sanadon follow Bentley. 'Lacrumosum' corresponds to the δακρυόεις πόλεμος of Homer, and 'lacrumabile bellum' of Virgil.

14. *et principe Caesare*] Scaliger proposed the omission of 'et,' and some editors have followed him, understanding Horace to mean 'because Caesar is prince.' The conjunction is stated by Kirchner (Nov. Qu. p. 57 n.) to be wanting in an old edition (1500) by a Dutchman, Peter Van Os, which he considers sufficient authority. It often happens that when commentators get an edition to which others have not access they give it undue weight from its rarity. Kirchner cannot tell on what MSS. or editions the Dutch editor depended, or whether his omission of 'et' may not have been a slip or conjecture of his own. The conjunction here is in accordance with a practice very common with Horace, of coupling a general and a particular object, of which Dillenbr. has collected many instances, on C. i. 3. 19:—

"mare turgidum et
Infames scopulos Acroceraunia."

CARMEN XXII.

A.U.C. 729 (?). See note on v. 15.

Aristius Fuscus was an intimate friend of Horace's, and the wag whom he represents as playing him false in his interview with the troublesome fellow he met on the Sacra Via (S. i. 9. 61). Horace and he were

——— "paene gemelli,
Fraternis animis; quicquid negat alter, et alter;
Adnuimus pariter; vetuli notique columbi" (Epp. i. 10).

We know nothing more of him except from the statements of the Scholiasts, who make out that he was a writer of tragedies; another says of comedies, and all that he was a grammarian. It has also been doubted (from the confused statements of the Scholiasts) whether Fuscus is not the person meant S. i. 9. 22, which runs in all the MSS.—

"Si bene me novi non Viscum pluris amicum,
Non Varium facies."

It is impossible to determine the date of the ode. We can only say that it was written after Horace had got his country-house, that is, not earlier than A.U.C. 720.

Fuscus, as usual, has not much to do with the ode, his name being borrowed as that of Sestius (C. 4) and others, and for the same purpose.

ARGUMENT.

An honest man, Fuscus, may go unarmed along the burning shores of Africa, over the wild Caucasus or to the fabulous East. 'Twas there, as I wandered careless in the woods singing of my Lalage, a wolf such as Apulia and Africa rear not met me and fled. Set me in the cold and stormy north, or in the burning and uninhabited tropic, still will I love my smiling, prattling Lalage.

INTEGER vitae scelerisque purus
Non eget Mauris jaculis neque arcu
Nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
Fusce, pharetra,

1. *Integer vitae scelerisque purus*] These are Graecisms but not peculiar to Horace: 'animi maturus Aletes' (Aen. ix. 246); 'integer aevi' (Aen. ix. 255); 'amens animi' (Aen. iv. 203); 'praestans animi juvenis' (Aen. xii. 19), are all similar expressions. Καθαρὸς ἀδικίας καὶ ἀνοσίων ἔργων (Plat. Rep. vi.). Ἁγνὰς μὲν, ὦ παῖ, χεῖρας αἵματος φέρεις (Eurip. Hipp. 316). The more usual prose form with the ablative occurs S. ii. 3. 213: "purum est vitio tibi quum tumidum est cor?"

Sive per Syrtes iter aestuosas
Sive facturus per inhospitalem
Caucasum vel quae loca fabulosus
  Lambit Hydaspes.
Namque me silva lupus in Sabina,
Dum meam canto Lalagen et ultra
Terminum curis vagor expeditis,
  Fugit inermem,
Quale portentum neque militaris
Daunias latis alit aesculetis,
Nec Jubae tellus generat leonum
  Arida nutrix.

5. *per Syrtes iter aestuosas*] This cannot mean among seas that boil upon the Syrtes; but along the burning coast of Africa that borders on the Syrtes. "Non aestuosae grata Calabriae Armenta," C. i. 31. 5. The dangers of a sea-voyage are not referred to here. ['Iter' means a land journey, but still Horace may have given the epithet 'aestuosas' to the seas along the coast of the gulfs. He says (C. ii. 6. 3): "Barbaras Syrtes ubi Maura semper Aestuat unda."] 'Caucasus' has the same epithet applied to it again Epod. i. 12, and Aesch. (P. V. 20) calls it ἀπάνθρωπον πάγον. The epithet 'fabulosus,' and the amount of knowledge the Romans had of India, are sufficiently explained by Pliny (N. H. vi. 17): "Patefacta est non modo Alexandri Magni armis regumque qui ei successere, circumvectis etiam in Hyrcanum mare et Caspium Seleuco et Antiocho praefectoque classis eorum Patrocle; verum et aliis auctoribus Graecis—non tamen deest diligentiae locus, adeo diversa et incredibilia traduntur."

11. *curis—expeditis*] This is the reading of most and the best MSS. Lambinus and some others, whom Bentley follows, prefer the reading of Comm. Cruq. and some MSS. 'expeditus.' Like 'solvo,' 'expedio' admits of two constructions. See Catull. 31. 7: "O quid solutis est beatius curis?" But there is also "solvite corde metum, Teucri," Aen. i. 562. Horace says (C. iii. 24. 8): "non animum metu Non mortis laqueis expedies caput." I think Dillenbr. is right in defending 'expeditis,' not only by the authority of the MSS., but for the sake of the ὁμοιοτέλευτον, which this measure abounds in. Besides this verse there will be found six instances in this one ode, vv. 3. 9. 14. 17. 18. 22. [Comp. i. 8. 12, 'expedito.']

14. *aesculetis*] ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. 'Daunias' is the reading of the best MSS. 'Daunia in latis' is that of others, which Lamb., Cruq., and Bentley adopt. But 'in' is a mere interpolation of some who found the reading 'Daunia latis,' and wished to save the metre.

15. *Jubae tellus*] It has been doubted whether Horace alludes to the elder or the younger Juba. Orelli has printed in an excursus an argument by one of his countrymen in favour of the younger. It seems to amount to this—that the son received at the hands of Augustus, in place of his father's kingdom of Numidia, the whole of Mauritania, and those parts of Gaetulia which lie contiguous to the range of Atlas, and that these were more productive of wild beasts than Numidia (the elder Juba's kingdom), Gaetulian lions being proverbial. But the extent of the father's dominion Horace was not likely to define more accurately than Lucan, who says (iv. 670) it was the widest in the world. Horace might very innocently have called the whole of Libya 'Jubae tellus,' even if the elder had never had a son, or that son had never risen in favour with Augustus, and been invested with the kingdoms of Mauritania and Gaetulia. But Horace, who notices the events of the day, may have used the phrase with reference to the honours newly granted to the younger Juba, who received Mauritania A.U.C. 729. This would help to fix the date of the ode.

16. *Arida nutrix*] Baxter entertains his readers with the following note: "Festive posuit 'Arida nutrix,' quaedam enim sunt aridae nutrices—'dry nurses.'"

Pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
Arbor aestiva recreatur aura,
Quod latus mundi nebulae malusque
  Juppiter urget;
Pone sub curru nimium propinqui
Solis in terra domibus negata:
Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
  Dulce loquentem.

[19. *Quod latus*] Compare C. iii. 24. 38. The 'pigri campi' are the plains frozen with cold. Ritter compares Lucretius v. 744, 'Bruma nives adfert pigrumque rigorem.']

23. *Dulce ridentem*] Sappho, Fr. 2: ἆδυ φωνείσας —καὶ γελαίσας ἱμέροεν. See note on C. ii. 12. 14. Catullus ad Lesbiam (51. 5) has

"Dulce ridentem."

Whether Lalage is the same person as Cinara (C. iv. 1) and Glycera (C. i. 19), may be left to the decision of those who know more of Horace's amours than others do. Petrarch has imitated Horace in one of his sonnets (in qual parli):

"Chi non sa come dolce ella sospira
E come dolce parla e dolce ride."

CARMEN XXIII.

This appears to be imitated from a poem of Anacreon, of which a fragment has been preserved in Athenaeus (ix. p. 396):—

Ἀγανῶς οἷά τε νεβρὸν νεοθηλέα
γαλαθηνόν, ὅστ' ἐν ὕλης κεροέσσης
ἀπολειφθεὶς ὑπὸ μητρὸς ἐπτοήθη. (Fr. 51. Bergk.)

In spite of which the whole matter is treated by most as another of Horace's numerous gallantries, the bad success of which sat so ill upon him that he wrote the vindictive ode (iii. 26), in which the timid fawnlike girl of this poem becomes the haughty Chloë, only to be tamed by the scourge of the Queen of Love.

ARGUMENT.

Thou fliest from me, Chloë, as a fawn that has lost its dam and trembles at every breeze. I follow not as a wild beast to tear thee. O cease from following thy mother, for 'tis time to follow after man.

Vitas hinnuleo me similis, Chloë,
Quaerenti pavidam montibus aviis
  Matrem non sine vano
    Aurarum et silüae metu.
Nam seu mobilibus veris inhorruit

4. *Aurarum et silüae metu*] Virg. (Aen. ii. 728): "Nunc omnes terrent aurae, sonus excitat omnis Suspensum." [There is nothing irregular in silüae, for the Romans had not two letters *u* and *v*, but only *u*, and they could pronounce 'silua either as a word of three syllables, or as a word of two syllables, which was the common practice.]

5. *veris inhorruit Adventus foliis*] Bentley objects to this, the reading of all the MSS. He objects to the mention of leaves in the early spring, to the fawns seeking their dams, or the lizards leaving their winter hiding-places at that season; and he objects to the expression 'the approach of spring trembles among the leaves.' He therefore proposes "vepris inhorruit ad ventum." To me the expression as it

Adventus foliis seu virides rubum
Dimovere lacertae,
Et corde et genibus tremit.
Atqui non ego te tigris ut aspera
Gaetulusve leo frangere persequor:
Tandem desine matrem
Tempestiva sequi viro.

stands appears very poetical, and the inaccuracies, if they be so, very pardonable. Burmann in his edition adopts the correction of Muretus, 'vitis.' Bentley's alteration had been previously made in one or two quarters, but not with his knowledge. See his note, and Cunningham, Animadv. p. 47.

12. *Tempestiva—viro*] Aen. vii. 53: "Jam matura viro, plenis jam nubilis annis."

CARMEN XXIV.

A.U.C. 730.

Jerome, in his edition of the Chronicles of Eusebius, places the death of Quintilius Varus, the subject of this ode, in the first year of the 189th Olympiad, that is A.U.C. 730 (Clinton, F. H.). This therefore fixes the date of the ode. Quintilius was born at Cremona, and was a neighbour and friend of Virgil, through whom it is probable Horace made his acquaintance. He is referred to (according to the Scholiast who is probably right) in the Epistle to the Pisos, v. 438 sqq., as a discerning critic; and the language there used shows that he was dead when it was written. The Scholiast Acron says, that some supposed he was Virgil's brother, which notion arose plainly from the language Horace uses in this ode. Servius also, on Virg. Ec. v. 20 (where he says some supposed Daphnis to be this Quintilius, whereas that eclogue was written about seventeen years before his death, and Daphnis plainly is intended for Caesar), calls him 'cognatum Virgilii.' But for this there is no warrant.

The opinions that identify him with C. 3. and 18 of this book and Epode v. are noticed in the introductions to those odes.

ARGUMENT.

What bounds shall be set to our grief for one so dear? Teach us a mournful strain, Melpomene. Can it be that Quintilius, whose like Modesty, Justice, Fidelity, and Truth shall not behold again, is gone to his everlasting rest? Many is the good man that mourns him, but none more truly than thou, Virgil. 'Twas not for this thou didst commit him to the care of Heaven. But in vain thou dost ask him back. The lyre of Orpheus could not bring back the blood to the shadowy form which Mercury hath gathered into hell. 'Tis hard to bear: but patience makes that lighter which no power can change.

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari capitis? Praecipe lugubres
Cantus, Melpomene, cui liquidam pater
Vocem cum cithara dedit.

[2. *capitis*] The Romans often use 'caput' to express person, and 'capita' 'human beings,' as Horace (S. ii. 1. 27), 'Quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum millia.' There is no other word for 'person,' which would express what Horace means in this ode. Virgil (Aen. iv. 354) has 'capitisque injuria cari.']

Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor
Urget! cui Pudor et Justitiae soror
Incorrupta Fides nudaque Veritas
  Quando ullum inveniet parem?
Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior quam tibi, Virgili.
Tu frustra pius heu non ita creditum
  Poscis Quintilium deos.
Quodsi Threïcio blandius Orpheo
Auditam moderere arboribus fidem,
Non vanae redeat sanguis imagini,
  Quam virga semel horrida
Non lenis precibus fata recludere
Nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi.
Durum: sed levius fit patientia
  Quidquid corrigere est nefas.

3. *Melpomene*] See C. i. 12. 2 n.

6. *Pudor et Justitiae soror—Fides*] Figures of these personages occur on coins with various descriptive accompaniments. They are associated again C. S. 57. Cicero (de Off. i. 7): "Fundamentum autem justitiae est fides, id est dictorum conventorumque constantia et veritas."

8. *inveniet*] Most of the older editions have 'invenient;' but nearly all the MSS. appear to have 'inveniet,' and Bentley has shown, by a large number of instances, that it is Horace's practice to have the verb in the singular number after several substantives as here. He says that it is never otherwise except in corrupt passages, which is his way of begging the question. In C. iii. 16. 7 all the MSS. have 'risissent.'

11. *Tu frustra pius heu non ita creditum*] 'It is vain, alas! that with pious prayers thou dost ask the gods to restore Quintilius, whom thou didst entrust to their keeping, but not on these terms' (i.e. that they should take him away). Such is Porphyrion's explanation. Lambinus and Graevius understood 'non ita creditum' to mean that he was not entrusted to Virgil on such terms that he was never to part with him. I prefer the first.

13. *Quodsi*] All the Berne MSS., and Cruquius', and some others, have 'quid si,' which some editors adopt, with the usual note of interrogation after 'quid.' But 'quodsi' is supported by good authority, and most of the editors have adopted it. I have no doubt it is right. Horace never uses 'sin,' which Virgil uses as often and in the same way as Horace uses 'quodsi.' [Keller and Ritter have "Quid si—fidem, Num vanae, &c."]

15. *imagini*] 'Imago' was that unsubstantial body in which the soul was supposed to dwell after death, called by the Greeks εἴδωλον. Such were the forms that Aeneas saw and thought them substantial:—

"Et ni docta comes tenues sine corpore vitas
Admoneat volitare cava sub imagine formae,
Irruat et frustra ferro diverberet umbras."
Aen. vi. 292 sqq.

17. *Non lenis precibus fata recludere*] See i. 18 note. 'Fata recludere' seems to mean 'to open the door of hell when Fate has closed it.'

18. *Nigro compulerit—gregi*] 'Has gathered to the dark crowd.' The dative is only admissible in poetry. S. ii. 5. 49: "Si quis casus puerum egerit Orco,' for 'ad Orcum.'

19. *Durum: sed levius*] Donatus says that Virgil was much in the habit of commending this virtue of patience, saying that the hardest fortunes might be overcome by a wise endurance of them. Therefore, says Fabricius, Horace consoles Virgil with his own philosophy.

CARMEN XXV.

Besides this there are two other odes (iii. 15. iv. 13), the subject of which is the wantonness of faded beauties, a subject probably handled with still greater pungency by Archilochus, for it was one his sarcasm would find scope in and would be likely to fasten upon. It is impossible to say whether Horace had any individual in his mind when he wrote any of these odes. If he had, we need not go farther and suppose that he wrote as a disappointed lover. For instance, Jani's indignation at the virulence with which Horace can find it in his heart to attack (C. iv. 13) the woman he was so fond of (C. iii. 9) seems to be unnecessary. But it is a fair specimen of that matter-of-fact school of interpretation. I have before had occasion to remark, how the same principle is applied to Lydia and how many new lights she appears in (C. 13. Introduction).

ARGUMENT.

Thy windows are no longer assailed and thy slumbers broken by saucy youths; thy door turns no more on its hinges; the serenade is silent. Now 'tis thy turn, in some lone alley on a dark night, with the winter wind blowing and thy heart on fire with lust, to cry for lovers, and complain that young blood goes after the tender plant and bids the old leaves go float upon the Hebrus.

Parcius junctas quatiunt fenestras
Ictibus crebris juvenes protervi,
Nec tibi somnos adimunt, amatque
  Janua limen,
Quae prius multum facilis movebat
Cardines; audis minus et minus jam:
" Me tuo longas pereunte noctes,
  Lydia, dormis?"
Invicem moechos anus arrogantes
Flebis in solo levis angiportu,
Thracio bacchante magis sub inter-
  lunia vento
Cum tibi flagrans amor et libido
Quae solet matres furiare equorum
Saeviet circa jecur ulcerosum,
  Non sine questu

2. *Ictibus*] The Blandinian MSS. and the three oldest Berne and some others give 'jactibus,' which reading is probably a gloss to explain the nature of the 'ictus,' which meant, it would seem, the throwing of stones. Lambinus likes that word [and Keller and Ritter accept it]. Rutgersius proposed 'tactibus,' but it has met with no favour.

3. *amat*] So 'littus ama' (Aen v. 163), 'cleave to.' 'Multum' (facilis) in this sense is common in Horace, as 'multum demissus homo,' S. i. 3. 57; 'Multum celer,' S. ii. 3. 147. Such a serenade as that which follows is C. iii. 10.

7. *Me tuo*] The possessive pronoun is used thus abruptly once before (C. i. 15. 32), "non hoc pollicitus tuae;" and Ov. Remed. Am. 492: "Frigidior glacie fac videare tuae."

[11. *interlunia*] 'Est biduum quo luna non visitur,' or the time of the conjunction (coitus) of the sun and moon, as Pliny names it.' Ritter.]

14. *furiare*] This word we do not meet with before Horace.

Laeta quod pubes hedera virente
Gaudeat pulla magis atque myrto,
Aridas frondes hiemis sodali
Dedicet Hebro.

18. *pulla*] Porphyrion interprets 'pulla' by 'subcrescenti,' as from a root 'pul-,' from which 'pullulo' is formed. Rutgersius gives it the same meaning in Epod. xvi. 46. But there is no authority or reason for departing from the usual meaning, which is 'dark.' ['Magis atque :' comp. Epod. xv. 5.]

20. *Dedicet Hebro*] There is not much more difficulty in accepting this expression than that with which the next ode opens :—

"Tradam protervis in mare Creticum
Portare ventis.'

But critics have found it a stumbling-block, and 'Euro' has been substituted for 'Hebro' by Bentley and some other editors, the way having been led by Aldus. The same substitution, against all authority as in this case, has been made in Aen. i. 317, 'praevertitur Hebrum :' where Heyne and Wagner have defended the common reading very well. But why should young men at Rome dedicate the dry leaves or any thing else to the Hebrus, a river of Thrace? why not to the Tiber? What have we to do with that? If Horace wrote 'Hebro,' as all the MSS. say he did, there is no reason to suppose he was asleep, as Steiner in compassion suggests; it is more likely that he got the idea, and so the word, from the Greek. The distance of the river and the extravagance of the notion seem to suit the general scope of the sentence very well. And the coldness of the stream has probably something to do with it.

CARMEN XXVI.

At the time this ode was written it would appear that the affairs of the Parthians were occupying a good deal of attention at Rome, since Horace speaks of himself as the only one who gave no heed to them. The circumstances that may be supposed to be referred to are to be gathered from the following account. In the year A.U.C. 724, Phraates (see Dict. Biog. Arsaces XV.) being on the Parthian throne, and having by his cruelties made himself obnoxious to his subjects, Tiridates, likewise one of the family of Arsacidae, was set up as a rival to Phraates, but was defeated in his attempt to dethrone him, and fled for protection that same year to Augustus, who was then in Syria, after the death of M. Antonius. (Dion Cass. li. 18.) Shortly afterwards, however, the Parthians succeeded in getting rid of their king, and Tiridates was called to the throne. In A.U.C. 729, Phraates, having obtained assistance from the Scythians, returned and recovered his kingdom; and Tiridates fled to Augustus once more for protection. He was then in Spain. The following is Justin's account (though professing to give a particular history of Parthian affairs, he does not refer to Tiridates' former ill success) : Phraates, he says, elated with his success against M. Antonius, grew more cruel than ever, and in consequence "in exilium a populo suo pellitur. Itaque cum magno tempore finitimas civitates, ad postremum Scythas precibus fatigasset, Scytharum maximo auxilio in regnum restituitur. Hoc absente regem Parthi Tiridatem quendam constituerant; qui audito adventu Scytharum cum magna amicorum manu ad Caesarem in Hispaniam bellum tunc temporis gerentem profugit obsidem Caesari minimum filium Phraatis ferens quem negligentius custoditum rapuerat. Quo cognito Phraates legatos statim ad Caesarem mittit, servum suum Tiridatem et filium remitti sibi postulat. Caesar et legatione Phraatis audita et Tiridatis postulatis cognitis—neque Tiridatem dediturum se Parthis dixit neque adversus Parthos Tiridati auxilia daturum. Ne tamen per omnia nihil a Caesare obtentum videretur Phraati filium sine pretio remisit, et Tiridati quoad manere apud

Romanos vellet opulentum sumptum praeberi jussit. Post haec finito Hispaniensi bello cum in Syriam ad componendum Orientis statum venisset, metum Phraati incussit ne bellum Parthiae vellet inferre. Itaque tota Parthia captivi ex Crassiano sive Antonii exercitu recollecti signaque cum his militaria Augusto remissa. Sed et filii nepotesque Phraatis obsides Augusto dati, plusque Caesar magnitudine nominis sui fecit quam armis alius imperator facere potuisset" (Justin, Hist. xlii. 5). I have given all this passage, as it contains with sufficient accuracy most of the events of Parthian history which Horace alludes to. The assembling of the Scythian force and the alarm of Tiridates are evidently referred to here, and the two seem to be associated. It is natural to infer, therefore, that it was just before Tiridates fled from his kingdom, in A.U.C. 729, that the ode was composed. Some, however, have referred it to the period when Phraates' ambassadors were in treaty with Augustus, and when the fate of Tiridates was undecided, which would put the date a year later. Others again have assumed that the whole of the transactions described by Justin are to be referred to the year 724, and that Tiridates never fled to Augustus in Spain at all. This is the judgment of Lachmann (Let. to Franke, p. 239), but it is rather an unwarrantable judgment. Justin had the history of Trogus, which he abridged, and must have known better than Lachmann what it contained. His reason, moreover, for wishing to place the date of the ode further back is nothing more than an objection to the rhythm of the 7th and 11th verses, which is a very fallacious argument. In favour of the earlier date is quoted, by Orelli, Virg. Georg. ii. 495:—

"Illum non populi fasces non purpura regum
Flexit et infidos agitans discordia fratres;"

where the brethren are Phraates and Tiridates. The Georgics having been written not later than 724, it is assumed that the events above referred to must have taken place before that year. But the earlier and unsuccessful designs of Tiridates are more probably referred to by Virgil. Against the earlier date there is an argument of much weight in the age of Lamia. He died A.U.C. 786 (Tac. Ann. vi. 27), and the year before he had held the office of praefect of the city. If he was only twenty when this ode was written, he must have been eighty-two when he died, and eighty-one when he held the above post, which was made one of considerable importance by Augustus, and continued to be so under his successor. He is described as being 'vivida senectute' at the close of his life, and it is just possible he may have held the above post at that advanced age, but it is not probable, and I think it a fair argument, as far as it goes, for putting the date of the ode as late as we can. For further particulars respecting Lamia see iii. 17. The attempt to deduce from this ode any evidence of his being of a melancholy temperament is ridiculous.

ARGUMENT.

As the friend of the Muses should, I toss care to the winds, and mind not as every one else does the alarms of Tiridates. Sweet Muse, weave a garland for my Lamia. All my honours without thee are nought; him shouldst thou with thy sisters consecrate with the lyre.

MUSIS amicus tristitiam et metus
Tradam protervis in mare Creticum

1. *Musis amicus*] See C. iii. 4. 25:—"Vestris amicum fontibus et choris." The following image is common in the Greek poets. It occurs two or three times in the Anacreontic poems:—

τὸ δ' ἄχος πέφευγε μιχθὲν
ἀνεμοτρόφῳ θυέλλῃ. (39 Bergk.)

ὅτ' ἐγὼ πίω τὸν οἶνον
ἀπορίπτονται μέριμναι
πολυφρόντιδές τε βουλαὶ
ἐς ἁλικτύπους ἀήτας. (51).

ἐμῶν φρενῶν μὲν αὔραις
φέρειν ἔδωκα λύπας;

Portare ventis, quis sub Arcto
Rex gelidae metuatur orae,
Quid Tiridaten terreat unice
Securus. O, quae fontibus integris
Gaudes, apricos necte flores,
Necte meo Lamiae coronam,
Pimplea dulcis! Nil sine te mei
Prosunt honores: hunc fidibus novis,
Hunc Lesbio sacrare plectro
Teque tuasque decet sorores.

and elsewhere. See also Theocritus (xxii. 167):—

ἴσκον τοίαδε πολλά, τὰ δ' εἰς ὑγρὸν ᾤχετο κῦμα
πνοίῃ ἔχοισ' ἀνέμοιο.

See last note of the last preceding ode.

3. *quis*] This is probably the dative case, and refers to the terror inspired in Tiridates and his party by the approach of the Scythians. Dillenbr. prefers taking it as the nominative case, and it is not easy to decide which it is; in the loose way of talking Horace may either mean he does not care who is the king of the Scythians, or who is afraid of the king of the Scythians. Either contains meaning enough for the occasion. See Introduction.

6. *fontibus integris*]

—— "juvat integros accedere fontes."
(Lucret. iv. 2).

9. *Pimplea*] Pimplea, a fountain in Macedonia, sacred to the Muses. Bentley adopts the conjecture of N. Heinsius, 'Pimplei,' which Fea has also adopted. But all the MSS. are in favour of the other form; and Pimplea is both the fountain and the Muse. For 'prosunt' some MSS. read 'possunt, which Lambinus prefers and Bentley adopts. 'Fidibus novis' are strings untried till Horace tried them.

[11. *Lesbio*] See C. i. 32. 5, 'Lesbio primum modulate civi.']

CARMEN XXVII.

Porphyrion calls this ode "προτρεπτικὴ ad hilaritatem cujus sensus sumptus est ex Anacreonte in libro tertio," and Comm. Cruq. quotes the words of Anacreon which are these:—

ἄγε δηὖτε μηκέθ' οὕτω
πατάγῳ τε κἀλαλήτῳ
Σκυθικὴν πόσιν παρ' οἴνῳ
μελετῶμεν, ἀλλὰ καλοῖς
ὑποπίνοντες ἐν ὕμνοις. (Fr. 63 Bergk.)

(I suppose δηὖτε is meant by Bergk for δὴ αὖτε. But I need not stop to discuss his Greek, in which he is not always happy. δεῦτε is an obvious correction.) Whether the remainder of the poem furnished any other of the ideas in Horace's ode, or whether he got his scene from life, we cannot tell. Nothing can surpass the good temper and dramatic ease that runs through the ode.

ARGUMENT.

Let barbarous Thracians fight over their wine—stop your unhallowed noises, my friends, and each lie quietly on his couch. What, am I to join you? Then let that boy tell me who has got his heart. Will he not? Then I drink not. Whoever it is, thou hast no cause to be ashamed. Here whisper it in my ear.—Ah! poor boy, what a Charybdis hast thou got into! What witch, what god shall deliver thee? Pegasus himself could not do it.

NATIS in usum laetitiae scyphis
Pugnare Thracum est: tollite barbarum
  Morem, verecundumque Bacchum
    Sanguineis prohibete rixis.
Vino et lucernis Medus acinaces
Immane quantum discrepat: impium
  Lenite clamorem, sodales,
    Et cubito remanete presso.
Voltis severi me quoque sumere
Partem Falerni? Dicat Opuntiae
  Frater Megillae quo beatus
    Volnere, qua pereat sagitta.
Cessat voluntas? Non alia bibam
Mercede. Quae te cunque domat Venus
  Non erubescendis adurit
    Ignibus ingenuoque semper
Amore peccas. Quidquid habes age
Depone tutis auribus. Ah miser,
  Quanta laborabas Charybdi,
    Digne puer meliore flamma!
Quae saga, quis te solvere Thessalis
Magus venenis, quis poterit deus?
  Vix illigatum te triformi
    Pegasus expediet Chimaera.

3. *verecundum*] In Epod. xi. 13 he is called 'inverecundum,' and Bentley proposes that word here. But the cases are different, and the MSS. are unanimous.

5. *Vino et lucernis*] In prose these datives would be expressed by the ablative with 'a.' The same constructions in Horace are 'dissidens plebi,' C. ii. 2. 18; "medio ne discrepet imum," A. P. 152.

acinaces] This word, which signifies the Persian scimitar or short sword, appears to have been introduced into Greece after the Persian wars. It is commonly used by Herodotus (vii. 54). Horace seems to have been the first Latin writer that employed it.—Horace says quarrelling is vastly unsuited to those jovial meetings which are kept up to a late hour—'vino et lucernis.' The Romans sat down to table seldom later than three or four o'clock, and sometimes continued there till past midnight.

6. *Immane quantum*] This form is imitated from the Greek: *οὐράνιον ὅσον, θαυμαστὸν ὅσον, ἀμύθητον ὅσον, θαυμαστὰ ἡλίκα, ἀμήχανον ὅσον*—phrases we meet with in Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Aristophanes, &c. The same expression occurs in Tacitus and Sallust, and 'mirum quantum,' 'nimium quantum,' are used by Cicero, and Livy (ii. 1 fin.). The oldest Berne MS. has 'discrepet,' but the indicative mood is right, 'immane quantum' being merely an expletive.

10. *Opuntiae*] The birthplace of Megilla (the Locrian Opus) is added, as Buttmann remarks, only "to give the poem a fresher look of individuality." The same remark will apply in other instances, as, for instance, "Xanthia Phoceu" (C. ii. 4. 2).

19. *laborabas*] Several MSS. have 'laboras Charybdi' against the metre; one or two have inserted the preposition 'in' to make the verse straight; but the oldest and best MSS. have the imperfect tense, of which Bentley can make nothing. Orelli may be right in saying it refers to the time when the question was put. But perhaps some finer sense of the imperfect tense may be traced in this word, as in "Tempus erat dapibus, sodales" (C. i. 37. 4 note).

CARMEN XXVIII.

A great deal has been written about this ode, as to the spirit and purport of it, the occasion of its composition, the persons introduced, and the parts they respectively bear. The more literally we take the ode and the less we search for hidden meanings, or attempt to fix the date or the cause that led to the train of thought, the more likely we are, I conceive, to arrive at the true bearing of the ode. Septimius, one of Horace's most intimate friends, had a villa at Tarentum (C. ii. 6), where it is likely Horace on some occasion, if not often, paid him a visit. It seems to me not improbable that he may have seen a body cast on shore at that place where the scene appears to be laid. The sight of this body might naturally suggest such an ode as this, in which the spirit of a shipwrecked man is introduced moralizing upon death and asking for burial. His reflections take the form, in the first instance, of an address to Archytas the philosopher, whose name was associated with Tarentum, and he joins with him other worthies, whose wisdom and greatness had not saved them from the common lot of all. There may have been a legend that Archytas was buried on the 'litus Matinum,' generally supposed to be a part of the range of Mons Garganus in Apulia. Possibly a tomb was shown there that was said to be his. But it does not follow that the speaker was there. The name of Archytas would be suggested by his association with Tarentum, where I think (from v. 29) the scene is laid, and the name of such a man is naturally connected with the reflections of this ode, even independently of his connexion with the place. That Archytas was shipwrecked on a voyage down the Hadriatic (which is the general opinion) has been too hastily assumed from this ode. If he was really buried at the foot of Mons Garganus, there are other ways of accounting for it. But the fact is not proved.

The ode has the appearance at first sight of a dialogue, and the great majority of commentators take it in that way. Though differing from others as to the division of the dialogue, which I thought should take place in the middle of the fifteenth verse, I was once of the same opinion myself. I have now changed that opinion, and believe, with Hottinger and others, quoted by Orelli in his Excursus, that it is no dialogue at all, which view I am the more disposed to adopt, because it is supported by the judgment of my friend Mr. Long. Those who hold this opinion are divided in their interpretation. Casaubon affirmed that the ode was merely the poet's meditation upon the fate of Archytas and on the destiny of all great men: followed by an appeal, on the part of Archytas, for burial (I suppose at v. 21). Lübker and Rezel think Horace's ghost is speaking under the fanciful notion that he himself had been drowned off Palinurus (C. iii. 4. 27). G. Fabricius supposed the shade of Archytas to be speaking throughout. Hottinger (Opusc. Phil. Lips. 1817) and Weiske (Jahn. Annal. Phil. 1830) held the view that I have adopted, except that they supposed the unfortunate man, whose body is lying unburied, is speaking at the tomb of Archytas on the promontory of Matinum. I see no occasion for that, and think the subject of the ode is more likely to have been suggested at Tarentum than any where else. The words 'Neptuno custode Tarenti' seems to fix the scene. If Archytas was buried, or supposed to be buried, at Matinum, it would be natural for one who thought of the narrow space to which his greatness was reduced to mention the spot where his bones lay. But it does not appear why a person speaking at Matinum should talk of Neptune particularly as the 'custos Tarenti.'

Those who consider that the whole ode consists of a dialogue between a sailor and Archytas divide it either after v. 6, or v. 16, or v. 20. They who make the mariner cease to speak at v. 6, do so chiefly, because the subjects that follow that verse are supposed to be above a speaker of his class. But, as that would be contradicted by Archytas' appeal to his judgment in v. 14, it has been proposed to alter 'te' into 'me' or 'se,'

though most even of those who divide the colloquy at v. 6 have overlooked this difficulty, and accepted 'te' on the authority of the MSS. But 'nauta' is not properly a common sailor, but 'navicularius,' a shipmaster. "Nautam accipere debemus eum qui navem exercet: quamvis nautae appellantur omnes qui navis navigandae causa in nave sunt. Sed de exercitore solummodo Praetor sentit" (Dig. 4. 9. 1. § 2). The 'exercitor' is the person who charters the ship. There does not seem to be any natural division at v. 16, and for Archytas to begin (at v. 21) with 'Me quoque devexi,' &c., nothing having gone before with which to connect those words, is also unnatural; while, if we understand him to begin his reply at 'Sed omnes una manet nox,' we have an opposition between the sarcasm of the first speaker (who says ironically of those that aspired to connexion with the gods and to the highest order of wisdom that they had not escaped death, not even Pythagoras, though he pretended to have done so once) and the grave truth, solemnly propounded by the philosopher, that all must die, wise and unwise, old and young, on land or at sea, and illustrated by his own case. This was once my opinion, and as many will still adhere to the theory of the dialogue and Archytas' shipwreck, I have put that theory in what appears to me the best form. The other explanation of the ode, however, I feel little doubt, is in the main the true one. Another, to which Orelli inclined (though he suspended his judgment on the whole question), supposes a sailor coasting along the Apulian shore and seeing the tomb of Archytas, whereupon he breaks out into the address 'Te maris,' &c., from v. 1 to 20. Then the ghost of a lately shipwrecked man comes forward and prays for a little sand. It would be difficult to imagine any circumstances that could have suggested such a scene, especially with so abrupt a change of persons. The sudden apparition of a ghost echoing back to the mariner at sea his own words to my mind appears almost ludicrous.

One difficulty appears to me to be fatal to the notion of a dialogue, and that is contained in the second and third verses, in which it appears to be clearly intimated that the body of Archytas has already received that which he is supposed so earnestly to pray for: for though many, I am aware, get over this difficulty by supposing 'cohibent munera' to mean that the *want of* the scanty gift of a little earth was keeping him back from his rest, I do not see how the words will bear that sense; nor can I translate 'cohibent' with Dillenbr. and others, as if it was meant that his body occupied but a small space on the surface of the ground. The words can only mean that he was under the sand, whether partially or otherwise, and in either case he would not require dust to be cast three times on him.

This consideration, as well as the unity and simplicity it gives to the ode, has induced me, with much confidence, to adopt the explanation I have given. The propriety of a sea-faring person being appealed to consists in his being exposed to risk of the same fate with the person who appeals to him.

ARGUMENT.

Even thee, thou measurer of earth and sea, thou counter of the sands, Archytas, how small a portion of earth contains thee now! It profits thee not to have searched the air and traversed the heavens since thou wert to die. So Tantalus, Tithonus, and Minos have died, and Pythagoras too with all his learning hath gone down once more to the grave. But so it is: all must die alike; some to make sport for Mars, some swallowed up in the deep: old and young go crowding to the grave: none escape: I too have perished in the waters. But grudge me not, thou mariner, a handful of earth: so may the storm spend itself on the woods while thou art safe and thy merchandize increases. Is it a small matter with thee to bring ruin on thy children? Yea, perhaps retribution awaits thyself: my curses will be heard, and then no atonement shall deliver thee. 'Tis but the work of a moment—thrice cast earth upon me and hasten on.

Te maris et terrae numeroque carentis arenae
Mensorem cohibent, Archyta,
Pulveris exigui prope litus parva Matinum
Munera, nec quidquam tibi prodest
Aërias tentasse domos animoque rotundum
Percurrisse polum morituro.
Occidit et Pelopis genitor, conviva deorum,
Tithonusque remotus in auras
Et Jovis arcanis Minos admissus, habentque
Tartara Panthoiden iterum Orco
Demissum, quamvis clipeo Trojana refixo
Tempora testatus nihil ultra
Nervos atque cutem morti concesserat atrae,
Judice te non sordidus auctor
Naturae verique. Sed omnes una manet nox
Et calcanda semel via leti:
Dant alios Furiae torvo spectacula Marti;
Exitio est avidum mare nautis;

1. *Te maris et terrae*] 'Te' is emphatic, as the abruptness of the opening requires. ἄμμον μετρεῖν, κύματα μετρεῖν (Theoc. xvi. 60), were proverbial expressions for lost labour. See Pind. Ol. 13. 46 and Georg. ii. 104 sqq.:—

—— "neque enim numero comprendere refert;
Quem qui scire velit, Libyci velit aequoris idem
Dicere quam multae Zephyro turbentur arenae."

Archimedes' work ὁ ψαμμίτης may be alluded to here. See Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography, art. Archimedes. There is no reason to suppose that Archytas attempted the problem.

3. *Pulveris exigui—parva—Munera*] See Introduction. 'Munus' may be rendered as in the Argument.—['litus Matinum.' Ritter attempts to prove that the 'litus Matinum' is the 'Tarentinum Calabriae litus,' but the evidence is not sufficient; nor is there any evidence that the 'litus Matinum' is in the Garganus, except the resemblance of a name.]

6. *Percurrisse polum*] "Atque omne immensum peragravit mente animoque," Lucr. i. 75.

9. *Minos*] Called by Hom. (Odyss. xix. 179) Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστής, the grandson of him who became judge in Hades.

10. *Panthoiden*] Pythagoras, in order to prove his doctrine of metempsychosis, declared that he had been Euphorbus the son of Panthous who fell in the Trojan war. In support of this assertion he claimed as his own a shield hung up in the temple of Juno at Argos, which when taken down proved to have the name of Euphorbus engraved on it. The nearest translation that I can give of what follows 'quamvis clipeo,' &c. is, 'although, by taking down the shield and testifying to the season of the Trojan war, he proved that he had surrendered nothing but his sinews and his skin to death.'

11. *quamvis*] "The poets, together with Livy and later writers, use 'quamvis' with an indicative, and *vice versâ* 'quanquam' with a subjunctive" (Key's Gram. 1227 b. note). [But the usage is not so absolute as it is here stated to be.] Horace uses the subjunctive where the case is strictly hypothetical, as C. iv. 2. 39, or where it suits the metre, as in C. iv. 6. 7.

14. *Judice te*] See Introduction.

non sordidus auctor Naturae verique] i.e. 'no mean teacher of truth physical and moral,' or, as we should say, 'no mean authority' on such subjects. Cicero says of Plato (Orat. c. 3): "Has rerum formas appellat ideas ille non intelligendi solum sed etiam dicendi gravissimus auctor et magister," and of Caecilius: "malus auctor Latinitatis est" (Ad. Att. vii. 3). "A trustworthy person, one on whose evidence we can rely, is 'auctor idoneus.' Livy calls

Mixta senum ac juvenum densentur funera, nullum
  Saeva caput Proserpina fugit.
Me quoque devexi rapidus comes Orionis
  Illyricis Notus obruit undis.
At tu, nauta, vagae ne parce malignus arenae
  Ossibus et capiti inhumato
Particulam dare: sic quodcunque minabitur Eurus
  Fluctibus Hesperiis, Venusinae
Plectantur silvae te sospite, multaque merces
  Unde potest tibi defluat aequo
Ab Jove Neptunoque sacri custode Tarenti.
  Negligis immeritis nocituram
Postmodo te natis fraudem committere, fors et
  Debita jura vicesque superbae
Te maneant ipsum: precibus non linquar inultis,
  Teque piacula nulla resolvent.

Polybius 'auctór non spernendus,' a man whose evidence and statements may be relied on." (Long on Cic. Verr. Act. ii. 5, c. 22 note.)

17. *Furiae*] This name represents the Greek notion of the Erinnyes as Ποιναί, or Ἀραί, the divinities which executed vengeance on the guilty, and in that character stirred up strife as here represented. So Virgil (Aen. iv. 473, 610) calls them 'Dirae ultrices;' and again (Aen. vii. 324):—

> "Luctificam Allecto dirarum ab sede sororum
> Infernisque ciet tenebris; cui tristia bella
> Iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi."

See also Aen. xii. 845—852. 'Spectacula' corresponds to C. i. 2. 37. 'Avaro mari,' C. iii. 29. 61, in spite of which, with no MS. authority, or that of but one MS. of a later date, Lambinus, Cruquius, and others here read 'avidis,' which is a useless epithet.

19. *densentur*] 'Densere' occurs in Lucretius, Virgil, and Tacitus.

20. *Proserpina fugit*] The perfect has the aoristic sense here. The allusion is explained by Virg. Aen. iv. 698:—

> "Nondum illi (Didoni) flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
> Abstulerat Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco."

In Eurip. (Alc. 74) Death says in respect to his victim,

> στείχω δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὡς κατάρξωμαι ξίφει·
> ἱερὸς γὰρ οὗτος τῶν κατὰ χθονὸς θεῶν
> ὅτου τόδ' ἔγχος κρατὸς ἁγνίσῃ τρίχα.

The general practice τοῦ κατάρχεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν was to cut off the forelock of the victim. [He says 'Proserpina avoids or shuns no head.' The common form would be 'no head escapes (fugit) Proserpina.']

21. *devexi—Orionis*] Orion sets about the beginning of November, a bad time for sailors. C. iii. 27. 18. Epod. xv. 7. Virg. Aen. vii. 719: "Saevus ubi Orion hibernis conditur undis."

[22. *Illyricis*] The waves of the Hadriatic. Ritter infers from this word that the speaker was wrecked on the Illyrian shore.]

23. *At tu, nauta*] A shipmaster (see Introduction) may be supposed to be passing, and the shade to appeal to him.

24. *capiti inhumato*] To avoid the hiatus Peerlkamp and Axt propose to substitute 'intumulato,' which Orelli thinks is a word coined by Ovid (Heroid. ii. 136): "Occurramque oculis intumulata tuis." Other hiatuses occur C. ii. 20. 13, iii. 14. 11. Epod. v. 100, xiii. 3.

25. *sic*] See note on C. 3. 1.

29. *custode Tarenti*] Taras, the founder of Tarentum, was a son of Neptune, who is represented on Tarentine coins as the tutelar deity of the place. ['Negligis—committere' is an hypothetical clause. See S. i. 3. 29 n.]

31. *Postmodo*] This belongs to 'nocituram,' and 'te' is dependent on 'natis.' 'Modo' limits 'post' to a short time. ['Fors' is 'misfortune.']

Quamquam festinas non est mora longa; licebit
Injecto ter pulvere curras.

[35. *licebit . . . curras*] 'You may run.' Ritter, following his notion that the man was wrecked on the coast of Illyricum, says that 'licebit' is used because Horace speaks of what the 'nauta' must do when he reaches the Illyrian shore, where he supposes the man's body to be. One blunder begets another. As to 'licebit—curras,' see Epod. xv. 19.]

36. *Injecto ter pulvere*] The number three is familiar in all religious ceremonies. Virg. (Aen. vi. 365):—

"Eripe me his invicte malis, aut tu mihi terram
Injice namque potes."

The watchman speaking of the corpse of Polyneices says, λεπτὴ δ' ἄγος φεύγοντος ὣς ἐπῆν κόνις (Soph. Ant. 256). The chief object in respect to the burial of the dead was that the face should be covered (Cic. de Leg. ii. 22). The word 'curras' is against the notion of the 'nauta' being at sea, as supposed by the theory Orelli favours (see Introduction).

CARMEN XXIX.

In the year of the city 730 an army was sent into Arabia Felix by Augustus under Aelius Gallus, who was governor of Egypt. The force chiefly consisted of troops stationed in that province (Strabo, p. 819: Γάλλος Αἴλιος μέρει τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ φρουρᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐμβαλών: and p. 780); but the prospect of wealth the expedition held out, from the indefinite knowledge then possessed of the country, attracted young men at Rome and induced, it would seem, Iccius, a man of studious habits, to join it. The expedition was attended with disaster, and the greater part of the force perished. Iccius survived, and we find Horace writing to him a few years later as Agrippa's steward in Sicily (Epp. i. 12). Beyond this nothing is known of Iccius. Much has been said about his being avaricious, and that is the opinion of the author of his life in the Biographical Dictionary usually referred to in these notes, who says that both in this ode and the epistle "Horace reprehends pointedly but delicately in Iccius an inordinate desire for wealth." I do not think this idea would have presented itself to so many minds if the Scholiasts had not made such remarks as these: "Ad Iccium scribit quem miratur philosophiae intermisso studio repente se ad militarem vitam contulisse cupiditate divitiarum."—"Parsimoniam laudat cum mordacitate" (Acron). "Per quod videtur concupiscere divitias Arabum."—"Inconstantiae reprehendit qui per avaritiam philosophiae studium militia mutavit" (Porphyrion). Such remarks prove nothing and throw no light upon Horace's meaning. The point is not worth discussing as respects the unknown Iccius; but the character of the ode is lost in this view of it. It is a piece of good-tempered jocular irony, of which the point lies in the man of books going forth as a conqueror to subdue fierce nations untamed before, and to return laden with the spoils of the East. Iccius may have been of a restless character and not easily satisfied with his position, if we may judge of the language of the epistle; but that scarcely affects the spirit of this ode, in which there does not appear to be any thing serious expressed or intended. Later times have seen young and chivalrous men hastening to an El Dorado in expectation of wealth and distinction, and finding nothing but disappointment, and such appears to have been the case on the occasion of this expedition into Arabia.

Jacobs has discussed these two poems in his Lect. Venusinae, Art. i., reprinted from the Rhein. Mus. 1828. As the expedition was some time preparing, it is not clear whether this ode was written A.U.C. 730, the year of the expedition, or a year or two earlier.

ARGUMENT.

What, Iccius, after all dost thou grudge the Arabs their wealth, and prepare chains for the princes of Sabaea and the fierce Mede? Which of the fair barbarians dost thou mean to bring home for thy bed, or what royal page for thy table? Sure, rivers shall flow back to their mountains and the Tiber turn again, if Iccius can desert his books to put on the breastplate.

Icci, beatis nunc Arabum invides
Gazis, et acrem militiam paras
Non ante devictis Sabaeae
Regibus, horribilique Medo
Nectis catenas? Quae tibi virginum
Sponso necato barbara serviet?
Puer quis ex aula capillis
Ad cyathum statuetur unctis,
Doctus sagittas tendere Sericas
Arcu paterno? Quis neget arduis
Pronos relabi posse rivos
Montibus et Tiberim reverti,
Cum tu coëmptos undique nobilis

1. *nunc*] This word expresses surprise, 'what now! to belie all expectations and abandon all your pursuits!'

3. *Sabaeae*] The Romans had possession of parts of Arabia Petraea but not of Arabia Felix. Hence he says—

"Intactis opulentior
Thesauris Arabum."

(C. iii. 24. 1.) The 'horrible Mede,' that is the Parthian, is only introduced to heighten the colouring of the picture.

5. *Quae—virginum—barbara*] A very uncommon construction (like τίς ἀνδρῶν;) for 'quae virgo barbara' or 'quae virginum barbararum.' There is humour in the question, as if Iccius had only to choose for himself some royal damsel whose betrothed he was to slay with his own hand, and an Eastern page of great beauty brought from his native wilds to wait upon one of the princes of this happy land.

7. *Puer ex aula*] These words are to be taken together. Boys whose office it was to pour out the wine are called in inscriptions 'pueri a cyatho' or 'ad cyathum,' or 'ab argento potorio,' 'ad argentum potorium,' 'a potione,' and so forth. Fea speaks of a very elegant picture of a boy in the act of pouring wine, which was dug up at Rome in 1780. [Comp. Sueton. Caesar, c. 49, 'ad cyathum stetisse.']

9. *sagittas tendere*] For 'arcum tendere.' Virgil also says (Aen. ix. 606), 'spicula tendere cornu,' and (Aen. v. 508) 'pariterque oculos telumque tetendit.' [See C. i. 12. 56, iii. 29. 27, as to the name Seres. The Seres produced the best iron, says Pliny, H. N. 34, c. 14, quoted by Ritter.]

11. *Pronos relabi posse rivos*] The phrase ἄνω ποταμῶν became a proverb from Euripides (Med. 410): ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαί. Demosthenes uses the expression (De F. L., Reiske, 433. 25), ἀλλὰ δῆτα ἄνω ποταμῶν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πάντες. Cic. ad Att. xv. 4: "Si vero etiam Carfulenus: ἄνω ποταμῶν."

13. *nobilis Panaeti*] Horace might intend this epithet for 'libros' or 'Panaeti.' It will suit either, since the accusative plural is written in the MSS. 'es,' 'eis' or 'is.' Bentley connects it with the Stoic: but whether he is right or wrong in his conclusion, his reason is bad: "ne 'libros' duplice epitheto accumulemus:" 'coëmptos' is not an epithet, and there was no reason why Horace should not say 'nobiles libros coëmptos' in the sense 'quos coëmisti' if he had pleased. Orelli agrees with Bentley. [Ritter has 'nobiles,' which is better.]

14. *Socraticam et domum*] Socrates' School, as Plato, Xenophon, &c. Cicero

Libros Panaeti Socraticam et domum
Mutare loricis Hiberis
Pollicitus meliora tendis?

speaks of the 'familia Peripateticorum' (Div. ii. 1); and Horace supposes himself to be asked 'quo me duce, quo Lare tuter' (Epp. i. 1. 13). Panaetius of Rhodes (Cicero, De Off. iii. 2) left an unfinished treatise 'de officiis' in three books, and Cicero professes to follow him as his chief guide. He lived in the second century B.C., was intimate with the younger Scipio Africanus, and his lectures were attended by P. Rutilius Rufus.

CARMEN XXX.

A fragment of one of Alcman's poems (10 Bergk) runs *Κύπρον ἱμερτὰν λιποῖσα καὶ Πάφον περίῤῥυτον*, and of Sappho's (7 Bergk), *ἤ σε Κύπρος ἢ Πάφος ἢ Πάνορμος*. A longer fragment of Anacreon (2 Bergk), containing an invocation to Bacchus on behalf of Cleobulus, is usually quoted in connexion with this ode, but it is not improbable that the main incident of a lady sacrificing or dedicating a little chapel to Venus is taken from life.

ARGUMENT.

Royal Venus, leave thy beloved Cyprus and come dwell in Glycera's temple. Let Love come with thee, and the Graces, and Nymphs, and Youth who is unlovely without thee, and Mercury too.

O Venus, regina Cnidi Paphique,
Sperne dilectam Cypron, et vocantis
Ture te multo Glycerae decoram
Transfer in aedem.
Fervidus tecum puer et solutis
Gratiae zonis properentque Nymphae
Et parum comis sine te Juventas
Mercuriusque.

2. *Sperne dilectam Cypron*] This can hardly fail to have been taken from the above fragment—*Κύπρον ἱμερτὰν λιποῖσα*. [There was a famous statue of Venus, a naked figure, the work of Praxiteles, at Cnidos, which pilgrims went to see (Lucian, *Ἔρωτες*, ii. 397, Hemst.).]

4. *aedem*] The humblest houses had their little chapel set apart for an image. Tibullus alludes to this (i. 10. 20)—

"Tunc melius tenuere fidem, cum paupere cultu
Stabat in exigua ligneus aede deus."

5. *solutis Gratiae zonis*] The Graces as Seneca saw them were always painted and sculptured with loose and transparent drapery (De Benefic. i. c. 3): "Quare tres Gratiae et quasi sorores sunt, et quare manibus implexis, quare ridentes, quare juvenes, et quare virgines, solutaque ac perlucida veste?" Pausanias (ix. 35. 6) says that the older painters and sculptors represented them clothed, but the later ones in his time naked, *οἱ δὲ ὕστερον οὐκ οἶδα ἐφ' ὅτῳ μεταβεβλήκασι τὸ σχῆμα αὐταῖς. Χάριτας γοῦν οἱ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔπλασσόν τε καὶ ἔγραφον γυμνάς*. See C. i. 4. 6; iii. 19. 16; iv. 7. 6.

7. *Et parum comis sine te Juventas*] See Homer (Hymn to Apollo, 195): *ἥβη τε Διὸς θυγάτηρ τ' Ἀφροδίτη*. Plutarch (Conjugalia Præcepta, Introd.) explains the combination of Venus and Mercury and the others thus, *οἱ παλαιοὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τὸν Ἑρμῆν συγκαθίδρυσαν ὡς τῆς περὶ τὸν γάμον ἡδονῆς μάλιστα λόγου δεομένης, τήν τε Πειθὼ καὶ τὰς Χάριτας ἵνα πείθοντες διαπράττωνται παρ' ἀλλήλων ἃ βούλονται μὴ μαχόμενοι μηδὲ φιλονεικοῦντες.*

CARMEN XXXI.

In A.U.C. 726 (25th October), Augustus dedicated a temple with a library attached, which he had built in honour of Apollo, on the Palatine hill, to commemorate his victory at Actium (Suet. Octav. 29, Dion Cass. liii. 1). After the ceremonies of the day of dedication were over, we may suppose Horace putting in his own claim to the god's favour in this ode, in which he represents himself as offering a libation (whether in private or at the temple is uncertain), and asking for that which according to Juvenal (x. 356) should be the end of all prayer, 'mens sana in corpore sano!'

ARGUMENT.

What asks the poet with his libation of Apollo? not cups, or herds, or gold and ivory, or rich fields. Let those who may prune Calenian vines, and rich merchants drink rich wine out of cups of gold, favourites of heaven, who traverse the deep in safety. My food is the olive, the chicory, and mallow. Let me enjoy what I have, thou son of Lato, sound in body and mind, and let my age pass with honour and the lyre.

Quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem
Vates? quid orat de patera novum
Fundens liquorem? Non opimae
Sardiniae segetes feraces,
Non aestuosae grata Calabriae
Armenta, non aurum aut ebur Indicum,
Non rura quae Liris quieta
Mordet aqua taciturnus amnis.
Premant Calena falce quibus dedit
Fortuna vitem, dives et aureis
Mercator exsiccet culullis
Vina Syra reparata merce,

1. *dedicatum*] This word is applied to the god as well as his temple. So Cic. de N. D. ii. 23, says, "ut Fides ut Mens quas in Capitolio dedicatas videmus proxime a M. Aemilio Scauro." Ov. Fast. vi. 637 :—

"Te quoque magnifica, Concordia, dedicat aede
Livia, quam caro praestitit illa viro."

5. *Calabriae*] C. ii. 6. 10; Epod. i. 27 n.

[6. *ebur Indicum*] 'Indicum' may be merely a poetical ornament. The Roman ivory came from Africa, more probably than from India; but ivory may have come from India also in Horace's time.]

9. *Premant*] Virgil uses this word in the same sense (Georg. i. 156): "et ruris opaci Falce premes umbras;" and Ovid (Met. xiv. 628) :—

—— "adunca dextera falce
Qua modo luxuriem premit et spatiantia passim
Brachia compescit."

'Vitem' is governed both by 'premant' and 'dedit.' Bentley prefers 'Calenam' to 'Calena.' But, though the omission of the mark which usually represents the final 'm' is so common that it proves nothing in exceptional cases, yet there is no reason to suppose the copyists of all existing and known MSS. made the omission in this instance. But none read 'Calenam.' 'Falce,' moreover, is much less otiose (redundant) with the epithet than without; and, notwithstanding Bentley's distinction between fixtures and moveable instruments, the expression 'Calena falce' is as appropriate as 'praelo Caleno' above (20. 9), or 'Laes-

Dis carus ipsis, quippe ter et quater
Anno revisens aequor Atlanticum
Impune. Me pascunt olivae,
Me cichorea levesque malvae.
Frui paratis et valido mihi,
Latoë, dones, et precor integra
Cum mente, nec turpem senectam
Degere nec cithara carentem.

trygonia amphora,' 'Sabina diota,' 'Graeca testa,' where to the press that makes or the vessel which contains the wine is applied the name of the wine itself.

12. *Vina Syra reparata merce*] Wine taken in exchange for Syrian goods, which include all the costly merchandize of the East, elsewhere called 'Tyriae merces.' The seaports of Syria were entrepôts for goods from and for the East.—Though Horace uses many words compounded with 're,' without any perceptible difference of meaning from the simple words, as 'retractare,' 'resecare,' 'resolvere,' 'revincere,' 'renare,' 'remittere,' there is the force of bartering in this word, as in ἀνταγοράζεσθαι. (See C. i. 37. 24 n.) 'Mercator' was a dealer in wares, who generally sailed or travelled with his goods into foreign parts to dispose of them. The mention of the Atlantic is out of place immediately after 'Syra merce'—but as usual Horace does not aim at strict accuracy. 'Aequor Atlanticum' suited his verse. The travelling merchants are often referred to by Horace. See C. i. 1. 16; iii. 24. 40. S. i. 1. 6, 4. 29. Epp. i. 1. 45, 16. 71.

[18. *et*] The conjecture of Lambinus; but the MSS. authority is in favour of 'at,' which Keller and Ritter have.]

CARMEN XXXII.

This ode has caused the commentators much trouble. Whether it was meant to be an introduction to some poem Horace wrote or intended to write on one of the events of the day, or what sort of song he was asked for and by whom, are all questions that have been freely discussed. The question turns in the first instance on the word with which the ode begins. The Scholiasts read 'Poscimur,' on which Acron's comment is 'poscebatur dicta sua edere;' Porphyrion's 'Exigitur a nobis ut canamus.' But a large number of MSS. have 'Poscimus,' which Bentley adopts after Lambinus and all the older editions. (Cruquius, however, following his Blandinian MS., reads 'Poscimur.') With that reading the ode becomes a mere invocation of the Muse, which would suit any poem or any subject. With 'Poscimur,' which I have followed most of the modern editors in adopting, there is still no clue whatever to the occasion of the ode, and the Scholiasts' remarks do not help us. I see no grounds for Dillenbr.'s supposition that on some important occasion Horace was asked to write a poem, and wrote this short ode to deprecate such a demand, and to show that his muse was not suited to such themes. I have no doubt 'poscimur' is the true reading, and it may mean merely that the poetic 'afflatus' was on him. The abruptness of the opening favours that notion. See note on v. 2.

ARGUMENT.

I am asked to sing. If I have ever composed a song that shall not die, with thee my lyre, come help me to a Latin song—thou whom Alcaeus did first touch, who in the

field or on the deep still sung of Liber, the Muses, Venus and her son, and Lycus with dark eyes and hair. Thou glory of Phoebus, welcome at the tables of the gods, thou consoler of my toils, help me whenever I shall invoke thee.

Poscimur. Si quid vacui sub umbra
Lusimus tecum quod et hunc in annum
Vivat et plures, age dic Latinum,
  Barbite, carmen,
Lesbio primum modulate civi,
Qui ferox bello tamen inter arma,
Sive jactatam religarat udo
  Litore navim,
Liberum et Musas Veneremque et illi
Semper haerentem puerum canebat
Et Lycum nigris oculis nigroque
  Crine decorum.
O decus Phoebi et dapibus supremi
Grata testudo Jovis, o laborum
Dulce lenimen, mihi cumque salve
  Rite vocanti.

1. *Poscimur*] See Introduction.—'umbra' Bentley changes into 'antro.' He does not quarrel with 'umbra,' but finding 'antro' in one MS. he embraces it with both his arms: "Non possumus non ambabus ulnis eam amplecti." Cunningham, his foe, is here his only follower I believe, though Bentley proves satisfactorily by twenty quotations that poets do sometimes compose their verses in caves.

2. *quod et hunc in annum*] It has been disputed whether these words belong to 'lusimus' or to 'carmen.' I take them to belong to the former. Horace seems to mean that he feels impelled to higher strains than he had yet practised, and he calls on his lyre to help him. 'Barbitos' is used as a feminine noun by the early Greek writers. The name of Lycus appears in a fragment of Alcaeus (57 Bergk), quoted by the Scholiast on Pind. Ol. x. 15: *οὐκ ἐγὼ Λύκον ἐν Μοίσαις ἀλέγω.* Cicero (de Nat. Deor. i. 28) says, "Naevus in articulo pueri delectat Alcaeum. At est corporis macula naevus: illi tamen lumen videbatur."

5. *modulate*] See C. i. 1. 24 n.

[7. *sive*] 'Sive' must be supplied before 'inter arma.' As to Alcaeus, 'the Lesbian citizen,' see Herodotus v. 95, and Horace, C. ii. 13. 26.]

10. *haerentem*] This verb 'haerere' is used by Horace with a dative as here, and S. i. 10. 49; or with an ablative with 'in,' as S. i. 3. 32; or without 'in,' as C. i. 2. 9. S. ii. 3. 205.

15. *cumque*] As 'quandoque' is put for 'quandocumque' (see Index), 'cumque' is put for 'cumcumque' or 'quumquumque,' which occurs in Lucret. ii. 113:—

"Contemplator enim, quum solis lumina quumque
Inserti fundunt radii per opaca domorum:"

'Cumque' belongs to 'vocanti.' [Ritter explains 'cumque' thus: 'mihi, quicumque sum,' that is, 'cujuscumque pretii sum;' and he says that 'cumque' as an enclitic cannot refer to what follows it. All the other examples in Horace of 'cumque' are preceded by some form of 'qui,' or by 'quando,' itself a form of 'qui.' Lachmann (Lucretius v. 311) made the absurd conjecture 'medicumque' for 'mihi cumque.' I think Ritter's explanation is right. The translation is, 'accept my greeting, such as I am, when I duly invoke thee.' Comp. Virgil, Aen. xi. 97, 'Salve aeternum mihi, maxime Palla.']

CARMEN XXXIII.

The extant elegies properly attributed to Tibullus mention only two mistresses of his, under the names of Delia and Nemesis, and these are the only two that Ovid mentions in the beautiful elegy he wrote on that poet's death (Amor. iii. 9. 31, 55 sqq.). Of the person he calls Delia he was enamoured during the earlier part of his life; of Nemesis during his later years. He died between thirty and forty, about the same time as Virgil. Much has been written to prove that the Glycera of this ode stands for Delia (see particularly Spohn de A. Tibulli vita et carm. p. 50, 96, who believes that Delia, Nemesis, Glycera, Neaera – a name occurring only in the third book, which Tibullus, it is pretty certain, did not write, were all the same woman). Others have identified Glycera with Nemesis, on account of the number and quantity of the syllables being the same, and the epithets Tibullus applies to her, 'avara,' 'rapax,' 'saeva,' 'dura,' which correspond to Horace's 'immitis.' Dissen is certain that Glycera is neither Delia nor Nemesis, but another mistress otherwise unknown. Orelli is of the same opinion, but adds that those who thus attempt to settle to a nicety the loves of Roman gentlemen, and pretend to know more about them than they have told us, only create a smile among those who have lived long in France or Italy—implying that his countrymen were bad judges of the amusements of their more gallant neighbours. It is not even certain that Tibullus wrote the pitiful elegies Horace speaks of. Glycera is one of Horace's favourite names, and cannot be taken for a real name here or elsewhere. It occurs in Plautus (Mil. Glor. ii. 5. 26) and Martial (xiv. 187). Whether the person had any more reality than the name or the verses, is, I think, doubtful. That Tibullus wrote elegies, that he was not rarely crossed in love, and that he was on some occasion in a desponding humour, are facts sufficient to form a probable foundation for this good-tempered little poem. Whoever goes further than this will find he is out of his depth.

Horace was much attached to Tibullus, who was a favourite with his contemporaries. To him was addressed the fourth epistle of the first book.

ARGUMENT.

Come, Albius, do not be drawling pitiful poetry upon Glycera, because she prefers a younger man to you. Pretty Lycoris loves Cyrus, Cyrus inclines to Pholoë, who admires the vulgar sinner as the she-goat loves the wolf. Such are Love's diversions, bringing opposites under the yoke together. So it happened to me—a tender heart was attached to me, while I could not free myself from the fetters of Myrtale, more cruel than the waves of the Hadriatic.

Albi, ne doleas plus nimio memor
Immitis Glycerae, neu miserabiles
Decantes elegos cur tibi junior
  Laesa praeniteat fide.
Insignem tenui fronte Lycorida

3. *cur*] 'Cur,' or 'quur, is formed from 'qui' (Key's Gr. 316), and has the force of 'quod' here, as in Epp. i. 8. 10, and in Cicero (Att. iii. 13): "quod me accusas cur hunc meum casum tam graviter feram debes ignoscere."

[3. *Decantes*] This word is here used, as Cicero uses it (Or. ii. 18), in a contemptuous sense. The Germans compare it with their word 'hersingen.' It occurs Epp. i. 1. 64.]

5. *tenui fronte*] A low forehead was considered a beauty, and the women braided their hair accordingly, as appears in some statues, among others in the so-called Isis of the British Museum. The same appears

Cyri torret amor, Cyrus in asperam
Declinat Pholoën; sed prius Apulis
  Jungentur capreae lupis
Quam turpi Pholoë peccet adultero.
Sic visum Veneri, cui placet impares
Formas atque animos sub juga aënea
  Saevo mittere cum joco.
Ipsum me, melior cum peteret Venus,
Grata detinuit compede Myrtale
Libertina, fretis acrior Hadriae
  Curvantis Calabros sinus.

to have been considered an attraction in men. Epp. i. 7. 26: "reddes—nigros angusta fronte capillos." Intellectual beauty, as we view it, in men is better described by Pliny, Epist. iii. 6. 2: "rari et cedentes capilli; lata frons."

7. *Cyrus in asperam Declinat Pholoën*] Heyne, on Tibull. i. 8, has been at pains to show that Horace's Pholoë and the heroine of that elegy are identical; and Broukhusius identifies Cyrus with her lover Marathus. Any one who reads Horace's words with his eyes open will see that he is making names for a case of common occurrence; and whoever reads Tibullus' elegy, will see that he is not pleading for a Cyrus such as Horace describes. See C. ii. 5.

8. *Jungentur capreae lupis*] This is a common hyperbole. Ep. xvi. 30: "Novaque monstra junxerit libidine Mirus amor," &c. Arist. Pax, 1076: *πρίν κεν λύκος οἶν ὑμεναίοι.*

14. *compede*] This word is used twice again by Horace in the singular number: "grata compede vinctum" (C. iv. 11. 24); "nivali compede vinctus" (Epp. i. 3. 3); and once by Tibullus: "Spes etiam valida solatur compede vinctum" (ii. 6. 25). Bentley has quoted several inscriptions to show that Myrtale was a common name among freedwomen. ['Curvantis:' see C. iv. 5. 14.]

CARMEN XXXIV.

If Horace had any serious meaning in this ode, as I think he had, it is to be supposed he wrote it under some impulse of conscience, which told him that he had been too careless of that sovereign power which governs all things. The language, though impulsive, appears genuine; and whether it was through the phenomenon here mentioned or any other cause that his mind was impressed, he seems to express more than merely poetical feeling; and the power acknowledged is not that conventional Fortune of the next ode, but the Supreme Being who declares his existence by the voice of conscience, through sudden impressions and startling signs, such as under some form or other we may believe Horace was struck with.

I believe Baxter was the first from the word 'apicem' (v. 14) to suppose an allusion to the Parthians and the transfer of the power from Phraates to Tiridates, or back from Tiridates to Phraates. This opinion is generally adopted now, and Buttmann has given it his sanction. He says "*apex* is the peculiar name for the head-dress of the Persian kings; and, just about the time when by the most probable calculation the odes of this book must have been written, a revolution took place in the Parthian empire, the most powerful state in the world next to Rome, whereby Tiridates was dethroned and driven out of the country, and Phraates was re-established in his stead." More weight I think is given to these words than they deserve. Chronologically considered they must be

allowed to be very loose. The translator of Buttmann's article in the Cambridge Philological Museum (May, 1832) destroys his theory completely by saying, "there can be little doubt too that Horace was *also* thinking of the omen of Lucius Tarquinius: the image and the expressions

——'hinc apicem rapax
Fortuna cum stridore acuto
Sustulit'—

clearly allude to the eagle that carried up his bonnet 'cum magno clangore,' as Livy tells the story; and, though Livy calls the bonnet a 'pileus,' Cicero (De Legg. i. 1) uses the very word 'apex.'" It is not probable that Horace meant to allude to both these historical facts together, but more likely that he intended neither the one nor the other; and that the 'dilogia' supposed has been too hastily taken up from Baxter, who finds these double meanings at every turn.

ARGUMENT.

Careless of Heaven I have been wandering in the darkness of an insane creed; I now retrace my steps, awakened by the sign of Jove's chariot dashing through an unclouded sky, that chariot with which he shakes the earth, the waters, and hell, and the ends of the world. God is strong to bring down the mighty and exalt the low, to take the crown from one and place it on the head of another.

Parcus deorum cultor et infrequens
Insanientis dum sapientiae
Consultus erro, nunc retrorsum
Vela dare atque iterare cursus
Cogor relictos: namque Diespiter,
Igni corusco nubila dividens
Plerumque, per purum tonantes
Egit equos volucremque currum,

2. *sapientiae*] 'Sapientia' is used for philosophy. The doctrines of Epicurus are so called κατ' ἐξοχὴν by Lucretius—

——"Deus ille fuit, Deus, inclyte Memmi,
Qui princeps vitae rationem invenit eam quae
Nunc appellatur sapientia" (v. 8 sqq.);

[and Juvenal has (xiv. 321)—

"Nunquam aliud Natura, aliud Sapientia dicit."]

This creed Horace professed, writing in his twenty-eighth year, to hold (S. i. 5. 101.)

——"Deos didici securum agere aevum,
Nec si quid miri faciat natura, deos id
Tristes ex alto caeli demittere tecto."

But it is not necessary to take him at his word. 'Sapientiae consultus' is like 'jurisconsultus.' Lambinus has collected from the Greek poets many expressions like 'insanientis sapientiae,' and has added one or two from Cicero, which Orelli has copied, and has added ἄσοφος, ἵν' οὕτως ὀνομάσω, σοφία from Gregory of Nazianzus, who has imitated Horace perhaps unconsciously.

5. *relictos*] N. Heinsius (on Ovid. Met. viii. 173) conjectured 'relectos,' and Bentley has adopted that word, solemnly affirming that he thought of it before he knew Heinsius had done so: "equidem, quod sancte asseverare possum," &c. Gesner says it is a necessary correction. All the MSS. have 'relictos,' and the verse is so quoted by Eutychius the grammarian (ap. Bent.). The reader will judge how much weight is due to the alteration by reading Bentley's condemnation of the received reading. "*Iterare relicta maria, vestigia, vias, spatia*, recte quidem dixeris, cursus autem cum non ipsa via sit sed per viam decursio, non dixeris *cursus relictos* sed *intermissos*; non *desertos*, sed *desitos*." Most persons who can admit the propriety of 'vias relictas' will not quarrel with 'cursus re-

Quo bruta tellus et vaga flumina,
Quo Styx et invisi horrida Taenari
Sedes Atlanteusque finis
Concutitur. Valet ima summis

lictos. 'Iterare cursus relictos' signifies to return to the paths he had left; 'iterare' being equivalent to 'repetere.'

Diespiter] Aulus Gellius (Noct. Att. v. 12) says that this name was given to Jove as 'diei et lucis pater,' and Macrobius gives the same derivation. 'Dies' is an old form of the genitive (Key's Gr. § 146). But probably the two first syllables are only a different form of 'Jup-' in 'Juppiter,' and from the same root as Ζεύς.

7. *per purum tonantes*] The phenomenon of thunder heard in a clear sky is frequently alluded to by the ancients, and was held especially ominous. The chorus in Oed. Col. (v. 1456) suddenly exclaim ἔκτυπεν αἰθήρ, ὦ Ζεῦ, which Oedipus takes up immediately as a sign of his approaching end. See Virg. Georg. i. 487. Aen. vii. 141, &c. Hom. Odyss. xx. 112 sqq.—

Ζεῦ πάτερ——
ἦ μεγάλ' ἐβρόντησας ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,
οὐδέ ποθι νέφος ἐστί· τέρας νύ τεῳ τόδε φαίνεις.

Lambinus has collected many more instances. Lucretius denies the possibility of such anomalous thunder (vi. 247)—

——"nam caelo nulla sereno
Nec leviter densis mittuntur nubibus unquam."

And again (vi. 400):

"Denique cur nunquam caelo jacit undique puro
Juppiter in terras fulmen sonitusque profundit?"

Nearly all the old editions put a stop after 'dividens' and join 'plerumque' with what follows, which makes nonsense. The Scholiasts did not read the passage so, nor Landinus; otherwise I have met with none till Talbot who have not thus spoilt the passage. Bentley has a very long note to prove what requires no evidence but that of common sense, and to claim the merit of the discovery. It is singular that he had not seen it in the edition of Baxter to whom he sometimes refers with respect, and who complains in a later edition of the 'great and ingenuous man's' injustice to his countryman. But Talbot had preceded them both, and got no credit from either; so had Creech (note on Lucret. vi. 95).

[9. *bruta tellus*] 'The senseless earth.' In C. iii. 4. 45 the earth is 'iners.' The promontory Taenarum in Laconica was one of the approaches to the realms below.]

11. *Atlanteusque finis*] Apparently imitated from Eurip. (Hipp. 3), τερμόνων τ' Ἀτλαντικῶν. [The 'Atlanteus finis' is the Atlas mountains in Libya.]

12. *Valet ima summis*] We may compare this with various familiar passages of the sacred Scriptures; as, "He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and exalted them of low degree" (Luke i. 52). "Promotion cometh neither from the east, nor from the west, nor from the south. But God is the Judge; he putteth down one, and setteth up another" (Psalm lxxv. 6, 7). The sentiment however is common. Tacitus seems to have had Horace's words in his mind when he wrote of the public funeral given to Flavius Sabinus and the overthrow of Vitellius, that they were "magna documenta instabilis fortunae summaque et ima miscentis" (Hist. iv. 47). Seneca has the same words in his Thyestes (598): "Ima permutat levis hora summis;" Ausonius in his 143rd epigram says of Fortune, "Et summa in imum vertit et versa erigit." Horace's words were no doubt familiar to these writers. Bentley would read 'insigne' for 'insignem,' to keep the opposition uniform. Cunningham with more consistency would have 'insignia,' comparing Virg. Aen. vi. 33—

"Bis patriae cecidere manus. Quin protinus omnia
Perlegerent oculis,"

and other like places. But 'insignem' (the reading of all the MSS.) has more poetry in it than the neuter, and is more expressive of the vicissitudes of human life. Bentley supposes Horace to have had in mind Hesiod's Works and Days (5 sqq.), Ῥέα μὲν γὰρ βριάει ῥέα δὲ βριάοντα χαλέπτει, Ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει, Ῥεῖα δέ τ' ἰθύνει σκολιὸν καὶ ἀγήνορα κάρφει Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, and answers his own objection to 'insignem' by saying that ἀρίζηλον is masculine.

On the allusions in the last stanza see Introduction. The language corresponds to the opening stanza of the next ode. 'Apex' signifies properly the tuft (composed of

Mutare et insignem attenuat deus
Obscura promens; hinc apicem rapax
Fortuna cum stridore acuto
Sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet.

wool wrapped round a stick) or the top of the Flamen's cap. It appears to stand for any covering of the head, for, as before observed, Cicero uses it to express Livy's 'pileus.' "Ab aquila Tarquinio apicem impositum putant" (De Legg. i. 1); and Horace applies it to the royal crown (C. iii. 21. 20). 'Valere' with an infinitive is not used by prose-writers till after the Augustan age [but it is often used by Horace in the sense of 'posse.' See C. ii. 5. 1, &c.].

CARMEN XXXV.

A.U.C. 727.

When Augustus was meditating an expedition against the Britons and another for the East, Horace commended him to the care of Fortune the preserver, as Pindar committed the sons of Himera:

Λίσσομαι, παῖ Ζηνὸς Ἐλευθερίου,
Ἱμέραν εὐρυσθένε' ἀμφιπόλει, Σώτειρα Τύχα·
τὶν γὰρ ἐν πόντῳ κυβερνῶνται θοαὶ
νᾶες, ἐν χέρσῳ δὲ λαιψηροὶ πόλεμοι
κἀγοραὶ βουλαφόροι. (Olymp. xii.)

Which passage probably Horace had in mind. The last expedition against Britain contemplated by Augustus was A.U.C. 727 (Dion Cass. 53. 22—25), which was interrupted by an insurrection of the Salassi, an Alpine people, ἐς τὴν Βρεταννίαν ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἠθέλησαν ὁμολογῆσαι στρατευσείοντα κατέσχον οἱ Σαλάσσιοι. At the same time he was preparing the force that was to conquer Arabia (C. 29 of this Book). To this year therefore the composition of this ode may be assigned.

The oldest temples of the goddess Fortune were at Rome, where we learn from Plutarch (on the Fortune of the Romans, c. x.), τὰ τῆς Τύχης ἱερὰ πάμπολλα καὶ παλαιὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ τιμαῖς πάσαις ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐνίδρυται καὶ καταμέμικται τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις μέρεσι καὶ τόποις τῆς πόλεως. The oldest of her temples was dedicated to Fortuna Virilis by Ancus Martius (Plutarch says). There was another to Fortuna Muliebris, founded in commemoration of the victory of Coriolanus' mother over her son; and Servius Tullius founded two on the Capitoline hill to Fortuna Primigenia and Fortuna Obsequens; on the Palatine hill there were two to Fortuna Privata and Fortuna Viscosa. There was also a Fortuna Virginalis and a Fortuna Bonae Spei, a Fortuna Mascula, ἄλλαι τε μύριαι Τύχης τιμαὶ καὶ ἐπικλήσεις ὧν τὰς πλείστας Σερούϊος κατέστησεν, εἰδὼς ὅτι μεγάλη ῥοπὴ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλον, ἡ Τύχη παρὰ πάντα ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα. But the worship of this goddess was most solemnly maintained, when Horace wrote, at Praeneste and at Antium (now Porto d'Anzo), where she had an oracle. The Roman conception of this divinity was probably different from that of the Greeks, who thought of her chiefly as a capricious goddess and blind. But that such was not the only idea of her even among the Greeks is plain from Pindar's ode above quoted. Pindar in other poems now lost described her as φερέπολις, the supporter of states; also as one of the Μοῖραι, and the most powerful of them; but elsewhere as ἀπευθὴς, uncertain, unknown; in which character casual altars were erected to her by the Greeks as ἄγνωστος θεός. See St. Paul's address to the Athenians in Acts xvii. 23; also Pausanias, iv. 30, vii. 26; and Plutarch's Treatise above mentioned, caps. 4 and 10. From Plutarch's account she would appear to be the one divinity held from the earliest times

in repute by the Romans. How far Horace may have drawn the attributes and attendants he here assigns to Fortune from generally received notions, or whether the images are partly his own, we cannot determine. She was represented on Roman coins with a double ship's rudder in one hand and a cornucopiae in the other, which may furnish a clue to the allusions in the second stanza. There are passages which may have been drawn from paintings in the temple at Antium. But there is no ode more justly celebrated for the combination of various images, and for its condensed poetry, than this.

ARGUMENT.

Queen of Antium, all-powerful to exalt or to debase, the poor tenant cultivator worships thee, and the mariner on the deep. Thou art feared by the savage Dacian and nomad Scythian, by all cities and nations, yea, by proud Latium herself, by royal mothers trembling for their sons, and kings fearing for their crowns. Necessity with her stern emblems goes before thee. Hope and Fidelity go with thee when thou leavest the house of prosperity, while false friends fall away.

Preserve Caesar as he goeth to conquer Britain; preserve the fresh levies destined for the East. It repenteth us of our civil strife and impious crimes. Let the sword be recast and whetted for the Scythian and the Arab.

O DIVA, gratum quae regis Antium,
Praesens vel imo tollere de gradu
Mortale corpus vel superbos
Vertere funeribus triumphos,
Te pauper ambit sollicita prece
Ruris colonus, te dominam aequoris
Quicunque Bithyna lacessit
Carpathium pelagus carina.
Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythae
Urbesque gentesque et Latium ferox
Regumque matres barbarorum et
Purpurei metuunt tyranni,
Injurioso ne pede proruas
Stantem columnam, neu populus frequens
Ad arma cessantes, ad arma
Concitet imperiumque frangat.

2. *Praesens*] There is no other instance of 'praesens' with an infinitive. Forcell. gives several examples of 'praesens' with the signification of 'potens.' In its application to the gods it expresses their presence as shown by their power. In three other places Horace applies it to them (see Index); and Cicero (Tusc. Disp. i. 12. 28) says of Hercules, "apud Graecos indeque perlapsus ad nos et usque ad Oceanum tantus et tam praesens habetur deus."

[4. *Vertere*] This use is similar to that of 'mutare.' Comp. A. P. 226, 'vertere seria ludo. Ritter takes 'funeribus' to be 'casus instrumenti.']

6. *colonus*] See ii. 14. 12; S. ii. 2. 114.

[9. *Dacus*] M. Crassus, A.U.C. 725, carried on war against the Daci.] — *profugi Scythae*] This is explained by the wandering habits of the Scythians. Compare 'campestres Scythae' (C. iii. 24. 9), and Aeschylus (P. V. 709), Σκύθας δ' ἀφίξει νομάδας οἳ πλεκτὰς στέγας Πεδάρσιοι ναίουσ' ἐπ' εὐκύκλοις ὄχοις.

11. *Regumque matres barbarorum*] Orelli quotes the description in the 5th chapter of Judges, ver. 28: "The mother of Sisera looked out at a window, and cried through the lattice, Why is his chariot so long in coming? why tarry the wheels of his

Te semper anteit saeva Necessitas
Clavos trabales et cuneos manu
Gestans aëna, nec severus
Uncus abest liquidumque plumbum.
Te Spes et albo rara Fides colit
Velata panno nec comitem abnegat,
Utcunque mutata potentes
Veste domos inimica linquis.
At volgus infidum et meretrix retro
Perjura cedit, diffugiunt cadis
Cum faece siccatis amici
Ferre jugum pariter dolosi.
Serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos et juvenum recens

chariots?" There are four objects in respect of which Fortune is here said to be invoked—the seasons, the winds, war, and faction. See Introduction.

14. *Stantem columnam*] The figures of Peace, Security, Happiness, and others, are represented on old monuments as resting on a column. Addison (Dial. ii. on Medals) mentions a medal of Antoninus Pius on the reverse of which SECURITAS PUBLICA is thus represented. ['Proruas,' 'overthrow.' Comp. Aeschyl. Persae, 159, *μὴ μέγας πλοῦτος κονίσας οὖδας ἀντρέψῃ ποδὶ Ὄλβον.*]

17. *Te semper anteit saeva Necessitas*] The several things that Necessity is here represented as holding are emblems of tenacity and fixedness of purpose—the nail, the clamp, and the molten lead: they have nothing to do with torture as many have supposed. [Ritter reads 'serva' for 'saeva,' and interprets it 'as a slave.' He defends his reading by the authority of some of the oldest MSS. and Scholia, and by an argument which seems to me worth nothing. Keller has 'saeva.']

18.] 'Clavi trabales' had passed into a proverb with the Romans. Compare Cicero in Verr. Act. ii. 5. 21: "ut hoc beneficium, quemadmodum dicitur, trabali clavo figeret." 'Cunei' were also nails wedge-shaped, the diminutive of which, 'cuneoli,' Cicero employs in translating a passage from Plato's Timaeus (p. 1055), *οὐ τοῖς ἀλύτοις οἷς αὐτοὶ συνείχοντο δεσμοῖς ἀλλὰ διὰ σμικρότητα ἀοράτοις πυκνοῖς γόμφοις συντήκοντες*, which Cicero renders 'crebris quasi cuneolis injectis' (Tim. 13). This sense of 'cuneus' occurs in Cicero's translation from Aeschylus (Tusc. ii. 10), where Prometheus fastened to the rock says of Mulciber—

"Hos ille cuneos fabrica crudeli inserens
Perrupit artus: qua miser sollertia
Transverberatus castrum hoc furiarum incolo."

Pindar uses the same metaphor (Pyth. iv. 71), *τίς δὲ κίνδυνος κρατεροῖς ἀδάμαντος δῆσεν ἅλοις;* and Aeschylus (Sup. 944), *τῶν δ' ἐφήλωται τορῶς γόμφος διάμπαξ ὡς μένειν ἀραρότως*—of a decree. On the nails of Fate see C. iii. 24. 7. The metaphor of molten lead, used in buildings, is used by Euripides (Androm. 267), *καὶ γὰρ εἰ πέριξ σ' ἔχει τηκτὸς μόλυβδος.*

21.] The picture represented in this and the following stanzas, apart from the allegory, is that of a rich man in adversity going forth from his home with hope in his breast, and accompanied by a few faithful friends, but deserted by those who only cared for his wealth. In the person of Fortune is represented the man who is suffering from her reverses, and in that of Fidelity the small (rara) company of his true friends. Fortune is represented in the garments of mourning (mutata veste), and Fides in a white veil emblematic of her purity. With such a veil on their head men offered sacrifice to her, according to the Scholiasts. She is called by Virgil (Aen. i. 292) 'Cana Fides,' where Servius has a note which connects the expression with this of Horace. But there it properly means 'aged.' Numa (Livy, i. 21) established religious rites for Fides.

22. *nec comitem abnegat*] Ovid (A. A. i. 127) has copied this expression, which is the same as if 'se' had been added: "Si qua repugnarat nimium comitemque ne-

Examen Eois timendum
Partibus Oceanoque rubro.
Eheu cicatricum et sceleris pudet
Fratrumque. Quid nos dura refugimus
Aetas? quid intactum nefasti
Liquimus? unde manum juventus
Metu deorum continuit? quibus
Pepercit aris? O utinam nova
Incude diffingas retusum in
Massagetas Arabasque ferrum!

garat." [Ritter explains it 'nec comitem te abnegat,' which is more consistent with 'Te Spes,' &c.] Bentley, quite mistaking the character of this passage, proposes to read 'vertis' for 'linquis,' v. 24.

28. *Ferre jugum pariter dolosi*] This appears to be an imitation of Pindar (Nem. x. 78), *οἴχεται τιμὰ φίλων τατωμένῳ φωτί· παῦροι δ' ἐν πόνῳ πιστοὶ βροτῶν Καμάτου μεταλαμβάνειν.* Theocritus has a similar expression (xii. 15), *ἀλλήλους δ' ἐφίλησαν ἴσῳ ζυγῷ*; and Plautus (Aulul. ii. 2. 52),

"—— ubi tecum conjunctus sim,
Ubi onus nequeam ferre pariter, jaceam ego asinus in luto;"

the metaphor being obviously taken from beasts unequally yoked.

29. *ultimos Orbis Britannos*] See Introduction. "Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos" (Virg. Ecl. i. 67). Catullus (Carm. xi.) has "ultimosque Britannos." Bentley objects to 'ultimos orbis,' and proposes 'oro' for 'orbis.' He thinks the expression barbarous, but admits that Virgil wrote 'extremique hominum Morini' (Aen. viii. 727), which is sufficiently like Horace's phrase. Cunningham proposes 'ultimi.' But the MSS. do not vary. They all have 'ultimos orbis.'

39. *diffingas retusum*] This must have been the reading of the Scholiasts, of whom Acron says, "*Diffingas*, confusum reformes, nam et sicut *fingere* formare dicitur, sic et *diffingere* est quassatum reformare. *Retusum*, civilibus bellis hebetatum;" and Porphyrion, "ut ferrum quod retudimus in corporibus nostrorum bello civili diffingas (i. e. refabrices) adversus Barbaros." This gives a very good meaning; but 'diffingas' occurs only in Horace, who uses it here and in C. iii. 29. 47. MS. authority on words compounded with 'di' and 'de' is not to be trusted (C. i. 1. 13 n.). Some good MSS. have 'defingas' and one 'recusum.' Bentley adopts 'defingas,' saying that nothing can be more alien from Horace's meaning than 'diffingere,' which is to 'break up' or 'unmake.' What sense he gives to 'defingas' he does not say. For 'retusum' he proposes 'recoctum' out of his own head, thereby losing one of the chief points in the sentence, the blunting of the sword on the bodies of their brethren, as Cunningham observes (Animad. v. p. 346). 'Recusum incude' is justly objected to. The MSS. are in the proportion of four to one in favour of 'diffingas retusum;' and all the old editions have that reading.

CARMEN XXXVI.

About A.U.C. 730.

Who Numida was we have no means of knowing. That his gentilician name was Plotius is stated by Comm. Cruq., while the other Scholiasts, Acron and Porphyrion, call him Pomponius. But Numida appears to have been a cognomen of the Plotia or Plautia gens (Estré, Prosop. p. 480). That he was an intimate friend of Horace appears from this ode. He was also a great friend of Lamia (see C. 26 of this book). Baxter supposes him to have been one of Sextus Pompeius' party, and to have returned to Rome from following Sextus in Spain with Augustus' pardon, which he infers from the unusual joy Horace expresses. Buttmann seems to give, whether designedly or not I cannot

tell, some support to this notion by saying of Bassus, one of the friends introduced in this ode, that "if Quintus Caecilius Bassus, whom we read of in Cicero and other writers as a leading person among the Pompeian party, had a son, he would be just such a youth as we want" to fill that part. It is generally believed, however, that the person who forms the principal subject of this ode had lately returned from the army in Spain, either with Augustus A.U.C. 730 or a little while before.

ARGUMENT.

Let us sacrifice to the guardian gods of Numida on his safe return from Spain; he is come to embrace his dear friends, but none more heartily than Lamia in remembrance of their early days. Mark the fair day with a white mark; bring out the wine without stint; cease not the dance; let Bassus out-drink Damalis the drunken; bring the rose, the parsley, the lily, for our feast. Though all eyes shall languish for Damalis, she will cleave only to Numida.

Et ture et fidibus juvat
  Placare et vituli sanguine debito
Custodes Numidae deos,
  Qui nunc Hesperia sospes ab ultima
Caris multa sodalibus,
  Nulli plura tamen dividit oscula
Quam dulci Lamiae, memor
  Actae non alio rege puertiae
Mutataeque simul togae.
  Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota,

[4. *Hesperia—ultima*] 'The furthest west.']

8. *Actae non alio rege puertiae*] 'Rege' the Scholiasts interpret 'patrono,' and apply it to Lamia, as if he had been the patron of Numida in his youth, which would imply that he was a freedman. Turnebus (Adv. ix. 14), who is followed by Lambinus, Stephanus, Heinsius, Graevius, Sanadon, Dacier, and others, understand 'non alio rege' to mean 'under the same schoolmaster,' 'rege' being equivalent to 'custode,' A. P. 161, and 'rectores' in Tac. Ann. xiii. 2: "Rectores imperatoriae juventae," i. e. Seneca and Burrus, the teachers of Nero and Britannicus. This opinion is adopted by Doering and Orelli, and it is supported by v. 9. Dillenbr. and others explain this passage by Epp. i. 1. 59: "pueri ludentes rex eris aiunt," and make 'rege' the king of the game. As in the scene described by Tacitus (Ann. xiii. 15): "Festis Saturno diebus, inter alia aequalium ludicra, regnum lusu sortientium, evenerat ea sors Neroni," &c. Landinus says it may mean king of the feast, *συμποσίαρχος*. When Sanadon says that the Greeks and Latins used to call the teachers of children their kings or governors, he is merely deceiving the ignorant. Heinsius invented the term *παιδώναξ* after the analogy of *χειρώναξ*, but he did not pretend that the Greeks used such a term. If such is Horace's meaning here, the expression stands alone. It occurs nowhere else in Greek or Latin authors in this sense, though it may have been used in a familiar way; and I think this is the true explanation.

puertiae] Other instances of syncope are 'lamnae,' 'surpuerat,' 'surpite,' 'soldo,' 'caldior,' 'erepsemus' (S. i. 5. 79).

10. *Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota*] The Scholiasts all affirm that it was a custom with the Cretans "dies laetos albis calculis, nigris contrarios, numerare" (Acron). "Calculis quos in pharetras mittebant" adds Porphyrion, by way of giving probability to his story by particularity. But so there would be no learning whether a black or a white pebble were intended, since both were Cretan. The same objection applies to 'Thressa,' which has been proposed as a substitution for 'Cressa,' because, according to Pliny (Nat. Hist. vii. c. 40), the practice was observed by the Thracians. That the custom of marking fair days with a white stone or mark, and unlucky ones with a black, had passed, if not into practice, into a proverb with the Romans, is well known. Hence Persius

Neu promptae modus amphorae,
  Neu morem in Salium sit requies pedum,
Neu multi Damalis meri
  Bassum Threïcia vincat amystide,
Neu desint epulis rosae,
  Neu vivax apium, neu breve lilium.
Omnes in Damalin putres
  Deponent oculos, nec Damalis novo
Divelletur adultero
  Lascivis hederis ambitiosior.

(ii. 1 sqq.) writing to his friend on his birthday says:

"Hunc, Macrine, diem numera meliore lapillo,
Qui tibi labentes apponit candidus annos;"

and Martial (xii. 34) writing to his kinsman says that of the thirty-four years of their intercourse the greater number had been happy:—

"Et si calculus omnis huc et illuc
Diversus bicolorque digeratur,
Vincet candida turba nigriorem."

And Catullus exclaims in joy at Lesbia's return to him: "O Lucem candidiore nota!" (cvii. ad Lesbiam). Horace only uses 'Cressa' (the adjective of 'creta,' chalk, so called as coming from Cimolus, a small island near Crete), where Catullus and the others use the equivalent 'candida.' Graevius adopted the notion of Harduin (on the above passage of Pliny), who takes 'Cressa nota' to mean the same as 'nota Falerni' (C. ii. 3. 8. S. i. 10. 24), 'Cretan wine.' Bentley was not aware that his friend had patronized this interpretation, which he satisfactorily disposes of by showing that Cretan wine was nothing more than 'passum,' a sweet liqueur made of raisins.

12. *Neu morem in Salium*] 'Salium' is an adjective like 'Saliaris' in the next ode. Orelli hesitating between adjective and substantive contradicts himself in his notes in this place and C. iv. 1. 28, where it occurs again. ['Salium' may be for 'Saliorum.']

13. *multi Damalis meri*] Such is the expression 'Multi Lydia nominis' (C. iii. 9. 8). Ovid (Met. xiv. 252) has nearly the same words: "Eurylochumque simul, multique Elpenora vini." And Cicero (ad Fam. ix. 26, sub fin.): "non multi cibi hospitem accipies; multi joci." In Verr. Act. ii. 5. c. 7: "Eumenidae, nobilis hominis et honesti, magnae pecuniae," where Mr. Long rightly interprets 'magnae pecuniae' by 'pecuniosus.' It appears from inscriptions that Damalis was a name common among freedwomen (Estré, p. 481). As to Bassus see Introduction. Martial mentions a Bassus, who according to his severe insinuation might vie with Damalis (vi. 69):—

"Non miror quod potat aquam tua Bassa, Catulle:
Miror quod Bassi filia potat aquam,"

where the name is probably fictitious; but it may have been proverbial. That, however, it may have become from this verse of Horace. There can be little doubt, however, that Bassus was a real person and a friend of the soldier whose return was to be celebrated. Damalis may be any body—a woman like Lyde (C. ii. 11. 22), brought into the ode to make up a scene.

14. *Threïcia vincat amystide*] 'Amystis' was a deep draught taken without drawing breath or closing the lips (ἀ, μύειν). Aristophanes uses the word (Acharn. 1229):—

καὶ πρός γ' ἄκρατον ἐγχέας ἄμυστιν ἐξέλαψα,

and Euripides (Cyclops, 416 sq.):—

ὁ δ' ἐκπλέως ὢν τῆς ἀναισχύντου βορᾶς
ἐδέξατ' ἔσπασέν τ' ἄμυστιν ἑλκύσας.

For Threïcia see C. i. 27. 2.

17. *putres Deponent oculos*] 'Will fix their languishing eyes.' Persius (S. v. 58) uses the word 'putres' in the same way:—

—— "hunc alea decoquit: ille
In Venerem est putris,"

or, as some MSS. read, 'putret.' The Scholiast Acron interprets it "nimio potu marcentes et libidine resolutos." Theocritus expresses the word by τήκεσθαι (i. 90): καὶ τὺ δ' ἐπεί κ' ἐσορῇς τὰς παρθένος οἷα γελῶντι Τάκεαι ὀφθαλμώς.

20. *ambitiosior*] This is the only passage in which the word occurs in this sense, the nearest to 'ambire' in its primitive meaning. [Ritter compares Juvenal vii. 50, 'ambitiosi mali.']

CARMEN XXXVII.

A.U.C. 724.

The occasion that gave rise to this ode, and the time therefore of its composition, are sufficiently clear. Intelligence of the deaths of M. Antonius and Cleopatra was brought to Rome by M. Tullius Cicero (M. F.) in the autumn of A.U.C. 724. Horace appears to have started with an ode of Alcaeus (20 Bergk) on the death of Myrsilus in his head. It began,

νῦν χρὴ μεθύσθην καί τινα πρὸς βίαν
πίνην ἐπειδὴ κάτθανε Μύρσιλος.

The historical facts referred to in this ode may be gathered from Plutarch's life of M. Antonius, and from Dion Cassius (50. c. 31 &c., 51. c. 5—16).

ARGUMENT.

'Tis time to drink, to smite the earth, and set out a feast for the gods, my friends. We might not bring down the Caecuban while that mad queen with her foul herd was threatening Rome with destruction. But her fury is humbled, her fleet in flames, her drunken heart shook with fear when Caesar hunted her from Italy as the hawk pursues the dove or the hunter the hare, to chain the accursed monster; who feared not the sword nor fled to secret hiding-place, but was bold to see her palace laid low, and to drink in her veins the poison of asps, her courage kindling as she resolved to die rather than be dragged in triumph by the conqueror.

NUNC est bibendum, nunc pede libero
Pulsanda tellus, nunc Saliaribus
  Ornare pulvinar deorum
    Tempus erat dapibus, sodales.
Antehac nefas depromere Caecubum
Cellis avitis, dum Capitolio
  Regina dementes ruinas
    Funus et imperio parabat

2. *nunc Saliaribus*] A Saliaric banquet is a rich banquet, fit for the Salii. C. ii. 14. 28. "*Saliares coenae:* quas Salii faciebant: dicuntur amplissimi apparatus fuisse, unde et in proverbio erat Saliares coenas dicere opiparas et copiosas" (Acron). Martial (xii. 48):—

"Non Albana mihi sit commissatio tanti
  Nec Capitolinae Pontificumque dapes."

4. *Tempus erat*] This imperfect tense may mean that this was the time that the fates had intended for such festivities, though it is difficult to determine its precise meaning. [Ritter supposes that the ode was written on the thanksgiving days for the capture of Alexandria (Dion, 51. c. 19), and so Horace would say 'tempus erat,' not 'tempus est,' because the thanksgiving had already commenced.] Ovid (Tr. iv. 8. 23) has it twice in this unusual way:—

"Sic igitur tarda vires minuente senecta
  Me quoque donari jam rude tempus erat;
Tempus erat nec me peregrinum ducere caelum
  Nec siccam Getico fonte levare sitim."

The Greeks used the imperfect *ἐχρῆν* in the same undefined way. Two examples from Aristophanes will be enough:—

ἐμοὶ μελήσει ταῦτά γ', ἀλλ' ἥκειν ἐχρῆν.
(Pax, 1041.)

οὐκ ἐχρῆν ζητεῖν τινα
σωτηρίαν νῷν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κλάειν ἔτι;
(Equit. 11 sq.)

See note on C. i. 27. 19.

6. *Cellis*] The 'cella' was properly speaking a chamber partly above and partly

Contaminato cum grege turpium
Morbo virorum, quidlibet impotens
Sperare fortunaque dulci
Ebria. Sed minuit furorem
Vix una sospes navis ab ignibus,
Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico
Redegit in veros timores
Caesar, ab Italia volantem
Remis adurgens, accipiter velut
Molles columbas aut leporem citus
Venator in campis nivalis
Haemoniae, daret ut catenis
Fatale monstrum: quae generosius
Perire quaerens nec muliebriter
Expavit ensem nec latentes
Classe cita reparavit oras.

under ground, in which the 'dolia' were kept. That in which the 'amphorae' were stored was called 'apotheca,' and was in the upper part of the house: hence the terms, 'depromere,' 'deripere,' 'descendere.' 'Capitolio' is equivalent to 'urbi.' See C. iii. 3. 42; iii. 30. 8.

7. *Regina dementes ruinas*] A similar enallage is in Aen. ii. 576: "Ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas," where 'sceleratas' expresses the guilt of Helen.

9. *Contaminato cum grege turpium Morbo virorum*] 'With her filthy herd of men (forsooth) foul with disease.' The corrupt lusts of that class of persons who were most about an Eastern queen are properly called a disease. 'Virorum,' to which Bentley objects, is used ironically as it would seem. He proposes 'opprobriorum' for 'morbo virorum,' to correspond to Homer's κάκ' ἐλέγχεα; but, as he objects to nothing but 'virorum,' his alteration would not be wanted even if it were better than it is. In Epod. ix. 11 Horace complains:—

"Romanus—eheu! posteri negabitis—
Emancipatus feminae
Fert vallum et arma miles, et spadonibus
Servire rugosis potest."

10. *impotens Sperare*] This is a common construction, noticed at C. i. 1. 18. 'Impotens' corresponds to ἀκρατής, and signifies want of self-control; 'wild enough to expect any thing.' See Forcell.

12. *Ebria*] Demosthenes (Phil. i. 54. 9, Reiske) applies the same metaphor to Philip: ἐγὼ δ' οἴομαι μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκεῖνον μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων.

13. *Vix una sospes navis*] Cleopatra's fleet escaped from the battle of Actium, but M. Antonius saved no more than his own ship in which he fled to Egypt. No allusion is made to M. Antonius, for the same reason that led Augustus to require the Senate to proclaim war only against Cleopatra, though M. Antonius was the chief object of it.

14. *Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico*] 'Lymphatus' is equivalent to νυμφόληπτος, 'lympha' and 'nympha' being the same word (see Forcell.). Mareotic wine was from the shores of the Lake Mareotis in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. 'In veros timores' is opposed to what the Greeks called τὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου. Cleopatra's fleet fled from Actium before a blow was struck, under the influence of a panic, but Horace chooses to say it was a 'verus timor.' Though it is said that Cleopatra meditated a descent upon Italy, in the event of M. Antonius and herself proving successful at Actium, she fled from that place to Egypt and never went near Italy, whither Augustus returned after the battle; and it was not till the next year, A.U.C. 724, that he went to Alexandria, and the deaths of M. Antonius and Cleopatra occurred.

[21. *Fatale*] That which is fixed by fate, whether for a good or a bad purpose. Comp. Epp. ii. 1. 11, 'Notaque fatali portenta labore subegit.']

24. *reparavit*] Literally, 'took in ex-

Ausa et jacentem visere regiam
Voltu sereno, fortis et asperas
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum,
Deliberata morte ferocior,
Saevis Liburnis scilicet invidens
Privata deduci superbo
Non humilis mulier triumpho.

change for her own kingdom shores out of the sight of men.' It is said that Cleopatra contemplated quitting Egypt to escape from Augustus, and that she transported vessels across the desert to the Red Sea; but they were destroyed by the Arabs, and she abandoned her design. Plut. Ant. c. 69. On the word 'reparavit' see C. i. 34. 12 n. Bentley proposes 'penetravit,' but without altering the meaning of the passage, which is sufficiently expressed by 'reparavit,' the reading of all the MSS. with the exception of one, which has 'repetivit.' Bos proposes by the addition of one letter to make it 'ire paravit' (Animad. p. 36). Orelli gives various other conjectures, as 'repedavit,' 'peraravit,' 'remeavit,' 'recreavit,' 'properavit,' 'trepidavit.' [See Keller's note.]

25. *jacentem*] One MS. has 'tacentem,' which Bentley approves, appealing to C. iv. 14. 36: "vacuam patefecit aulam.' Because Cleopatra's palace was not pulled down, he thinks 'jacentem' inappropriate and unhistorical. On Cleopatra's death, &c. see Plut. Ant. c. 84.

[29. *Deliberata*] 'Resolute,' 'resolved;' it means that which is well cleared up or freed from doubt and impediment; for 'deliberare' is a stronger form of 'liberare.']

30. *Liburnis*] The Scholiast Porphyrion relates on the authority of Livy that Cleopatra having the prospect of being carried to Rome used to exclaim *οὐ θριαμβεύσομαι*. ['Saevis Liburnis' is the dative depending on 'invidens,' though both words must be understood with 'deduci.' The sense is, 'refusing to be led as a private person in a proud triumph by the Liburnian ships' (comp. Epod. i.), 'she, no mean-souled woman.']

CARMEN XXXVIII.

"The only two persons," says Franke, "who know when this ode was written are Kirchner and Grotefend. The former assigns it to A.U.C. 729, the latter to 725." [Ritter also knows. It was written, he says, in September A.U.C. 724. All three know, and all differ.] It may be said in favour of Kirchner, that he expresses a doubt by marking the date with a (?). The words were probably written as a song and set to music. I learn from Jani that Voltaire had a contempt for this ode, and that for his disrespect he was well punished by the illustrious Schmid: "egregie depexum dedit Cl. Schmidius." There is not much to remark upon it one way or the other. No great pains are usually bestowed on such matters. Some suppose it to be a translation, others an original composition. It is probably only a good imitation of Anacreon. The time is supposed to be Autumn (v. 4).

ARGUMENT.

I hate your Persian finery, your sutile crowns. Hunt not for the rose, boy; I care not thou shouldst seek for aught save the myrtle, which will do for thee the servant and for me thy master drinking under the shade of my vine.

Persicos odi, puer, apparatus,
Displicent nexae philyra coronae;

[1. *apparatus*] In this sense frequently used with another word, as 'epularum apparatus,' 'apparare convivium' (Cicero). Terence, Andr. iii. 4. 15.]

Mitte sectari rosa quo locorum
  Sera moretur.
Simplici myrto nihil allabores
Sedulus curo : neque te ministrum
Dedecet myrtus neque me sub arta
  Vite bibentem.

2. *philyra*] The linden-tree was so called by the Greeks; and its thin inner bark was used for a lining on which flowers were sown to form the richer kind of chaplets called 'sutiles.' Ov. Fast. v. 335 sqq.:

"Tempora sutilibus cinguntur pota coronis,
  Et latet injecta splendida mensa rosa.
Ebrius incinctis philyra conviva capillis
  Saltat et imprudens utitur arte meri."

See also Pliny, N. H. xvi. 14. xxi. 3.

5. *allabores*] This is a coined word, and signifies to labour for something more. It therefore corresponds to *προσπονεῖν* rather than to *ἐπιπονεῖν*, to which some trace it. Ἐπιπονεῖν signifies to persevere, or labour hard in quest of an object. For 'curo' one MS. reads 'curae.' Bentley reads 'cura,' the imperative mood, in place of 'cave.'

Q. HORATII FLACCI

CARMINUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.

CARMEN I.

A.U.C. 724—725.

Pollio retired from public affairs, in which he had taken an active part for twenty years, after the triumph he obtained for his victory over the Parthini, an Illyrian people, A.U.C. 715 (v. 16), and betook himself to literature, but confined himself at first chiefly to dramatic writing. It appears from Suetonius (de Illust. Gram. c. 10) that he did not undertake his history till after the death of Sallust, A.U.C. 720 (see Clinton, F. H. a. 39 B.C.), for it was after that event that he became acquainted with the grammarian Atteius, who furnished him with rules for composition. And if the history was not begun till that year, even though (as is probable) Pollio should have taken notes of most of the transactions he had to relate, with a great many of which he had been personally connected, it is not probable that so large a work, consisting of seventeen books, and taking in the whole period from the coalition of Caesar, Pompeius, and Crassus to the conclusion of the civil wars, could have been so far completed as to be communicated to his friends before the year A.U.C. 723, which was the year of the battle of Actium. But the words "arma nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus" (v. 4 sq.), coupled with "cui dabit partes scelus expiandi Juppiter" (C. i. 2. 20 sq.), make it likely that these two odes were written about the same time; that is to say, shortly after the battle and before Augustus had established his government in the confidence of the people. It is true Lambinus and some of the older commentators were of opinion that the history of Pollio is not meant, but only his tragedies, which they say related to the events of the times, and which Horace wishes him to lay aside for a while and give his attention to public affairs, until the republic should be settled. So they interpret

—— "mox ubi publicas
Res ordinaris grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno."

But there is no reason to suppose any of Pollio's tragedies had reference to the events of the day, while his history related to nothing else. The Scholiasts understood the history to be referred to (see note on v. 10).

The ode was written after hearing Pollio recite part of his work; a practice which he is said to have introduced among literary men at Rome.

ARGUMENT.

The civil wars, their causes, their faults, their progress, the sports of fortune, and the fatal leagues of chiefs, and arms stained with blood not yet atoned for—a dangerous task is thine, and treacherous is the ground thou art treading.

Leave the tragic Muse for a little while, and thou shalt return to her when thou hast finished the historian's task, O Pollio! advocate, senator, conqueror! Even now I seem to hear the trumpet and the clarion, the flashing of arms, and the voices of chiefs, and the whole world subdued but the stubborn heart of Cato. The gods of Africa have offered his victors' grandsons on the tomb of Jugurtha. What land, what waters are not stained with our blood? But stay, my Muse, approach not such high themes.

Motum ex Metello consule civicum
Bellique causas et vitia et modos
Ludumque Fortunae gravesque
Principum amicitias et arma
Nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus,
Periculosae plenum opus aleae,
Tractas et incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.
Paullum severae Musa tragoediae
Desit theatris: mox ubi publicas
Res ordinaris grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno,

1. *Motum ex Metello consule*] The foundation of the civil wars is here laid in the coalition of Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, which took place in the consulship of Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer and L. Afranius, A.U.C. 694, B.C. 60. But the civil war did not break out till A.U.C. 704, B.C. 50, when Caesar and Pompey came to their final rupture. Cruquius supposes Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus to be the consul referred to. His consulship was in the year 645, B. C. 109, the third year of the Jugurthine war, which as leading to the civil war of Marius and Sulla he considers the foundation of the mischiefs referred to by Pollio. But such was not the subject of his history, which was confined to those civil commotions of which he himself had been witness, as the Scholiast Porphyrion says, "In translatione bellorum civilium Pollio historiam belli civilis a consulatu Lentuli et Mamerti coepti altius repetit, *i.e.* a Metello Celere et a L. Afranio Coss." ('Mamerti' is a mistake for 'Marcelli.' Lentulus and Marcellus were consuls the year after the breach between Caesar and Pompey, A.U.C. 705). ['Modos,' a prosaic word, perhaps means 'events.' 'Ludumque Fortunae,' see C. iii. 29. 50.]

4. *Principum amicitias*] The alliance of Caesar and Pompeius.

5. *Nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus*] See C. i. 2, Introduction, and v. 31 n. Bentley conjectures 'tincta' for 'uncta,' "multa argutans," as Jani says. In Ep. xvii. 31, we have

"Quantum neque atro delibutus Hercules
Nessi cruore,"

where the Scholiast says 'delibutus' is equivalent to 'unctus.' 'Cruoribus' savours of the Greek. So Aesch. Supp. 262: παλαιῶν αἱμάτων μιάσμασιν.

6. *Periculosae plenum opus aleae*] Pollio had been faithful to C. Julius Caesar, but after his death had sided rather with M. Antonius than Augustus; and therefore, when Augustus had put an end to his rival, and had the entire power in his own hands, it was a bold and difficult task that Pollio had undertaken. It does not appear, however, that he involved himself in any difficulty with Augustus, for he died in his eightieth year at his villa at Tusculum, A.U.C. 758, A.D. 4. Cremutius Cordus, the historian who was capitally condemned under Tiberius for having called Brutus and Cassius the last of the Romans, appealed in his defence to the impunity with which Pollio had expressed his sentiments (Tac. Ann. iv. 34). Pollio's history may have been written with impartiality, and Augustus was not jealous and could afford to be otherwise. [Ritter says that these words refer to the events contained in Pollio's history, and he appeals to Tacitus, Hist. i. 2: 'Opus adgredior opimum casibus,' &c.]

7. *incedis per ignes*] 'Thou art treading on ashes that cover a smouldering fire, like the ashes at the mouth of a volcano, cool

Insigne maestis praesidium reis
Et consulenti, Pollio, curiae,
Cui laurus aeternos honores
Delmatico peperit triumpho.
Jam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
Perstringis aures, jam litui strepunt,
Jam fulgor armorum fugaces
Terret equos equitumque voltus:
Audire magnos jam videor duces
Non indecoro pulvere sordidos,
Et cuncta terrarum subacta
Praeter atrocem animum Catonis.
Juno et deorum quisquis amicior
Afris inulta cesserat impotens
Tellure victorum nepotes
Rettulit inferias Jugurthae.
Quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
Campus sepulcris impia proelia
Testatur auditumque Medis
Hesperiae sonitum ruinae?

on the surface but burning below.' Such is the threat of Propertius to his rival (i. 5. 4):—

"Infelix! properas ultima nosse mala,
Et miser ignotos vestigia ferre per ignes,"
&c.

10. *mox ubi publicas Res ordinaris*] 'When you shall have finished your history of public events.' Thus Bentley also takes it, saying the Greeks used συντάσσειν for writing a book. Plutarch uses σύνταγμα for a book. 'Ανατάξασθαι occurs in the preface to St. Luke's Gospel, and is thus rendered in the Vulgate translation, "Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt *ordinare* narrationem" (quoted by Orelli). The Scholiast Acron says that Pollio was writing tragedy at the same time with his history, and that the style of the one affected the style of the other: so that Horace advises him to lay aside his tragedies in order that he may do justice to his history. As the theme is delicate and he is well able to adorn it, he should put aside his tragedies, the only obstacle to its proper accomplishment. They were probably of no great merit. None have survived, and he has no credit for them, except with Horace and Virgil, who were under personal obligations to him. See S. i. 10. 42, and Virg. Ec. viii. 19. Turnebus advocates this interpretation (Adv. x. 21).

16. *Delmatico—triumpho*] See Introduction. ['Delmatico' is the form in inscriptions and on some coins, not 'Dalmatico.']

17. *Jam nunc*] See C. iii. 6. 23 n.

21. *Audire—videor*] 'I seem to myself to hear,' as C. iii. 4. 6. Cicero uses the word with 'videre' not unfrequently, as (de Am. 12) "videre jam videor populum a senatu disjunctum." Divin. in Q. Caecil. c. 14: "Te, Caecili, videre jam videor," &c.

23. *cuncta terrarum subacta*] It is probable that Pollio had given a very stirring account of Caesar's African campaign, in which he himself served, and that his description had made a great impression upon Horace. The victory of Thapsus made Caesar master of the whole Roman world. Bentley reads 'videre' for 'audire,' as being more appropriate to 'cuncta terrarum.' But Horace is plainly referring to what he had heard Pollio read. The MSS. have 'audire.' ['Cuncta terrarum' means the same as 'cunctas terras.' Comp. 'amara curarum,' C. iv. 12. 19.]

25. *Juno et deorum*] 'Juno and any of the gods that favour Africa, who had departed helplessly (*i. e.* after the Jugurthine war) and left that land unavenged, have

Qui gurges aut quae flumina lugubris
Ignara belli? quod mare Dauniae
Non decoloravere caedes?
Quae caret ora cruore nostro?
Sed ne relictis, Musa procax, jocis
Ceae retractes munera neniae:
Mecum Dionaeo sub antro
Quaere modos leviore plectro.

offered up as an atonement (rettulit) the grandsons of those victors on the grave of Jugurtha,' [who died of hunger in a Roman prison]. Ten thousand of the Pompeian army alone fell at the battle of Thapsus.

29. *pinguior*]

"Nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro
Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos" (Virg. G. i. 491).

"How that red rain hath made the harvest grow!" is Childe Harold's sarcastic exclamation on the field of Waterloo. Plutarch (Marius, c. 21) speaks of the fertilizing effect of the blood of the thousands of Teutones whom Marius slaughtered at Aquae Sextiae (Aix), near Marseille.

34. *Dauniae*] C. iii. 30. 11; iv. 6. 27.

35. 'Decoloravere' does not signify to change the colour, as Acron says, but 'to dye deeply.' [Compare 'decertantem,' C. i. 3. 13, and 'deproeliantes,' i. 9. 11.]

38. *Ceae—neniae*] Horace does not confine this word to the usual sense of 'a dirge' (see Index), but it suits the poetry of Simonides, a native of Ceos, which was of a severe and melancholy cast.

retractes] See note on C. i. 31. 12.

39. *Dionaeo—antro*] A cave dedicated to Venus, the daughter of Dione, according to one legend.

CARMEN II.

Horace, meaning to write an ode on the moderate desire and use of wealth, dedicated it to C. Sallustius Crispus, grand-nephew of the historian and inheritor of his property. He had previously alluded to him in no terms of praise in Sat. i. 2. 48; but that Satire was written many years before this ode, and at this time Sallustius was in high favour with Augustus and possessed of great riches, of which Horace implies that he made a good use. From the reference to Phraates' return to his throne (v. 17), which took place A.U.C. 724 (see C. i. 26, Introduction), the ode must have been written after that event. Proculeius mentioned in v. 5 was brother or cousin (it is not certain which) to Licinius Murena, who A.U.C. 732 was detected in a conspiracy with one Fannius Caepio to take away the life of Augustus (see C. ii. 10, Introduction). I cannot infer so positively as Franke and others do that Horace would have abstained from mentioning the generosity of Proculeius, if his relation's crime had been committed when he wrote; but that chronologist takes this allusion as an argument that the ode was written between A.U.C. 729 and 732, and from the tone of the allusion to Phraates he supposes his restoration to have been recent, and assigns the ode to the year 730, in which Orelli and Dillenbr. agree with him.

ARGUMENT.

Silver hath no beauty while hid in the earth, Sallustius, who despisest the ore till it is polished by moderate use. Proculeius for his generosity to his brethren will live for ever, and the man who rules the spirit of avarice is a greater king than if from Carthage to Gades were all his own. The dropsy grows and grows till its cause is expelled. Phraates restored to his throne is not happy; he only is a king and conqueror who looks on money with indifference.

Nullus argento color est avaris
Abdito terris, inimice lamnae
Crispe Sallusti, nisi temperato
Splendeat usu.
Vivet extento Proculeius aevo
Notus in fratres animi paterni;
Illum aget penna metuente solvi
Fama superstes.
Latius regnes avidum domando
Spiritum, quam si Libyam remotis
Gadibus jungas et uterque Poenus
Serviat uni.
Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops,

2. *Abdito terris*] Lambinus' conjecture 'abditae terris' to agree with 'lamnae' has been adopted by many editors, but it has no MS. authority. I see no other great objection to it. 'Avaris' Doering understands to be the dative case, 'hidden by the avaricious in the earth;' as S. i. 1. 41:

"Quid juvat immensum te argenti pondus et auri
Furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?"

But, besides the confusion this introduces in the construction, the force of the allusion is thus lost. Sallustius possessed some valuable mines in the Alps, and to this circumstance Horace seems tacitly to refer. The character given of Sallustius by Tacitus (Ann. iii. 30) is rather different from Horace's description. Tacitus says he was "diversus a veterum instituto per cultum et munditias, copiaque et affluentia luxu propior:" on the strength of which some commentators have supposed Horace meant to give him a hint upon his extravagance, for which impertinence the great man would not have thanked him. To bear out their case they refer 'nisi temperato' to the first line. Horace inverts the order of the cognomen and gentilician name, as Tacitus frequently does; as 'Agrippam Postumum' (Ann. i. 3), and elsewhere. The eleventh ode of this book is addressed to Quintius Hirpinus; and the names are inverted as here.

lamnae] Ovid (Fast. i. 207):

"Jura dabat populis posito modo praetor aratro,
Et levis argenti lamina crimen erat."

For examples of syncope see i. 36. 8 n.

5. *Vivet extento Proculeius aevo*] Proculeius is stated by the Scholiasts to have assisted his brothers Caepio and Murena, who had lost their property in the civil wars. Scipio, as the name appears in Ascensius' text of the Scholiasts, is a mistake for Caepio. But it is doubtful whether Caepio, whose family name was Fannius, was any relation of Licinius Murena whose conspiracy he joined (see Introduction), or whether Murena was Proculeius' brother or cousin. Proculeius was in great favour with Augustus and was intimate with Maecenas (who married his sister or cousin Terentia), and probably with Sallustius. He was alive at this time, and did not die till after Horace; therefore the reading 'agit,' which is that of some MSS., is rejected by most editors. Proculeius was like Maecenas a favourer of letters, and is so referred to by Juvenal (S. vii. 94): "Quis tibi Maecenas, quis nunc erit aut Proculeius aut Fabius?"

6. *Notus—animi*] Horace's adaptation of Greek constructions is one of the chief features of his style. [The sense is 'animi paterni in fratres.'] He uses 'metuente' here in the same sense as in C. iv. 5. 20, "Culpari metuit Fides." Here it means 'wings that refuse to melt,' as Icarus' did. [Keller and Ritter have 'pinna.']

11. *uterque Poenus*] This means (as the Scholiasts explain) the Carthaginians of Africa and their colonies in Spain, not the Phoenicians as Graevius says. 'Uterque pontus' has been suggested by Schrader, because there were not two Poeni. But the above explanation is sufficient. ['Gadibus' (Cadiz) is named 'remotis,' which means 'separated' by the sea from the opposite continent of Libya. In C. ii. 3. 6, 'remoto gramine,' and C. ii. 19, 'in remotis rupibus.']

Nec sitim pellit nisi causa morbi
Fugerit venis et aquosus albo
Corpore languor.
Redditum Cyri solio Phraaten
Dissidens plebi numero beatorum
Eximit Virtus populumque falsis
Dedocet uti
Vocibus, regnum et diadema tutum
Deferens uni propriamque laurum
Quisquis ingentes oculo inretorto
Spectat acervos.

13. *Crescit indulgens*] Ovid has imitated this expressive simile (Fast. i. 215 sq.):

"Sic quibus intumuit suffusa venter ab unda,
Quo plus sunt potae plus sitiuntur aquae."

17. *Redditum Cyri solio*] [The throne of Cyrus is the Parthian throne, the representative, as Horace assumes, of the ancient Persian monarchy founded by Cyrus.]

18. *plebi*] The Scholiasts read 'plebis,' and that reading appears in the Blandinian MSS., and Cruquius prefers it greatly to 'plebi,' supposing it to be a Greek construction, as διαφέρων τῶν πολλῶν. But the majority of MSS. and the editions [Keller has 'plebis'] are in favour of 'plebi,' and the passage is so quoted by Priscian, 18. 15. See C. i. 27. 6 n. 'Beatûm' is the reading of some MSS. and of Ven., and Fea prefers it, and Meineke. All the Berne MSS. and most of the others have 'beatorum,' and the elision at the end of the verse is sufficiently common.

23. *inretorto*] This is explained by 'obliquo' in Epp. i. 14. 37: "Non istic obliquo oculo mea commoda quisquam Limat." Turnebus (Adv. x. 21) illustrates the longing squints of the covetous by a quotation from Varro, who says of the house of a certain man with a handsome wife, "multi enim qui limina intrarant integris oculis strabones facti sunt. Habet enim quiddam ἑλκυστικὸν provincialis formosula uxor."

CARMEN III.

The person to whom this ode is nominally addressed is supposed generally to be Q. Dellius, who, from being a follower first of Dolabella and then of Brutus and Cassius, became a devoted adherent of M. Antonius, and his tool throughout his intrigues with Cleopatra, till shortly before the battle of Actium, when he quarrelled with Cleopatra and joined Octavianus, who received him with favour (Plut. Anton. c. 59). Plutarch calls him ἱστορικός. Comm. Cruq. gives the name 'Gellius,' and Horace had a friend L. Gellius Poplicola, brother of Messalla, whom he alludes to in Sat. i. 10. 85, and who was taken prisoner by Brutus and Cassius. (See Estré, p. 174.) Whether we take Dellius or Gellius it matters little. Horace's way of giving a name to his odes has been sufficiently noticed, and in this, as in other cases, there is nothing to guide us to the person whose name he uses. The ode is on two of his usual common-places, moderation and the certainty of death. I cannot go with Franke in assigning the ode to A.U.C. 725 in the uncertainty that hangs over the person.

ARGUMENT.

Be sober in prosperity or adversity, in sadness or in mirth. What is the use of the shade and purling stream if we bring not thither wine and flowers while circumstances

and youth permit, and life is our own? Soon thou must give up all to thine heir; rich and noble, or poor and humble, we must all come to one place in the end.

Æquam memento rebus in arduis
Servare mentem, non secus in bonis
Ab insolenti temperatam
Laetitia, moriture Delli,
Seu maestus omni tempore vixeris,
Seu te in remoto gramine per dies
Festos reclinatum bearis
Interiore nota Falerni.
Quo pinus ingens albaque populus
Umbram hospitalem consociare amant
Ramis? Quid obliquo laborat
Lympha fugax trepidare rivo?
Huc vina et unguenta et nimium breves
Flores amoenae ferre jube rosae,
Dum res et aetas et sororum
Fila trium patiuntur atra.
Cedes coëmptis saltibus et domo
Villaque flavus quam Tiberis lavit,
Cedes et exstructis in altum
Divitiis potietur heres.

2. *non secus in*] A few MSS. have 'non secus ac,' which Bentley prefers: but 'non secus' may stand alone. ['Insolenti' is immoderate.]

[5. *omni tempore*] A common prosaic expression. Caesar, B. G. i. 43. Lucretius, i. 26, 'tempore in omni.']

8. *Interiore nota Falerni*] The cork of the 'amphora' was stamped with the name of the consul in whose year it was filled, and the 'amphorae' being placed in the 'apotheca' as they were filled, the oldest would be the innermost. Cicero (Brut. 83), mentioning the speeches in Thucydides, likens them to very old Falernian, and says the style had better be avoided, "tanquam Anicianam notam,' like wine of the consulship of Anicius.

9. *Quo pinus ingens*] The oldest and best MSS. have 'quo,' which signifies 'to what purpose,' as "quo mihi fortunam si non conceditur uti?" (Epp. i. 5. 12). 'Qua' is Bentley's reading from two MSS. of Lambinus, who was the first to adopt it. In v. 11 the MSS. vary between 'quo,' 'qua,' and 'quid.' Landinus has the first; Ascensius and Lambinus the second; Cruquius has 'quid?' Without the interrogatory mark, 'quid' is I think the true reading. It is that of the oldest Berne and Blandinian MS. Stephens (1600) has 'et,' and Bentley and most of the later editors, but no MSS. The Scholiast Porphyrion had 'quo obliquo,' and his comment is "subaudiendum, si ea non utimur; et est totum adverbialiter dictum," which shows how he understood the passage. But such an hiatus is quite inadmissible. 'Qua' and 'et' are very simple emendations, and give a good meaning. But I cannot account for the other readings if Horace wrote 'qua— et.' He seems to mean, "What were the shade and the cool stream given for? Bring out the wine and let us drink;" which is abrupt and more spirited than the other. [Ritter and Keller read 'Quo . . . ramis, quo et' without a ? after 'rivo,' and make 'Huc vina,' &c. the correlative of 'Quo pinus' &c.]

albaque populus] Not 'altaque,' as the oldest editions have it, corrected by Lambinus. This mistake arose from Epod. ii. 10, "Altas maritat populos." The Greeks had two names for the poplar—λευκή, which

Divesne prisco natus ab Inacho
Nil interest an pauper et infima
De gente sub divo moreris,
Victima nil miserantis Orci.
Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium
Versatur urna serius ocius
Sors exitura et nos in aeternum
Exilium impositura cumbae.

was white, and αἴγειρος, which was dark. Virgil calls the white 'bicolor.' 'Amant,' as in C. iii. 16. 10, is used like the Greek φιλοῦσι 'are wont,' though some would give it a stronger meaning, i. e. twine their branches like lovers, as 'lascivae hederae.' How little that notion suits with the epithet 'hospitalis' must be obvious to any one. Virgil has a like expression (Georg. iv. 24), "Obviaque hospitiis teneat frondentibus arbor." On the use of 'trepidare' see Index.

17. *Cedes coëmptis*] Compare C. ii. 14 25. ['Saltibus' are pasture lands. See Epod. i. 27.]

18. *lavit*] See C. iii. 4. 61 n.

23. *moreris*] This reminds us of Cicero (de Senect. 23): "Commorandi natura deversorium nobis, non habitandi dedit." On which Sir Thomas Browne has improved, saying, "he looks upon the world not as an inn, but as an hospital, a place not to live but to die in." (Relig. Med. sub fin.)

25. *cogimur*] 'We are driven like sheep,' "Tityre coge pecus" (Ec. iii. 20).

26. *Versatur urna*] Compare C. iii. 1. 16: "Omne capax movet urna nomen." The notion is that of Fate standing with an urn, in which every man's lot is cast. She shakes it, and he whose lot comes out must die. Ovid has imitated this passage (Met. x. 32):—

"Omnia debemur vobis, paullumque morati
Serius aut citius sedem properamus ad unam.
Tendimus huc omnes."

28. *Exilium*] This is put for the place of exile, as (Ov. Fast. vi. 660): "Exilium quodam tempore Tibur erat." The word is only another form of 'exsidium,' from 'ex-sedeo.' The usual form in inscriptions is 'cumbae,' not 'cymbae,' as applied to the boat of Charon. The Scholiasts use 'cymbae.'

CARMEN IV.

A.U.C. 729.

This amusing ode represents a gentleman in love with his female slave (ancilla); a circumstance of sufficiently common occurrence to warrant the supposition that Horace may have had one of his friends in view. The name Xanthias must be fictitious, and Phoceus indicates that the person was also supposed to be a Phocian. It is usual to suppose that "Xanthias Phoceus" represents two names, and "ad Xanthiam Phoceum" is the common inscription, as if Phoceus were a Latin name, which the second line proves it is not. Why Horace, assuming a Greek name for his real or supposed friend, should also make him a Phocian, who can pretend to tell? "Say it was his humour," or there may have been a significance in it which has passed away, or never existed, except for the person addressed and perhaps a few intimate friends. Xanthias was a name given to slaves, as in the "Frogs" of Aristophanes.

Horace was born A.U.C. 689, and he wrote this ode when he was just finishing his eighth lustre, which would be in December, A.U.C. 729.

ARGUMENT.

Be not ashamed, Xanthias; heroes have loved their maids before thee: Achilles his

Briseis, Ajax his Tecmessa, and Agamemnon his Cassandra, when Troy had fallen before the Grecian conqueror. Doubtless your Phyllis is of royal blood: one so faithful and loving and unselfish is no common maiden. Nay, be not jealous of my praises; my eighth lustre is hastening to its close.

Ne sit ancillae tibi amor pudori,
Xanthia Phoceu! Prius insolentem
Serva Briseis niveo colore
  Movit Achillem;
Movit Ajacem Telamone natum
Forma captivae dominum Tecmessae;
Arsit Atrides medio in triumpho
  Virgine rapta,
Barbarae postquam cecidere turmae
Thessalo victore et ademptus Hector
Tradidit fessis leviora tolli
  Pergama Grais.
Nescias an te generum beati
Phyllidis flavae decorent parentes:
Regium certe genus et penates
  Maeret iniquos.
Crede non illam tibi de scelesta
Plebe dilectam, neque sic fidelem,
Sic lucro aversam potuisse nasci
  Matre pudenda.
Brachia et voltum teretesque suras
Integer laudo; fuge suspicari,
Cujus octavum trepidavit aetas
  Claudere lustrum.

1. *Ne sit—*] Lambinus has a way of taking 'ne' in this place and others (C. i. 33. 1; iv. 9. 1), which is different from that of most other commentators. He considers it not prohibitive but causal—'that you may not be ashamed consider that,' &c., as it is in A. P. 406: "Ne forte pudori Sit tibi Musa lyrae sollers et cantor Apollo." ['Insolentem,' 'arrogant,' 'proud,' as Porphyrion explains it; but it may mean 'unused to love,' and 'prius' goes with it.]

7. *Arsit—virgine rapta*] 'Arsit' is used by Horace three times with an ablative—here; in C. iii. 9. 6: "Donec non alia magis arsisti" (where Bentley conjectures 'aliam'); and in Epod. xiv. 9: "Non aliter Samio dicunt arsisse Bathyllo Anacreonta Teium;" and once as a transitive verb (C. iv. 9. 13): "Non sola comptos arsit adulteri crines;" as it is in Virgil's second Eclogue v. 1.

10. *ademptus Hector*] This is from the Iliad (xxiv. 243):—

ῥηΐτεροι γὰρ μᾶλλον Ἀχαιοῖσιν δὴ ἔσεσθε
κείνου τεθνηῶτος ἐναιρέμεν.

13. *Nescias an te*] All that follows in this and the next stanza is evidently good-natured banter. ['Beati,' 'rich.']

[21. *teretes*] 'Well turned.' See 'teretes plagas' C. i. 1. 28.

24. *Claudere*] Bentley conjectures 'condere.' Horace uses 'condere' (C. iv. 5. 29) with 'diem,' but that is different from 'claudere.'

CARMEN V.

The Zürich MS. (of the tenth century) has an inscription AD GABINIUM; and Estré (p. 503) and Walckenaer (Histoire de la Vie et des Poésies d'Horace) accept Gabinius as the person to whom this ode is addressed. If such a person existed among Horace's friends, he may have been, Orelli suggests, son or grandson of A. Gabinius, the factious contemporary of Cicero. The Scholiasts give us no help; and the above inscription stands alone. Acron had no knowledge of it, for he says, "Incertum est quem alloquatur hac ode." There may be something, however, in it; but the discovery of the name, were we certain of it, would be of no value beyond leading to the inference that the ode had perhaps some foundation in fact. Of the names introduced between the fifteenth and twentieth verses, Cruquius' Scholiast has justly observed, "haec nomina pro exemplis posuit." This remark is very sensible, and might have saved some scholars a great deal of trouble. Heyne, for instance, on Tibullus (i. 8; see C. i. 33. 7 n.), makes Pholoe and Chloris identical with the daughter and mother mentioned C. iii. 15. 7.

ARGUMENT.

That girl is too young for a yokefellow; an unbroken heifer is she that cares only for the pasture, and her gambols, and the cool stream; an unripe grape that autumn soon will ripen. She will soon come of her own accord when time shall have taken a few years from thy youth and added them to hers: then will she wax wanton and seek a mate, and thou wilt love her above coy Pholoe, or Chloris as fair as the moon, or Gyges, whom the cleverest guest at thy table could not distinguish from a girl.

NONDUM subacta ferre jugum valet
Cervice, nondum munia comparis
  Aequare nec tauri ruentis
    In venerem tolerare pondus.
Circa virentes est animus tuae
Campos juvencae, nunc fluviis gravem
  Solantis aestum, nunc in udo
    Ludere cum vitulis salicto
Praegestientis. Tolle cupidinem
Immitis uvae: jam tibi lividos
  Distinguet Auctumnus racemos
    Purpureo varius colore.

[2. *comparis*] 'Compar' is one who is a match for another, a companion, a husband or a wife: 'she is not yet able to discharge (aequare) the office of a wife.']

5. *Circa*] This is the Greek περὶ, as in Aristoph. Equit. 87: ἰδού γ' ἄκρατον· περὶ ποτοῦ γοῦν ἐστί σοι.

7. *Solantis*] This is the poetical word for satisfying hunger or thirst, as Virgil (Georg. i. 159): "Concussaque famem in silvis solabere quercu."

12. *Purpureo varius colore*] Bentley conjectures 'varios' for 'varius,' quoting Ov. (Met. iii. 484):

——"ut variis solet uva racemis
Ducere purpureum nondum matura colorem."

But 'varius' is poetical. Propertius has a similar verse (iv. 2. 13): "Prima mihi variat liventibus uva racemis." Horace's lines may be translated, 'Ere long autumn with its varied hues will dye the green grape with purple.'

Jam te sequetur: currit enim ferox
Aetas et illi quos tibi dempserit
Apponet annos; jam proterva
Fronte petet Lalage maritum,
Dilecta quantum non Pholoë fugax,
Non Chloris albo sic humero nitens
Ut pura nocturno renidet
Luna mari, Cnidiusve Gyges,
Quem si puellarum insereres choro,
Mire sagaces falleret hospites
Discrimen obscurum solutis
Crinibus ambiguoque vultu.

13. *ferox Aetas*] Time is compared to a wild horse, as in Ovid (Fast. vi. 764): "Et fugiunt freno non remorante dies." [The 'ferox aetas' is the season of youth. Comp. Cicero de Sen. c. 10, 'ferocitas.'] Cruquius would make 'ferox' and 'fugax' change places. Bentley conjectures 'quod tibi dempserit apponet annus,' because, he says, the idea of time taking away the man's years to add to the woman's is as far from Horace's meaning as can be. It is true that Horace does not mean it in the same sense as Jason meant when he proposed to give up his own life to prolong his father's (Met. vii. 168): "Deme meis annis et demptos adde parenti;" but he means 'she will approach the flower of her age as you recede from it;' and expresses it thus, 'her years will become more numerous as the remainder of your time becomes shorter.' The Scholiasts take this view of the passage: "pro viribus et aetatis flore ponit annos; quae jam per senium minuerentur, illi augerentur" (Acron). The way of speaking is like that of Deianira when, comparing her own age and attractions with those of her rival, she says:—

δρῶ γὰρ ἥβην τὴν μὲν ἕρπουσαν πρόσω,
τὴν δ' αὖ φθίνουσαν (Trach. v. 547 sq.).

It is also explained by those verses in the Epistle to the Pisones:—

"Multa ferunt anni venientes commoda secum,
Multa recedentes adimunt" (v. 175 sq.).

Bentley destroys his own argument by proposing 'quot' for 'quos' in case the other suggestion be not accepted.

24. *ambiguoque vultu*] Ovid expresses the same ambiguity in the case of Atalanta very elegantly (Met. viii. 322):—

"Talis erat cultus; facies quam dicere vere
Virgineam in puero puerilem in virgine possis."

On the name of Gyges see C. ii. 17. 14 n.

CARMEN VI.

A.U.C. 729 (?).

Of Septimius the Scholiast Acron writes, "Septimium Equitem Romanum amicum et commilitonem suum hac ode alloquitur." Whether this description as to the rank and former service of Septimius be correct, or whether the latter is only gathered from v. 7, we cannot tell. He has been supposed to be the person of whom Augustus writes to Horace in a letter preserved in his life attributed to Suetonius: "Tui qualem habeam memoriam poteris ex Septimio quoque nostro audire. Nam incidit ut illo coram fieret a me tui mentio." Horace also wrote a letter of introduction for him to Tiberius (Epp. i. 9). Beyond this we know nothing of Septimius, except that Cruquius' Scholiast makes him the same as Titius in the epistle to Julius Florus (Epp. i. 3, v. 9, see note).

The date of this ode has been much discussed. Estré places it very soon after Horace's first arrival at Rome, when he was fresh from the fatigues of war, which the expression 'Sit modus lasso maris et viarum Militiaeque' seems to favour. But a young man just returning home to begin life does not begin by writing about a retreat for his declining years. There is a character about the ode which belongs to a later period. He must have been familiar with Tibur and Tarentum and other localities which he alludes to. The allusion to the Cantabri in v. 2 is supposed by others to fix the date much later, namely, in A.U.C. 729, when Augustus was engaged in reducing a rebellion in Spain. At any time before A.U.C. 725, when the Cantabri were first reduced, they could have been called by Horace 'indoctos juga ferre nostra,' even though no attempt had been made to impose that yoke. In 725 they were reduced to subjection; in 728 they broke out again, and in the following year they were finally subdued, though an unimportant disturbance had to be put down by Agrippa some years afterwards (see C. iii. 8. 21; iv. 14. 41. Epp. i. 12. 26). If therefore the ode was written after 725, it must have been in the beginning of 729 or thereabouts, and I am inclined to think that was the date, though I admit the difficulty of understanding why Horace should speak of himself even poetically as tired of warfare and the sea, so many years after he had ceased to have any thing to do with either. That he does not speak of his Sabine farm, but gives the preference to Tibur or Tarentum, proves nothing. Long after he had possession of his farm, he expresses his preference for those places (Epp. i. 7. 44):—

—— "mihi jam non regia Roma,
Sed vacuum Tibur placet aut imbelle Tarentum."

(See also C. iii. 4. 21 sqq.) That he frequented Tibur is well known. Some say he owned, some he rented, a small property there. It may, however, be doubted after all, perhaps, whether Horace must be taken as speaking strictly of himself. He may only mean, in effect, that the weary need seek no happier resting-place than Tibur or Tarentum, though he puts the matter in the form of a wish for himself. It was probably on or after a visit to Septimius that Horace composed the twenty-eighth ode of the first book; and, probably with the attractions of Tarentum fresh in his mind, he wrote this ode. But he may have paid his friend many visits.

ARGUMENT.

Septimius, who art ready to go with me to the ends of the earth, I would that I might end my days at Tibur, or, if that be forbidden me, at Tarentum. Above all others I love that spot, with its honey, its olives, its long spring, and mild winter, and grapes on Mount Aulon. On that spot we ought to live together; and there thou shouldst lay my bones and weep over them.

Septimi, Gades aditure mecum et
Cantabrum indoctum juga ferre nostra et

1. *Septimi, Gades aditure mecum*] Horace has apparently imitated Catullus in his ode to Furius and Aurelius:—

"Furi et Aureli comites Catulli
Sive in extremos penetrabit Indos
Litus ut longe resonante Eoa
Tunditur unda.
Sive in Hyrcanos Arabasque molles,
Seu Sacas sagittiferosque Parthos,
Sive qua septemgeminus colorat
Aequora Nilus," &c.

Propertius likewise has the same idea in his elegy to Tullus (i. 6. 1):—

"Non ego nunc Adriae vereor mare noscere tecum,
Tulle, neque Aegaeo ducere vela salo.
Cum quo Rhipaeos possim conscendere montes,
Ulteriusque domos vadere Memnonias."

With these examples before him it is surprising that Graevius should agree with

Barbaras Syrtes ubi Maura semper
  Aestuat unda,
Tibur Argeo positum colono
Sit meae sedes utinam senectae,
Sit modus lasso maris et viarum
  Militiaeque!
Unde si Parcae prohibent iniquae,
Dulce pellitis ovibus Galaesi
Flumen et regnata petam Laconi
  Rura Phalantho.
Ille terrarum mihi praeter omnes
Angulus ridet ubi non Hymetto
Mella decedunt viridique certat
  Baca Venafro;
Ver ubi longum tepidasque praebet
Juppiter brumas, et amicus Aulon
Fertili Baccho minimum Falernis
  Invidet uvis.
Ille te mecum locus et beatae

Dacier in supposing that Horace and Septimius had engaged to join the Cantabrian expedition.

[3. *Maura*] This is an example of Horace's fashion with proper names. He uses them for colouring his poetry, and with no regard to accuracy, for Mauritania was far from the Syrtes.]

5. *Argeo — colono*] Catillus or his brother Tiburtus (C. i. 18, 2 n.; and 7. 13).

7. *Sit modus lasso*] 'lasso' may be taken with 'maris,' &c. (as 'fessi rerum,' Aen. i. 178), or absolutely, leaving the genitives to depend on 'modus:' or the genitives may depend upon both.

10. *pellitis*] One of the Scholiasts interprets this 'lanatis, villosis,' and some take 'dulce' with 'pellitis,' which leaves no word to govern 'ovibus.' 'Pellitis' is more generally and correctly supposed to refer to the practice of covering the sheep with skins to preserve their wool. [As Pliny viii. 72 (47), Varro de R. R. ii. 2, both quoted by Ritter, say.] The Galaesus flowed through the ager Tarentinus, which was rich in gardens and corn-land, as well as in pastures. (Virg. Georg. iv. 126.) How Phalanthus, the leader of the Partheniae, emigrated from Lacedaemon and got possession of Tarentum, is related by Justin (iii. 4).

11. *regnata*] Similar passives are found in C. iii. 3. 43, "Medis triumphatis;" iii. 19. 4, "Bella pugnata;" Epod. i. 23, "Bellum militabitur;" S. ii. 5. 27, "Res certabitur." 'Regnata' occurs again in C. iii. 29. 27; and Tacitus (Hist. i. 16) speaks of "gentes quae regnantur." The word is not used by prose-writers earlier than Tacitus.

15. *decedunt*] This word is used in the same sense of 'giving place to' in Ep. ii. 2. 213, "decede peritis."

18. *Aulon*] 'Aulon' is said by Acron to have been a hill in Calabria; by Porphyrion, a place opposite to the country of Tarentum, and productive of good wine. Bentley, disliking the epithet 'fertili' for 'Baccho,' reads with some MSS. 'fertilis;' and, as this renders it necessary to get rid of 'amicus,' he changes it into 'apricus.' He quotes Acron 'in loco,' who says of the climate of Tarentum "et melle et olivetis praecellit, hiemes quoque apriciores habet," and thinks he must have had 'apricus' in his copy. No MS. that we know of has it. The honey of Tarentum or Calabria (C. iii. 16. 33), that of the 'apis Matina' (iv. 2. 27), of Hybla in Sicily, and of Hymettus in Attica, are those Horace celebrates most. Venafrum (Venafro), the most northern town of Campania, was celebrated above all places in Italy for its olives. 'Venafro' is the dative case. See C. i. 1. 15 n.

21. *beatae—arces*] 'Rich heights' of

Postulant arces; ibi tu calentem
Debita sparges lacrima favillam
Vatis amici.

Aulon or other hills near Tarentum. 'Arx,' which is derived by Forcellini from ἄκρος, is rather akin to ἕρκος, and signifies primarily a fortified place; and fortified places being commonly on heights, 'arx,' in a derived sense, came to mean a hill generally. Varro therefore, whom Forcellini corrects, is more near the truth in deriving the word 'ab arcendo,' for ἕρκ-ος contains the root 'arc' of 'arc-s,' and 'arc-eo.' The name Aulon would lead us to suppose it was a valley; and, from the fact that it gave excellent pasturage for sheep, we might infer that it was not only a hill. See Martial (xiii. 125):—

"Nobilis et lanis et felix vitibus Aulon
Det pretiosa tibi vellera, vina mihi."

Cramer (Italy, ii. 328) speaks of "the fertile ridge and valley of Aulon," now Terra di Melone, as on the Galaesus. He refers to Romanelli (i. 295).

CARMEN VII.

A.U.C. 724.

"Ad Pompilium Varum scribit gaudens ob ejus in patriam reditum quem commilitonem in castris Bruti et Cassii fuisse commemorat; et belli civilis evasisse pericula Augusto victore." These are the words of Acron, and many of the MSS. have 'AD POMPILIUM' or 'POMPEIUM VARUM,' the latter being correct. But Sanadon, followed by nearly all commentators till the last few years, has confounded the person here addressed with Pompeius Grosphus (C. ii. 16), who is also mentioned in Epp. i. 12. 22. But the proscribed follower of Brutus cannot be identified with the wealthy Grosphus, as Estré has observed; and, as Vanderburg has remarked, the newly made citizen would not have been addressed in the language here used: "Quis te redonavit *Quiritem* Dis patriis Italoque caelo." Masson (Vie d'Horace, p. 88 sq.) fixes the date in A.U.C. 715, in which year those of the republican party who had followed Sextus Pompeius were allowed to return, peace being made between Sextus and the triumvirs, and an amnesty being granted to his followers. Kirchner (Q. H. p. 5) strongly supports this opinion. Dacier asks why then Horace should have used the words "Quis te redonavit," &c.? and though the words must not be taken too literally as a question, and are more an expression of joyful surprise, yet there is something in the remark; and moreover it is pretty certain that Horace when he wrote was in possession of his country-house, and had been in it some time (vv. 19, 20). But he did not get this house till after the first book of Satires was finished, that is not till A.U.C. 720, and it may have been a year or two later. The long service of Pompeius (mentioned in v. 18) is inconsistent with the above early date; and something may be said in respect to the style of the ode, which is one of Horace's best. Also it is doubtful, as it appears to me, whether even in jest Horace would have alluded to Philippi in the way he here does, if he were writing soon after that memorable disaster. On the whole, it is most probable that Pompeius did not return to Rome, as Acron intimates, till after the civil war was over, having meanwhile followed the fortunes first of his namesake Sextus, and then of M. Antonius, and that the ode was written A.U.C. 724, or thereabouts.

ARGUMENT.

O Pompeius, my earliest friend and best, with whom I have served and indulged full many a day, who hath sent thee back to us a true citizen of Rome? We fought and fled together at Philippi; but, while I was carried off by Mercury, the wave drew thee back into the stormy ocean again. Come then pay thy vows unto Jove, and lay thy

weary limbs under my laurel. Bring wine and ointment and garlands; choose a master of the feast, for I will revel like any Thracian for joy that my friend hath returned.

O SAEPE mecum tempus in ultimum
Deducte Bruto militiae duce,
Quis te redonavit Quiritem
Dis patriis Italoque caelo,
Pompei meorum prime sodalium,
Cum quo morantem saepe diem mero
Fregi coronatus nitentes
Malobathro Syrio capillos?
Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
Sensi relicta non bene parmula,
Cum fracta virtus et minaces
Turpe solum tetigere mento.
Sed me per hostes Mercurius celer

1. *tempus in ultimum*] During the two years between his leaving Rome and the battle of Philippi, Brutus went through many hard-fought battles with the native tribes in Macedonia and in Asia Minor, as well as in resisting the assumption of his province by C. Antonius the triumvir's brother, to whom the Senate had assigned it. 'Tempus in ultimum' does not mean so much to the brink of the grave, as we should say, as into extreme danger or need.

3. *redonavit Quiritem*] This word 'redonare' is peculiar to Horace. He uses it again C. iii. 3. 33. It has been suggested that Horace got Maecenas to intercede for Pompeius' pardon, I do not know on what grounds. 'Quiritem' has particular force as 'unshorn of your citizenship.' He had not been 'capite deminutus.' The singular 'Quiris' does not occur in prose-writers. Heinsius' conjecture 'Quiritum' is weak and insipid.

5. *prime sodalium*] It is probable that the days Horace enjoyed so much with his friend were spent at Athens. The language does not seem to suit a camp-life on such a service as the army of Brutus went through. On 'fregi' see C. i. 1. 20 note.

[6. *Cum quo*] 'Cum quo' scribit non 'quocum,' ne ictus ingrate caderet, utque solitum vitaret. Ritter.]

8. *Malobathro*] Graevius says that Malobathrum came from the Malabar coast, and that its native name was *Tamalobatra*. It must in that case have been of the betel tribe. But the betel has no smell, nor is any oil extracted from it. If this be an Indian plant, 'Syrio' is only used in the same extended application in which Ovid uses 'Assyrium' (Amor. ii. 5. 40): "Maeonis Assyrium foemina tinxit ebur." See C. ii. 11. 16. [Pliny, H. N. xii. 59 (26): 'dat et malobathron Syria, arborem folio convoluto, arido colore, ex quo exprimitur oleum ad unguenta.' Ritter.]

9. *Philippos et celerem fugam*] We need not take Horace too much at his word. He was not born for a soldier any more than his friend Iccius (C. i. 29); and he could afford to create a laugh against himself as a *ῥίψασπις*. He had in mind the misfortune that befell Alcaeus, as related by Herodotus (v. 95). Orelli interprets thus:—"The boldest amongst us bowed their heads to the ground which their shame had disgraced, to ask for quarter," as Caesar describes Pompey's soldiers doing after the battle of Pharsalia (B. C. iii. 98). Lambinus [correctly] understands Horace to mean that they bit the dust, as Turnus says of Mezentius (Aen. xi. 418): "Procubuit moriens et humum semel ore momordit," and Ag. in his prayer against Hector (Il. ii. 417): *πολέες δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι Πρηνέες ἐν κονίῃσιν ὀδὰξ λαζοίατο γαῖαν*, and Euripides of Eteocles and Polynices (Phoeniss. v. 1438): *γαῖαν δ' ὀδὰξ ἑλόντες ἀλλήλοιν πέλας Πίπτουσιν ἄμφω*. All that seems to be meant is that the bold were struck to the ground.

13. *Mercurius celer Denso—sustulit aëre*] Poets were 'Mercuriales viri' (C. ii. 17. 29). He refers his preservation

Denso paventem sustulit aëre;
Te rursus in bellum resorbens
Unda fretis tulit aestuosis.
Ergo obligatam redde Jovi dapem
Longaque fessum militia latus
Depone sub lauru mea nec
Parce cadis tibi destinatis.
Oblivioso levia Massico
Ciboria exple; funde capacibus
Unguenta de conchis. Quis udo
Deproperare apio coronas
Curatve myrto? quem Venus arbitrum
Dicet bibendi? Non ego sanius
Bacchabor Edonis: recepto
Dulce mihi furere est amico.

directly to the Muses in C. iii. 4. 26. He had in mind no doubt Paris's rescue by Venus (Il. iii. 381), and Aeneas's by Phoebus in a thick cloud (Il. v. 344; Aen. x. 81).

15. *resorbens Unda*] Like the wave, that, just as the shipwrecked man is struggling to shore, lifts him off his feet and throws him back again. Catullus, writing to Manlius, has a like expression:

—— "tanto te absorbens vortice amoris
Aestus in abruptum detulerat barathrum."

18. *Longaque—militia*] If the assumed date be right, Pompeius had no rest for more than thirteen years, beginning with the wars of Brutus, A.U.C. 710, and ending with the battle of Actium.

22. *Ciboria*] A drinking-cup, like the pod of an Egyptian bean, of which this was the name. For 'exple' some MSS. have 'imple,' but the other is stronger and has most authority. 'Funde' means 'pour upon your head.' 'Udo' is perhaps like the Greek ὑγρῷ, 'supple.' Theocritus (vii. 68) calls it πολύγναμπτον σέλινον.

25. *Curatve myrto*] Dillenbr. has given instances in which the enclitics 'que,' 've,' 'ne' are added to a word other than that which is to be coupled with the preceding word. There are two examples in C. ii. 19. 28. 32. Dillenbr. says this construction is adopted advisedly to give force to the particular word to which the enclitic is added, and to strengthen the connexion. The truth of this is more apparent in some other cases than in this; but it is true and worth observing.

Venus] This was the highest cast of the dice, as 'canis' was the lowest. Propertius mentions both (iv. 8. 45):—

"Me quoque per talos Venerem quaerente secundos
Semper damnosi subsiluere canes."

See Tacit. Ann. xiii. 15. Also above C. i. 4. 18, and Smith's Dict. Ant. v. Talus.

'Dicet' is used in the same sense as by Virgil (Georg. iii. 125): "Quem legere ducem et pecori dixere maritum;" where Servius explains 'dixere' by 'designavere.'

28. *furere*] See C. iii. 19. 18: "Insanire juvat;" both being imitated from Pseudo-Anacreon (31 Bergk), θέλω θέλω μανῆναι. The Edoni were Thracians (C. i. 27. 2).

CARMEN VIII.

The MSS. vary in the name of the woman addressed in this ode. The best give her the name of Julia with Barine or Varine. Bentley objects to Barine as neither Greek nor Latin, but has no other name to suggest. It did not occur to him that it might be barbarian. Peerlkamp would substitute Barsine, which happens to be the name of one of Alexander the Great's wives. The matter is of no great importance. The ode is probably a mere imitation of the Greek or a fancy of the poet's.

ARGUMENT.

Barine, if I could see thee punished for thy false vows, I might believe thee again. But the moment after thou hast forsworn thyself thou art lovelier and more bright than ever. Perjury then is profitable, Venus and her train laugh at it. Fresh slaves follow thee, and the old ones cannot leave thy roof; mothers and stingy fathers and new-married brides are afraid of thee.

Ulla si juris tibi pejerati
Poena, Barine, nocuisset unquam,
Dente si nigro fieres vel uno
  Turpior ungui,
Crederem. Sed tu simul obligasti
Perfidum votis caput enitescis
Pulchrior multo, juvenumque prodis
  Publica cura.
Expedit matris cineres opertos
Fallere et toto taciturna noctis
Signa cum caelo gelidaque divos
  Morte carentes.
Ridet hoc inquam Venus ipsa, rident
Simplices Nymphae, ferus et Cupido
Semper ardentes acuens sagittas
  Cote cruenta.
Adde quod pubes tibi crescit omnis,
Servitus crescit nova, nec priores

1. *juris—pejerati*] This expression is not found elsewhere. It is formed by analogy from 'jus jurandum.' Acron speaks of a form 'jus juratum,' but that too is not found in extant writings. Ovid has imitated the opening of this ode (Amor. iii. 3. 1 sq.):—

"Esse deos, i, crede: fidem jurata fefellit,
  Et facies illi quae fuit ante manet," &c.

Theocritus mentions a pimple on the tip of the tongue or the nose as a punishment for lying (Idyll. ix. 30)—

μηκέτ' ἐπὶ γλώσσας ἄκρας ὀλοφύγδονα φύσῃς.

(xii. 24) *ἐγὼ δέ σε τὸν καλὸν αἰνέων ψεύδεα ῥινὸς ὕπερθεν ἀραιῆς οὐκ ἀναφύσω.*

9. *opertos*] I do not find that this word is used elsewhere for 'sepultos.' There was no more common oath than by the ashes of the dead, and the moon and stars. Orelli has collected instances to which many others might be added, as Ovid, Heroid. iii. 103; viii. 119.

13. *Ridet hoc inquam Venus ipsa*] Tibullus (or the author of the third book attributed to him) says the same of Jove (iii. 6. 49):

"—— perjuria ridet amantum
  Juppiter et ventos irrita ferre jubet."

Stephens in his Thesaurus (vol. ii. p. 95) mentions two Greek proverbs to the same effect: *ἀφροδίσιος ὅρκος οὐκ ἐμποίνιμος*, and *τὸν γὰρ γυναικὸς ὅρκον εἰς ὕδωρ γράφω*, which is probably a verse from a Greek dramatist.

[14. *Simplices*] Comp. 'simplex munditiis,' C. 1. 5. 'Simplex' is 'innocent,' 'artless,' or at least that which has the appearance of being so. It is opposed to 'ferus.']

15. *Semper ardentes*] This may be taken from a picture. Moschus (Id. i. 29) says of the weapons of love, *πυρὶ πάντα βέβαπται.* 'Semper' belongs to 'ardentes.'

Impiae tectum dominae relinquunt
  Saepe minati.
Te suis matres metuunt juvencis,
Te senes parci miseraeque nuper
Virgines nuptae, tua ne retardet
  Aura maritos.

23. *Virgines*] Like 'puellae' (C. iii. 14. 10) this word does not belong exclusively to maids.

Bentley thinks Horace probably wrote 'cura' not 'aura' in the last line; but he is alive to the objection to the repetition of the same word from v. 8. Orelli gives all the interpretations that have been proposed for 'aura,' and quotes, as illustrating his own opinion, Virgil—

"Nonne vides ut tota tremor pertentet equorum
Corpora si tantum notas odor attulit auras?" (Georg. iii. 250).

Forcellini quotes Aen. (vi. 204), "Discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit," with which Servius compares this of Horace. Forcell. says, "interdum aura significat tenue quiddam et varium ex aere et lumine aut colore resultans." Acron says, "*aura,* aut facilitas qua in amorem trahuntur, aut unguentorum odor;" and Porphyrion, "amoris aura quae ad te eos fert." The Scholiasts were as little prepared with an explanation as modern critics. The interpretation of Mancellinus is, "*aura,* id est splendor et nitor." Perhaps the literal interpretation of Porphyrion is best, 'tua aura,' 'the breeze that sets them towards thee.' 'Popularis aura' (C. iii. 2. 20) is the shifting breeze of popular opinion or favour.

CARMEN IX.

A.U.C. 729 (?).

C. Valgius Rufus was a poet of much merit, and appears to have been sad for the loss of a young slave (not his son, as Sanadon and Dacier suppose, arguing from the examples brought forward in mitigation of Valgius' grief). At a time of public rejoicing (probably at the closing of the temple of Janus, A.U.C. 729, after the Cantabri had been put down by Augustus, C. ii. 6. Introduction) Valgius is called upon (as Tibullus was in C. i. 33) to cease from writing mournful verses on his loss, and to turn his thoughts to the praises of Augustus.

ARGUMENT.

The rain does not always fall, nor the storms rage, nor the frost continue for ever, Valgius. But thou mournest for Mystes from morning till night. Nestor did not always weep for Antilochus, nor his parents and sisters for Troilus. Cease thy wailings, and let us sing of the triumphs of Augustus.

Non semper imbres nubibus hispidos
Manant in agros aut mare Caspium
  Vexant inaequales procellae
    Usque, nec Armeniis in oris,

3. *inaequales*] This epithet is equivalent to 'informes' (C. ii. 10. 15). See C. i. 7. 15:—

"Albus ut obscuro deterget nubila caelo
Saepe Notus neque parturit imbres
Perpetuos, sic tu—"

The table-lands of Armenia are intensely cold in winter, and covered with snow. The summers are hot and dry.

Amice Valgi, stat glacies iners
Menses per omnes aut Aquilonibus
Querceta Gargani laborant
Et foliis viduantur orni:
Tu semper urges flebilibus modis
Mysten ademptum, nec tibi Vespero
Surgente decedunt amores
Nec rapidum fugiente Solem.
At non ter aevo functus amabilem
Ploravit omnes Antilochum senex
Annos, nec impubem parentes
Troïlon aut Phrygiae sorores
Flevere semper. Desine mollium
Tandem querelarum, et potius nova
Cantemus Augusti tropaea
Caesaris et rigidum Niphaten,

7. *Querceta*] The oldest MSS. have 'querqueta.' The Apulian range Garganus (Monte Gargano) terminated in the bold promontory of the same name, now called Punta di Viesti. [The 'Garganum nemus' is mentioned again Epp. ii. 1. 202. The oak forests are no longer there.]

13. *ter aevo functus*] Aulus Gell. (xix. 7) mentions Nestor being called 'trisaeclisenex' by an obscure poet Laevius. Cic. (de Senect. c. 10) says, "Nestor tertiam jam aetatem hominum vivebat." The story is in Homer (Il. i. 250):—

τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
ἐφθίατο—μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἄνασσεν.

The duration of an age cannot now be determined. Plutarch (Cat. Maj. c. 15) says that Cato prosecuted Servius Galba when he was ninety years of age, *κινδυνεύει γὰρ ὡς Νέστωρ ἐς τριγονίαν τῷ βίῳ καὶ ταῖς πράξεσι κατελθεῖν.* The filial love and death of Antilochus are beautifully told by Pindar (Olym. 18. Pyth. vi. 28 sqq.). Lambinus fancifully supposes 'amabilem' may be equivalent to *ἀγαπητόν*, an only child.

16.] The death of Troilus, killed by Achilles, is related by Virgil (Aen. i. 474), following not Homer, but some of the Cyclic poets, the event having taken place before the time at which the Iliad opens. (V. Heyne, Exc. in loco.) His sisters were Creusa, Polyxena, Laodice, and Cassandra.

17. *Desine mollium*] A Greek construction; as 'abstineto irarum' (C. iii. 27. 69); 'Abstinens pecuniae' (iv. 9. 37). Virgil too (Aen. x. 441) takes the same licence, 'tempus desistere pugnae;' 'damnatus laboris' (C. ii. 14. 19); 'decipitur laborum' (C. ii. 13. 38); 'ciceris invidit' (S. ii. 6. 84), are other constructions with the genitive borrowed from the Greek.

19. *Augusti tropaea*] See Introduction.

20.] Whether 'Niphates' was a mountain or a river has been much discussed. The Scholiasts Acron and Comm. Cruq. both say it was a river of Scythia, "though (as they add) most say it is a mountain of Armenia." Porphyrion so calls it, and Strabo mentions no other 'Niphates' but an Armenian range of mountains. The later poets no doubt speak of a river 'Niphates.' For instance, Lucan (Phars. iii. 245) speaks of "volventem saxa Niphaten." Silius also (xiii. 765), "Pellaeo ponte Niphaten adstrinxit." Juvenal likewise (vi. 408 sq.),

"—— Isse Niphaten
In populos magnoque illic cuncta arva teneri
Diluvio."

Virgil (Georg. iii. 30) says,

"Addam urbes Asiae domitas pulsumque Niphaten,
Fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis,
Et duo rapta manu diverso ex hoste tropaea
Bisque triumphatas utroque ab littore gentes."

Here it is uncertain whether Virgil understood Niphates to be a river or a mountain. The passage is so like Horace's that he probably had it in mind; and it is possible

Medumque flumen gentibus additum
Victis minores volvere vertices,
Intraque praescriptum Gelonos
Exiguis equitare campis.

he did not know or care whether it was a mountain or a river. However this may be, there can be no doubt Niphates was a mountain-range south of the range named Abus, in which the Euphrates and the Araxes rise (Strabo, p. 527). In another passage (p. 529) Strabo says that the Tigris rises in the range of Niphates. This fact may account for the confusion between mountain and river. The victories of Augustus in Armenia were in A.U.C. 734, and the geographical question therefore is chiefly of interest here in a chronological point of view; but even that interest vanishes, if we suppose Horace to be speaking of conquests to come, as he does in C. i. 12. 53 sqq. We may then admit that Horace wrote of the conquests of Armenia even five years before any success was gained there.

21. *Medumque flumen*] The Euphrates, as Virgil (Aen. viii. 725)—

"Hic Lelegas Carasque sagittiferosque Gelonos
Finxerat. Euphrates ibat jam mollior undis;"

or it may be Horace meant the Tigris. See last note. There was a river Medus which flowed into the Araxes, near Persepolis, but it was a small stream, and probably unknown to Horace. He cannot allude to this, as some suppose. 'Medum flumen' is like 'Metaurum flumen' (C. iv. 4. 38), and 'flumen Rhenum' (A. P. 18).

22. *vertices*] Heinsius, on Aen. i. 117, states that the Medicean MS. always has the reading 'vertex,' not 'vortex.' The MSS. and editions vary in this passage, and Forcellini says that 'vertex' and 'vortex' are written indiscriminately in the MSS. of all the Latin authors. Fea adopts 'vertices,' but with it Charisius' absurd etymology, "vertex a vertendo dicitur: vortex a vorando." The passage from Quintilian, quoted by Forcell., shows how 'vertex' passed into its derived meanings.

23. *Gelonos*] This was one of the tribes on the north bank of the Danube. See note C. i. 19. 10. About the same time, it is supposed, with Augustus's expedition against the Cantabri, Lentulus drove the Transdanubian tribes across the river (C. iii. 8, Introduction). But whether this is alluded to here must be matter of doubt.

CARMEN X.

Licinius Murena, or A. Terentius Varro Murena, as he was called after his adoption by A. Terentius Varro, was apparently a man of restless and ambitious character, and, as we have seen, paid the penalty of his rashness with his life (C. ii. 2, Introduction). It is very probable that Horace wrote this ode to his friend to warn him of the tendencies of his disposition. All else that we learn from Horace's poems respecting Murena is that he was of the college of augurs (C. iii. 19), and that he had a house at Formiae, where he received Maecenas and his party on their way to Brundusium (S. i. 5. 37 sq.). As Murena was put to death A.U.C. 732 or 731, this ode must have been written before that year.

Although it may be inferred from the tone of this ode that Murena was not incapable of the conduct imputed to him and on the charge of which he died, his guilt does not appear to have been proved. Dion (54. 1. 3) says that "in the year when M. Marcellus and L. Arruntius were consuls, Fannius Caepio headed a conspiracy, which was joined by others; and Murena was said to have entered into it with them, *either truly or slanderously*. The conspirators did not appear to take their trial, and were condemned in their absence, but were taken and put to death shortly afterwards. Proculeius, his brother, and Maecenas, who had married his sister, were unable to obtain Murena's pardon." The same historian charges him with ungovernable and indiscriminate rashness of speech: *ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ παῤῥησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἐχρῆτο* (54. 3). [Comp. Velleius, ii. 91; Sueton. Tib. c. 8.]

ARGUMENT.

The way to live, Licinius, is neither rashly to tempt nor cowardly to fear the storm. The golden mean secures a man at once from the pinching of poverty and the envy of wealth. The loftiest objects fall soonest and most heavily. In adversity or prosperity the wise man looks for change. Storms come and go. Bad times will not always be bad. Apollo handles the lyre as well as the bow. In adversity show thyself brave, in prosperity take in sail.

Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum
Semper urgendo neque, dum procellas
Cautus horrescis, nimium premendo
  Litus iniquum.
Auream quisquis mediocritatem
Diligit tutus caret obsoleti
Sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
  Sobrius aula.
Saepius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus et celsae graviore casu
Decidunt turres feriuntque summos
  Fulgura montes.

5.] Horace's language comes near to that of Aristotle (Polit. iv. 12), *καὶ σώζονται δ' ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὗτοι (οἱ μέσοι) μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὥσπερ οἱ πένητες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν οὔτε τῆς τούτων ἕτεροι.* Aristotle quotes a maxim of Phocylides to the same effect, *πολλὰ μέσοισιν ἄριστα· μέσος θέλω ἐν πόλει εἶναι.* That every virtue is a mean between two vices is a doctrine laid down in the Ethics of this author (Nic. Eth. ii. 7), and Cicero (De Off. i. 25) says "Nunquam enim iratus qui accedit ad poenam mediocritatem illam tenebit quae est inter nimium et parum."

6. *obsoleti*] That which has gone out of use; therefore old and decayed.

9. *Saepius*] Burmann's conjecture (on Ovid, Heroid. xiv. 39), 'saevius,' is strongly defended by Jani, who thinks 'saepius' much too weak, especially for so elaborate a poem. Sanadon adopts 'saevius' as agreeing better with 'graviore casu,' which, he says, would have been 'frequentiore casu' had the true reading been 'saepius.' Dacier is opposed to him, and so are the MSS., the Scholiasts, and every edition earlier than the eighteenth century (Burmann edits 'saepius'), and all the editors of this except Fea. Cunningham approves of 'saevius' only, as it would seem, because Bentley does not, and yet Bentley carries the system of correcting on aesthetical principles far enough. The same editors follow one another in reading 'excelsae' for 'et celsae.'

The illustrations used in this stanza are frequently met with. A passage of Lucretius' fifth book (1116—1133) may be compared with this ode. In the sixth book (v. 42 sq.) he asks,

"Altaque cur plerumque petit loca, plurimaque ejus
Montibus in summis vestigia cernimus ignis?"

The oldest passage containing this illustration is in Herodotus (vii. 10), *ὁρᾷς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῶα ὡς κεραυνοῖ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ ἐᾷ φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδέν μιν κνίζει· ὁρᾷς δὲ ὡς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα· φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν.* Ovid says (Rem. Am. 369),

"Summa petit livor, perflant altissima venti,
Summa petunt dextra fulmina missa Jovis."

And Claudian (in Rufinum, i. 21),

"—— non ad culmina rerum
Injustos crevisse queror: tolluntur in altum
Ut lapsu graviore ruant."

Sperat infestis, metuit secundis
Alteram sortem bene praeparatum
Pectus. Informes hiemes reducit
  Juppiter, idem
Summovet. Non si male nunc et olim
Sic erit: quondam cithara tacentem
Suscitat musam, neque semper arcum
  Tendit Apollo.
Rebus angustis animosus atque
Fortis appare; sapienter idem
Contrahes vento nimium secundo
  Turgida vela.

And Juvenal (S. x. 105),

"—— numerosa parabat
Excelsae turris tabulata unde altior esset
Casus et impulsae praeceps immane ruinae."

In the passages above quoted 'fulmina' is used. But here, though 'fulgura' is properly only a flash of lightning, the best MSS. are in favour of 'fulgura,' and the word is used in the sense of 'fulmina,' as by Virgil (Georg. i. 488), "Non alias caelo ceciderunt plura sereno Fulgura." Lambinus and Torrentius have 'fulmina,' though the former prefers 'fulgura.' Landinus (1483), Ascensius (1513), Cruquius, have 'fulgura,' and so most modern editions (except Fea's) since Bentley, who successfully defended the common reading. [Ritter and Keller have 'fulgura.'] Very few MSS. have 'fulmina.' Stephens reads 'fulmina,' and quotes the proverb "procul a Jove procul a fulmine."

[11. *summos montes*] The tops of the mountains. 'Summas Alpes,' Caesar B. G. iii. 1.]

15. *Informes hiemes*] This epithet is like 'inaequales' in the last ode. Compare C. iii. 29. 43:—

"—— cras vel atra
Nube polum Pater occupato
Vel sole puro."

In both cases Horace perhaps remembered Theocritus' lines (iv. 41), θαρσῆν χρή, φίλε Βάττε· τάχ' αὔριον ἔσσετ' ἄμεινον.—Χὠ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει. ['Summovet:' see C. ii. 16. 10.]

17. *olim Sic erit: quondam cithara*] 'Olim' being derived from the demonstrative pronoun 'illo,' of which the older form is 'ōlo' (Key's Latin G. 298), which only indicates the remoter object, signifies some time more or less distant, either in the past or future. 'Quondam,' which is akin to 'quum,' an adverb relating to all parts of time, signifies also any time not present. 'One of those days' is an expression our Irish neighbours use for some future day. The reading 'citharae,' which Bentley adopts on the authority of some MSS., but against the best, appears to me weak. 'Musam citharae' for 'cithara' is not used, and the nearest expression to it that Bentley can produce is 'Musa Tragoediae' (C. ii. 1. 9), which is not analogous. 'Musam' is equivalent to 'mele' in Lucret. (ii. 412):

"Ac Musaea mele per chordas organici quae
Mobilibus digitis expergefacta figurant,"

where 'expergefacta' corresponds to 'suscitat' in the text. ['Si male:' 'tibi' is understood. 'If it shall go hard with you now, it will not be so always.' Comp. S. i. 2. 37, 'procedere recte Qui moechis non vultis.' Comp. C. iii. 16. 42.]

Respecting Apollo as the destroyer of men and the god of music, see Homer, Il. i., and comp. C. S. 33, 'condito mitis placidusque telo.'

22. *appare*] This word has particular force (see Argument).

CARMEN XI.

The date of this ode has been much discussed. If any argument could be founded upon the first line, it would naturally be inferred that the Cantabri and the Scythian tribes were in arms at the time it was written [and the date might be Ritter's, A.U.C. 725]. Lentulus' expedition against the tribes of the Danube, who had invaded the Roman provinces, is supposed, as I have said before (C. 9. 23 n.), to have taken place while Augustus was in Spain. Supposing this to be alluded to, the date of the ode may be considered settled within a year, that is, it must have been written about A.U.C. 729; and Horace speaks of his grey hairs (v. 15), which is consistent with that date, for he was then forty. But the date of the expedition of Lentulus is uncertain. The only authority on the subject is Florus (iv. 12), who does not mention the date or give any clue to it (see C. iii. 8, Introd.). But after all it is not necessary to suppose that Horace meant any thing very definite by thus coupling two distant and troublesome enemies together. The name Scythian was applied to many peoples, some of whom were continually giving trouble to the Romans; and as Estré says (p. 414), if Horace had said—

"Quid bellicosus Parthus et Aethiops,"

or—

"Quid bellicosus Medus et Allobrox
Hirpine Quinti cogitet Alpibus
Divisus objectis,"

the sense would have been just the same, and the purpose of the writer as well answered, which is merely to introduce a convivial ode. He has prefixed to it a name we hear of nowhere else, which has caused a good deal of difficulty to scholars. There is no Hirpinus on record but this one, belonging to the Quintian family or any other. Whether this person was a neighbour of Horace's, and got his name from his Sabine connexion (the Hirpini were a Sabine people), or whether Horace gave some friend this name from some familiar whim unknown to us, is a matter of doubt. It has been assumed that this Quintius, and the one to whom is addressed Epp. i. 16, are the same. But the latter appears to have been younger than the former, whom Horace addresses as if he were a contemporary (v. 15). Cruquius would substitute 'Crispine' for 'Hirpine.' T. Quintius Crispinus was consul with Drusus A.U.C. 745, and it is more probable that the epistle above referred to was addressed to him than that this ode was. Finally, to suppose, with most of the commentators, that this Hirpinus, whoever he was, was a nervous person inclined to look with alarm on the aspect of affairs, and especially afraid of a descent of the Scythians upon Italy, is as usual to mistake the character of the ode. That the disturbances and designs of the distant tribes were troublesome to Rome and topics of conversation, is enough to account for their introduction here, without supposing that Horace or his friend attached more weight to them than other people.

ARGUMENT.

Never mind what distant nations are about, nor trouble thyself for the wants of life, which wants but little: youth is going and age approaching: the flowers and the moon are not always bright: why worry thyself for ever? Let us drink under the shade of yonder tree. Mix wine, boy, and bring Lyde to sing to us.

Quid bellicosus Cantaber et Scythes,
Hirpine Quinti, cogitet Hadria
Divisus objecto remittas
Quaerere, nec trepides in usum
Poscentis aevi pauca. Fugit retro
Levis juventas et decor, arida
Pellente lascivos amores
Canitie facilemque somnum.
Non semper idem floribus est honor
Vernis neque uno Luna rubens nitet
Voltu: quid aeternis minorem
Consiliis animum fatigas?
Cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac
Pinu jacentes sic temere et rosa
Canos odorati capillos,
Dum licet, Assyriaque nardo

2. *Hirpine Quinti*] The names are inverted, as in C. ii. 2. 3, "Crispe Sallusti."

3. *remittas*] For examples of 'remitto,' in the sense of deferring (as C. iv. 4. 21, 'quaerere distuli') or altogether omitting, see Forcell. ['Remittas' means 'cease,' as Ritter correctly says.]

4. *trepides*] This word, the root or stem of which is 'trep' (τρέπω), signifies to hurry hither and thither. So "pars castra hostium, pars terga trepidantium invaderet" (Livy, xxvii. 1); that is, while they were hurrying about in confusion. Hence to be eager or anxious, as here. Some commentators interpret the words thus: "ne trepides aevi (causa sc.) pauca poscentis in usum," thinking that 'trepidare in usum aevi' is not translatable. But 'trepidare aevi' is not Latin, nor a Graecism that Horace would adopt. 'In usum' Graevius explains 'in sumptum vitae,' quoting Cic. ad Att. (xi. 11): "Id quoque velim cum illa videas ut sit qui utamur," i.e. "unde sumptus sustineamus:" and St. Paul to the Philippians, iv. 16: καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δὶς εἰς τὴν χρείαν μοι ἐπέμψατε, which the Vulgate translates "semel et bis in usum mihi misistis."

9. *honor*] The MSS. vary between 'honos' and 'honor.' The latter is preferable for euphony, and Bentley says he who first changed it to 'honos' had no ears.

10. *rubens*] So Propertius (i. 10. 8): "Et mediis caelo Luna ruberet equis." This word is nowhere else used to express the brilliancy of the moon. Catullus uses it for the bright yellow of the ripe corn (xx. 7): "Mihi rubens arista sole fervido;" and Claudian (in Rufin. i. 102) for the golden waters of Pactolus: "stagna rubentis Aurea Pactoli." Aulus Gellius has a chapter on colours (Noct. Att. ii. 26), in which Favorinus the Sophist discusses the subject with the orator Fronto, and attributes to the poverty of the Latin language, as compared with the Greek, its description of various bright colours by one word, 'rubor:' "quum aliter rubeat ignis, aliter sanguis, aliter ostrum, aliter crocum, has singulas rufi varietates Latina oratio—significat una ruboris appellatione." Virgil even applies it to the fields in spring (Georg. iv. 306): "Ante novis rubeant quam prata coloribus."

11. *minorem*] This, like ἥσσων, signifies 'the victim of' or 'a slave to,' as we should say. [The meaning is probably: 'Why do you weary your mind too weak for eternal counsels or designs,' that is, for designs which extend far into the future. Compare C. i. 4. 5, 'spem inchoare longam,' and C. i. 11. 7.]

14. *sic temere*] 'Sic' has a force of its own, signifying 'carelessly,' 'as it may be,' as, among other places, Terence, Phorm. (i. 2. 94): "Quid paedagogus ille? quid rei gerit? Ge. Sic tenuiter." οὕτως has the same force. St. John describes our Lord sitting at Jacob's well in these words: ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς κεκοπιακὼς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἐκαθέζετο οὕτως ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ (iv. 6).

16. *Assyriaque nardo*] It was not only the poets that confounded Syria and Assyria. Cicero (in Verr. ii. 3. 33) speaks of

Potamus uncti? Dissipat Euius
Curas edaces. Quis puer ocius
Restinguet ardentis Falerni
Pocula praetereunte lympha?
Quis devium scortum eliciet domo
Lyden? Eburna dic age cum lyra
Maturet in comptum Lacaenae
More comas religata nodum.

"reges Persarum ac Syrorum," for the kings of Persia and Assyria. See also Pliny (N. H. v. 12). Horace uses 'Syrio' for an Indian commodity (above, C. 7. 8), "Malobathro Syrio;" and 'Assyrii' for the deserts of Syria (C. iii. 4. 32), and 'Assyrius' for any Eastern person (A. P. 118), "Colchus an Assyrius." [Acron reads 'Assyriaque,' but the old Berne MS. has 'Assyrioque,' which Ritter follows; and he refers to Pliny, H. N. xii. 26 (12), who describes the 'folium nardi.']

18. *Quis puer*] "Velut in ipso jam convivio voluit videri" (Acron).

21. *devium*] One who lives out of the way, as (Ov. Heroid. ii. 118) "Et cecinit maestum devia carmen avis." [In C. i. 17. 6, 'deviae' means 'rambling.' Comp. C. iii. 25. 12. Ritter supposes that Lyde is called 'devium,' because she is drawn from her house to her friends who are lying under the trees far from the way, and so she becomes 'devium' because she will turn out of the way to go there: which is a forced interpretation.]

23. *in comptum*] This is the reading of the best MSS., for those which have 'incomptum' as one word must have got it from an oversight of the transcriber. One MS. appears to have 'in comptam,' which Bentley adopts as one word 'incomptam,' to agree with 'comam,' which is his reading after some MSS. He also conjectures 'nodo' for 'nodum,' to correspond to C. iii. 14. 22: "Murrheum nodo cohibere crinem." 'In comptum nodum' signifies into a plain knot without ornament. "In praepositio apposita est non composita" (comm. Cruq.). ['Maturet,' 'make haste to come.' Caesar, B. G. i. 7, has 'maturat ab urbe proficisci,' and Horace, C. iii. 7. 16, 'maturare necem.' 'Comas religata,' 'tying up her hair,' like 'odorati capillos.' See C. i. 2. 31.]

CARMEN XII.

The Scholiast Acron, on Sat. i. 2. 64, has collected from Horace instances of fictitious names put for real ones of the same number of syllables of the same quantity; as Licinia (so all the Scholiasts write the name) for Terentia; Malthinus for Maecenas in the 25th verse of the above Satire; and Vellius for Annius in the 64th. Bentley quotes Persius (Sat. i. 121): "Auriculas asini Mida rex habet," where Mida stands for Nero. He also quotes from Apuleius instances taken from Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ticida, whom Ovid mentions (Trist. ii. 433) in conjunction with other poets as disguising the name of Metella under the fictitious one of Perilla. To these may be added Canidia, substituted it would seem for Gratidia by Horace. Assuming, then, that Licymnia represents Terentia (and not a mistress of Horace, as some commentators suppose, and Acron inconsistently suggests as an alternation for Terentia), the date of the ode may be conjectured. Maecenas was married to Terentia about A.U.C. 721 or 722 (Epod. iii.), and she must have been in the prime of her beauty when this ode was written. But the reference to Augustus' wars, especially in the verses "ductaque per vias Regum colla minacium," makes it almost certain that it was not written before his triumph in the month Sextilis, A.U.C. 725. But the harmony between Maecenas and his wife was not of long continuance: therefore it is probable the ode was written soon after the triumph. That Augustus is called Caesar (v. 10) seems to Franke to make it probable

that he had not then received his new name; but that is no argument, for he is so called in later odes (iii. 14. 3; iv. 2. 48). The brother (by adoption) of Terentia was (C. ii. 10) Licinius Murena. The Scholiasts, as mentioned above, call Licymnia 'Licinia.' Whether we may infer from Murena's name that Terentia was also called Licinia, as Dacier says, is doubtful, and yet it corresponds so nearly to the name Horace has chosen that it seems very likely she was. The language may appear to modern taste rather too familiar in speaking of his patron and his patron's wife. On the orthography of Licymnia, see Wagner on Virg. Aen. ix. 546: "Maeonio regi quem serva Licymnia furtim."

ARGUMENT.

Do not ask me with my soft lyre to sing of bloody wars, of centaurs, and of giants: as for the triumphs of Caesar, Maecenas, thou couldst tell them better in prose than I in verse. My task is to sing of the beauty and faithfulness of Licymnia, who graces the dance and sports with the damsels on Diana's holiday. Wouldst thou for all the wealth of Persia, Phrygia, and Arabia give a lock of Licymnia's hair or the kiss she refuses but loves thee to snatch, and will sometimes snatch before thee?

NOLIS longa ferae bella Numantiae
Nec dirum Hannibalem nec Siculum mare
Poeno purpureum sanguine mollibus
  Aptari citharae modis;
Nec saevos Lapithas et nimium mero
Hylaeum domitosque Herculea manu
Telluris juvenes, unde periculum
  Fulgens contremuit domus
Saturni veteris; tuque pedestribus

[1. *Numantia*] This Spanish town was taken B. C. 133 by Scipio Africanus Minor after a long siege and a desperate resistance.]

2. *dirum Hannibalem*] Quintilian (viii. 2. 9.) commends, among other instances of propriety in language, Horace's epithets, 'acrem' for 'tibiam,' and 'dirum' for 'Hannibalem;' and as the same epithet occurs twice again in the same connexion (C. iii. 6. 36; iv. 4. 42), I prefer it to 'durum.' Bentley supports 'durum' as opposed to 'mollibus.' But such antitheses are not in Horace's style. [Keller and Ritter have 'durum.']

Siculum mare] He alludes to the naval victories of Duilius and Lutatius Catulus in the first Punic war (C. iii. 6. 34).

5. *nimium mero*] This use of 'nimium' is common in Tacitus, who also uses it with a genitive, as (Hist. iii. 75): "nimius sermonis erat." ['Unde:' comp. C. i. 12. 17.]

9. *tuque pedestribus*] The conjunction couples this part of the ode with the preceding, not with what follows. 'Que,' after negative sentences, has a qualified adversative sense, as in C. ii. 20. 3:—

—— "neque in terris morabor
Longius, invidiaque major
Urbes relinquam."

So τε often follows οὔτε, the fact being that every negative proposition may be resolved into an affirmative with a negation. Here the connexion is between 'nolis' and 'dices.' Orelli argues strongly that 'tu' is to be taken generally for any body, not as referring to Maecenas or any intention of his to write an account of Augustus' wars, which it is generally assumed he either executed or contemplated. But there is no more necessity for that assumption than to suppose that Varius wrote an epic on Agrippa, because Horace says (C. i. 6. 1) "Scriberis Vario fortis," &c. Maecenas was an author, though probably an indifferent one; and Horace may have put off his request that he should write a poetical account of Augustus' achievements by suggesting that he should write one in prose.

Dices historiis proelia Caesaris,
Maecenas, melius ductaque per vias
Regum colla minacium.
Me dulces dominae Musa Licymniae
Cantus, me voluit dicere lucidum
Fulgentes oculos et bene mutuis
Fidum pectus amoribus;
Quam nec ferre pedem dedecuit choris,
Nec certare joco nec dare brachia
Ludentem nitidis virginibus sacro
Dianae celebris die.

It does not follow that Maecenas ever wrote or that Horace ever seriously intended to advise his writing. 'Pedestribus' is an adaptation of the Greek πεζὸς λόγος for 'prosa,' or 'soluta oratio,' which latter was the usual expression for prose in Horace's time. He uses the word 'pedester' again twice to express a plain style of speech, but not for prose as opposed to poetry (S. ii. 6. 17): "Quid prius illustrem satiris musaque pedestri?" and (A. P. 95) "tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri." Quintilian uses the word, but expressly as a Graecism. The word 'prosa,' or 'prorsa,' as the correct form appears to be, is of later use than the age of Augustus.

11. *ductaque per vias*] See C. i. 2. 49; iv. 2. 35 n. Epod. vii. 7.

12. *minacium*] The MSS. vary between 'minacium' and 'minantium,' which words might easily be confounded through the omission of the mark usually substituted for 'n' in the latter, 'minātium.' But the participle would signify that they were now threatening, which would perhaps be out of character, though Jani thinks 'minantium' very graphic: "Quam graphicum hoc!" Jani is abundant in exclamation. Bentley quotes Ovid (Trist. iv. 2. 21 sqq.):

"Vinclaque captiva reges cervice gerentes
Ante coronatos ire videbit equos.
Et cernet vultus aliis pro tempore versos,
Terribiles aliis, immemoresque sui."

'Minax' is a favourite word with Horace.

13. *dominae*] If by Licymnia is meant Terentia (see Introduction), 'dominae' may stand for wife, as in Virg. (Aen. vi. 397): "Hi dominam Ditis thalamo deducere adorti." See Conington's note. Ovid (Trist. iii. 3. 23): "Nuntiet huc aliquis dominam venisse, resurgam;" and again in the forty-first verse:—

"Nec dominae lacrimis in nostra cadentibus ora
Accedent animae tempora parva meae?"

So 'amans:' "vana spe lusit amantem" (Aen. i. 352). Bentley edits 'dulcis,' but quotes the line with 'dulces,' which he preferred therefore is plain; and it is likely that the transcribers who wrote 'dulcis' meant it for 'dulceis,' the accusative case. 'Cantus' wants an epithet.

14. *lucidum Fulgentes*] Dillenbr. says the neuter adjective is used adverbially in phrases like this, where there is to be expressed of the subject not only what it is but what it does. In this place he says "oculi tantopere fulgent ut lucere videantur." I do not quite see the distinction. Had he said "tantopere lucent ut fulgere videantur," it might be supposed that he meant that the eyes shone so, they seemed to cast forth lightning, 'fulgere' being equivalent to 'fulgorem emittere.' In 'turbidum laetatur' (C. ii. 19. 6) the remark is more clearly verified, since there he who rejoices is also confused. In 'dulce ridentem' (C. i. 22, 23), 'perfidum ridens' (iii. 27. 67), she who smiles is also sweet or roguish, and so on in 'gratum elocuta' (iii. 3. 17), 'resonarent triste' (S. i. 8. 41), &c. The neuter adjective only performs in these cases the office of an adverb, which is common in all languages. ['Bene fidum:' so Virgil, Aen. ii. 23, has 'male fida.']

20. *Dianae celebris die*] Her festival was held on the ides of August. The dances at her festival were led by ladies of rank (C. iv. 6. 31; A. P. 232). This and the use of 'dedecuit' shows that the person intended by Licymnia was not as some suppose a mistress of Horace. To such a person the notion of being disgraced by dancing at a private house would not apply. 'Choris' appears to be opposed to the sacred

Num tu quae tenuit dives Achaemenes,
Aut pinguis Phrygiae Mygdonias opes
Permutare velis crine Licymniae,
Plenas aut Arabum domos,
Dum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula
Cervicem aut facili saevitia negat
Quae poscente magis gaudeat eripi,
Interdum rapere occupet?

dances. Dancing was not unusual in private society at this time even among ladies. Therefore it was not degrading even to Terentia. Other words used with 'brachia' to express dancing are 'jactare,' 'deducere,' 'ducere,' 'mittere,' 'movere.' The graceful motion of the arms seems to have been one of the chief attractions in dancing, as it is still wherever it is practised as an art.

"Si vox est, canta: si mollia brachia, salta."

"Brachia saltantis, vocem mirare canentis,"

says Ovid (A. A. i. 595; ii. 305).

The expression 'ferre pedem' is used by Virgil (Georg. i. 11): "Ferte simul Faunique pedem Dryadesque puellae;" and 'ludere' likewise (Ec. vi. 27): "Tum vero in numerum Faunosque ferasque videres Ludere." 'Dianae celebris die' is the day on which Diana was worshipped, the people flocking to her temple for that purpose. On this sense of 'celebris,' see Mr. Long's note on Cic. in Verr. Act. ii. 2. c. 66, and the connexion of 'celebris' and 'creber.'

25. *Dum flagrantia*] Lambinus has 'fragrantia,' the author of which reading must have had in mind Horace's amusing denunciation in Epod. iii. 19 sqq. after he himself had been poisoned with Maecenas' garlic. [Keller and Ritter have 'cum flagrantia.' Ritter follows Porphyrion in supposing that she 'turns away her neck to avoid the kisses.' She turns her neck to meet the kiss, as 'aut' shows.]

27.] 'poscente' goes with 'magis,' not with 'eripi,' as some suppose. 'More than you who ask,' not as Rutgersius says, 'more than the woman who asks.' The Scholiast Acron read 'occupat' in v. 28, which carries the word back to 'dum' (v. 25), instead of connecting it with 'gaudeat.' Bentley reads 'occupat;' all the editions before him that I have seen have 'occupet,' and the older MSS. 'Occupare' has the force of *φθάνειν*. ['Quae . . . gaudeat' means 'though she would be more pleased than her husband if the kiss were snatched.' If we read 'occupat,' as Ritter does, a fact is affirmed: 'sometimes she snatches a kiss herself;' and some persons may prefer this meaning. But when Ritter argues thus against 'occupet:' "oscula quae mulier saevitia quamvis facili negat, eadem raptim et sponte auferre nequit," he says nothing.]

CARMEN XIII.

A.U.C. 728 (?).

The date of this ode is fixed with some confidence by Franke A.U.C. 723, by Dillenbr. 729, because it was written the year before C. iii. 8. (See introduction to that ode, and iii. 29.) The invitation to Maecenas was written evidently for the first anniversary of the accident referred to in this ode. Lachmann (Ep. to Franke, p. 240) considers it to be one of Horace's earliest, in consequence of the metre of v. 27, "Alcaee, plectro dura navis;" and for similar reasons he puts C. iii. 8 at an early date. But such conclusions have been already noticed. There is nothing in them, as I believe, whatever. The latter part of the ode is a remarkable instance of Horace's way of digressing into subjects only remotely connected with his principal theme.

ARGUMENT.

Whoever planted thee, thou tree, did so on an evil day; and with impious hand he reared thee to the destruction of his children and the disgrace of the village. Parricide, guest-murder,—there is no crime he would not commit. No one is safe against danger. The Phoenician sailor fears the Bosporus, and nothing else; our soldier the Parthian; the Parthian nothing but the might of Rome; but death comes suddenly on all. How nearly was I sent to the regions below, where all the shades wonder, Cerberus listens, the Furies are charmed, and the damned suspend their labours, while Sappho complains of her faithless countrywomen, and Alcaeus sings of the dangers of the deep and of the battle-field.

Ille et nefasto te posuit die,
Quicunque primum, et sacrilega manu
  Produxit, arbos, in nepotum
    Perniciem opprobriumque pagi;
Illum et parentis crediderim sui
Fregisse cervicem et penetralia
  Sparsisse nocturno cruore
    Hospitis; ille venena Colchica
Et quidquid usquam concipitur nefas
Tractavit, agro qui statuit meo
  Te, triste lignum, te caducum
    In domini caput immerentis.

1. *nefasto*] A 'dies nefastus' was properly one on which, the day being dedicated to religion, it was not lawful for the praetor to hold his court. Ovid thus defines 'dies fasti' and 'nefasti' (Fast. i. 47):—

"Ille nefastus erit per quem tria verba silentur;
Fastus erit per quem lege licebit agi;"

where the three words alluded to are said to be 'do,' 'dico,' 'addico,' all of them familiar in Roman civil procedure. Hence the name, which is compounded of 'ne' and the root of 'fari.' And, because no secular work but what was necessary could prosper on the days called 'nefasti,' all unlucky days came to bear that name as here; and the word was thence applied to express all that was bad, as C. i. 35. 35. Bentley and others have attempted to mend the text in various ways, of which Bentley's is the worst. The sense is: "He not only planted thee on an evil day (whoever it was that first planted thee), but with impious hand reared thee." The pagus was Mandela in a valley of the Sabine hills, where Horace had his farm.

6. *Fregisse cervicem*] This is the ordinary phrase for strangulation. Epod. iii. 2. Sallust (Cat. 55) has 'laqueo gulam fregere:' and Cicero (in Verrem, ii. 5. 42): "Praetorem tu accusas? Frange cervices." The force of 'penetralia' is, that in the inner part of the house the images of the penates and the hearth of Vesta were placed, where, if any where, the person of a guest should be sacred. ['Crediderim,' 'I could believe,' as we say, which means 'I would assert my belief, if there were occasion to do so.']

[7. *nocturno cruore hospitis*] A form of expression both Latin and Greek. Caesar, B. G. i. 36: 'fraternum nomen populi Romani;' 'domestica exempla virtutis,' Cic. Phil. xiv. 13: πατρῷον ἄστυ γῆς, Soph. Oed. Col. 297.]

8. *venena Colchica*] Some MSS. and most of the old editions have Colchica; and for the metre's sake I adopt it. Orelli and nearly all modern editions (Ritter and Keller also) have Colcha, an ordinary poetical form. Of the same abbreviated form are Marsus, Maurus, Medus, Hispanus, &c.

11. *caducum*] This word signifies 'falling' (C. iii. 4. 44), 'fallen,' or 'ready to fall.' More generally the last, as here. Virgil has (Aen. vi. 481): "Hic multum fleti ad superos belloque caduci Dardanidae;" where it means 'fallen.'

Quid quisque vitet nunquam homini satis
Cautum est in horas: navita Bosporum
Poenus perhorrescit neque ultra
Caeca timet aliunde fata;
Miles sagittas et celerem fugam
Parthi, catenas Parthus et Italum
Robur; sed improvisa leti
Vis rapuit rapietque gentes.
Quam paene furvae regna Proserpinae
Et judicantem vidimus Aeacum
Sedesque discretas piorum et
Aeoliis fidibus querentem

14. *Bosporum*] The form of the Greek *βοῦς πόρος* requires that the name should be written thus, and not Bosphorum, as it often is even in the best MSS. ['in horas,' 'from hour to hour.' Comp. C. i. 32. 2.]

17. *celerem fugam*] C. i. 19. 11 n. Bentley is angry with the old MSS. for having, without exception, the word 'celerem,' and thinks Horace certainly was not thinking what he was about if he wrote it. He thinks 'reducem' is a much better word. In a long note full of quotations, Bentley does not notice Ovid (A. A. iii. 786): "Ut celer aversis utere Parthus equis." If Horace stumbled, therefore, he was not without a partner in his fall. 'Reducem' is very clumsy and without meaning. Plutarch (Crassus, c. 24), describing the attacks of the mounted Parthian archers on the army of M. Crassus on the plains of Mesopotamia, says ὑπέφευγον γὰρ ἅμα βάλλοντες οἱ Πάρθοι, καὶ τοῦτο κράτιστα ποιοῦσι μετὰ Σκύθας.

18. *Italum robur*] Interpreters differ as to the meaning of this word 'robur.' Some, among whom is Dillenburger, take it in its plain meaning—the power of Italy. Others, and Orelli among them, interpret it the prisons of Italy, 'robur' being the name given to the inner cell or cells where the worst malefactors were kept. [Orelli compares Livy 38, c. 59, 'ut in carcere . . . et in robore et tenebris expiret.'] According to Festus, "Robur in carcere dicitur is locus quo praecipitatur maleficorum genus; quod ante arcis robusteis includebatur." The Scholiasts take no notice of the word. They probably therefore took the meaning the other way. Lipsius quotes a passage from Josephus, from which it appears that among other things which the Roman soldier carried to battle with him (an axe, a saw, &c.) was a chain to secure any prisoner he might take. To this Horace probably refers in 'catenas,' and below in C. iii. 8. 22.

21. *furvae regna Proserpinae*] 'Furvus' is an old word signifying 'dark,' and is not different from 'fulvus,' except in usage. It is much used in connexion with the infernal deities and their rites. The first syllable in Proserpina is long in other writers, except in one passage of Seneca (Her. Fur. 551): "Vidisti Siculae regna Proserpinae."

23. *Sedesque discretas piorum*] Elysium was separate from Tartarus, and these were the two divisions of Orcus according to the later notions. In the Homeric times Elysium was upon earth in the μακάρων νῆσοι. (Odyss. iv. 563, and the Schol. thereon.) For 'discretas,' Lambinus and Cruquius read 'descriptas.' The oldest Berne MS. has 'discriptas,' which is the right form here, if any compound of 'scribo' is so. Seven of Lambinus' and two of Cruquius' MSS. had 'discriptas;' and Lambinus says that many have it in Lucret. (v. 1441): "Et divisa colebatur discriptaque tellus," where the common reading is 'discreta,' as here. 'Discriptas,' as Lambinus says, is equivalent to διατεταγμένας, a force which 'descriptas' never could have. In many places where that meaning, or some meaning of that sort, is evidently wanted, editors persist in putting 'describo' for 'discribo,' (A. P. 86 n.). In weighing the MS. authority for 'discriptas' with that for 'discretas,' we must put those codices which have 'descriptas' in the scale with 'discriptas,' and then the balance is about even. All the Scholiasts had 'discretas' and most modern editions have that reading, which I have adopted, without feeling certain that 'discriptas' may not be right. [Keller has 'discriptas.'] In Epod. (xvi. 63)

Sappho puellis de popularibus,
Et te sonantem plenius aureo,
Alcaee, plectro dura navis,
Dura fugae mala, dura belli!
Utrumque sacro digna silentio
Mirantur umbrae dicere; sed magis
Pugnas et exactos tyrannos
Densum humeris bibit aure volgus.
Quid mirum, ubi illis carminibus stupens
Demittit atras belua centiceps
Aures et intorti capillis
Eumenidum recreantur angues?

we have "Juppiter illa piae secrevit littora genti;" and Virgil (Aen. viii. 670) has "Secretosque pios." But these prove nothing: they rather lead to the inference that, if Horace had used a compound of 'cerno' here, he would have used 'secretas.'

24. *querentem Sappho puellis de popularibus*] On this Acron says: "Querebatur autem Sappho de puellis suis civibus quia non amarent quem ipsa diligebat;" which Porphyrion varies thus: "quia Oden non ament quem ipsa diligebat amens." Cruquius' Scholiast explains their meaning, and shows the corruption of their text. He says: "Querebatur autem Sappho de puellis suae gentis quod amarent Phaonem quem ipsa amabat." This, however, is probably not the true explanation. The passionate tenderness with which Sappho could write to her young female friends, and her jealousy of rivals in their affections, imply a state of feelings which we cannot very well enter into. A woman could only write to her lover now in such language as Sappho could address to Atthis, a young friend and pupil, who had transferred her affections to Andromeda, a rival of the poetess:—

Ἔρος δηὖτέ μ' ὁ λυσιμελὴς δύνει
γλυκύπικρον ἀμάχανον ὄρπετον·
Ἀτθί, σοὶ δ' ἐμέθεν μὲν ἀπήχθετο
φροντίσδην, ἐπὶ δ' Ἀνδρομέδαν πότῃ.
(43 Bergk.)

The affection of Socrates for some of his young pupils was of that sublimated kind which was liable to be mistaken for a grosser feeling; and I consider it next to impossible for any modern reader fully to enter into the language of the "Phaedrus" and comprehend the quality of the feelings there described as Plato understood them, if he did understand them. [See Thompson's Phaedrus.] On Sappho the reader may consult Müller's Dorians, B. iv. chaps. 4, § 8, and 5, § 2; and the same writer's History of Greek Lit. p. 176 sqq. Also Welcker's *Sappho von einem herrschenden Vorurtheil befreyt.*

27. *Alcaee, plectro dura navis*] See C. i. 32. 6 n. [' Dura navis,' 'dura belli' are like 'cuncta terrarum,' C. ii. 1. 23, 'acuta belli,' C. iv. 4. 76.]

30. *Mirantur—dicere*] This is another of Horace's many Greek constructions for 'mirantur dicentes.' ['Songs worthy of sacred silence' are as Ritter says "digna eo silentio quod in sacris faciundis observatur." Compare 'favete linguis,' C. iii. 1. 2.]

32. *Densum humeris*] Bentley, disliking 'humeris,' and desiring an epithet for 'aure,' proposes 'humili' or 'avida,' but prefers the latter, because the Scholiasts interpret 'bibit' 'avide audit,' 'cupidissime audit' But we may believe that he who interpreted 'bibit' 'avide audit,' had not 'avida aure' before him when he wrote. Bentley is not confident that Horace wrote 'avida,' but thinks he would have done better if he had.

33. *carminibus*] This is the ablative case, as (S. i. 4. 28) "Stupet Albius aere." (S. ii. 7. 95) "Vel quum Pausiaca torpes, insane, tabella;" and S. ii. 2. 5.

34. *centiceps*] Elsewhere Horace represents Cerberus with three heads (C. ii. 19. 31), and in C. iii. 11. 17 he describes him with a hundred snakes guarding his head. Hesiod represents him with fifty heads, but three is the more usual account. [The Scholiasts explain the text by taking 'centiceps' to mean the heads of the hundred snakes.]

35. *intorti*] The MSS. favour this reading, though 'anguis' is more commonly feminine than masculine.

Quin et Prometheus et Pelopis parens
Dulci laborum decipitur sono;
Nec curat Orion leones
Aut timidos agitare lyncas.

[37. *Quin et*] 'Quin et' may be translated 'nay more,' 'moreover,' 'further,' a meaning which may be derived from the original sense of 'why not?' See iii. 11. 21 n.]

38. *laborum decipitur*] See ii. 9. 17 n. The MSS. are divided between 'laborem' and 'laborum.' But, according to Jani's collection of various readings, the majority, and some of the best (all the Blandinian), have the genitive; and this was the reading of the Scholiasts. Lambinus, Graevius, Heinsius, Bentley, Sanadon, Cunningham [and Keller] prefer the accusative, which would be equivalent to πόνον κλέπτεται, which might stand; but the usual construction would be πόνων ἐπιλήθεσθαι; and as 'oblivisci,' to which 'decipi' is equivalent, governs the genitive case, I think Horace wrote 'laborum.'

40. *lyncas*] Elsewhere this word is only used in the feminine gender. The heroes are represented as following their old pursuits in Elysium by Homer (Odyss. xi. 571 sqq.) and Virgil (Aen. vi. 651 sqq.).

CARMEN XIV.

If Postumus be in this instance a real name, Horace's friend may have been the person to whom Propertius wrote a beautiful elegy (iii. 12) on the occasion of his going, as Kuinoel supposes, with the unfortunate expedition of Aelius Gallus against the Arabians, though there is no resemblance between the ode and the elegy, unless it may be traced in Horace's 'placens uxor' (v. 21). Propertius reproaches Postumus for leaving his affectionate wife Galla, whose fidelity he compares with that of Penelope. Estré supposes it likely that this Postumus is he who A.D. 5 was consul suffectus, and A.D. 10 triumphed for his victories over the Dalmatians. This was Postumus Vibius. But it is all very uncertain. The ode is clearly one of those to which any other name might have been prefixed, since it only deals with Horace's ordinary commonplace, the certainty of death for all men. The tone is rather more melancholy than usual. Jani chooses to suppose that Postumus was rich, but covetous and self-indulgent, afraid of death, and too careful of his health. Dacier supposes Postumus to be no other than Julius Florus, to whom the third epistle of the first book and second of the second book are addressed. The Julian family, he says, frequently bore this surname, and the qualities which Horace assigns to the one he assigns also to the other, those qualities being ambition, fear of death, and a host of others. (See Epp. i. 3. 25, and ii. 2. 205 sqq.) But as Horace does not in reality charge these vices upon either of his friends, as will be readily seen by an attentive reader, they cannot be identified by this comparison. The date of this ode is as uncertain as the person, though Jani, from its sombre tone, supposes it must have been written late.

ARGUMENT.

Time is slipping away, Postumus, and piety will not retard the approach of age or death. No sacrifices will propitiate Pluto, who keeps even the giants Geryon and Tityos beyond that stream which all must cross, even though we expose not ourselves to the dangers of war, the sea, and climate. Thou must leave home, wife, and all thou hast behind, and thine heir will squander what thou hast hoarded.

EHEU fugaces, Postume, Postume,
Labuntur anni, nec pietas moram
Rugis et instanti senectae
Afferet indomitaeque morti,

Non, si trecenis, quotquot eunt dies,
Amice, places illacrumabilem
Plutona tauris, qui ter amplum
Geryonen Tityonque tristi
Compescit unda, scilicet omnibus
Quicunque terrae munere vescimur,
Enaviganda sive reges
Sive inopes erimus coloni,
Frustra cruento Marte carebimus
Fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae,
Frustra per auctumnos nocentem
Corporibus metuemus Austrum:
Visendus ater flumine languido
Cocytos errans et Danai genus
Infame damnatusque longi
Sisyphus Aeolides laboris.

6. *illacrumabilem*] Here this word is used in an active sense. It is used passively in C. iv. 9. 26: "Omnes illacrumabiles urgentur." See note on C. i. 3. 22. It corresponds with Homer's Ἀΐδης ἀμείλιχος ἠδ' ἀδάμαστος (Il. ix. 158), where ἀδάμαστος is expressed by 'indomitae' (4). Compare Aristophanes (Ran. 1392), μόνος θεῶν γὰρ θάνατος οὐ δώρων ἐρᾷ, and Horace's "Orcus—non exorabilis auro" (Epp. ii. 2. 178). [In order to avoid the ridiculous hyperbola, as Ritter calls it, expressed by 'trecenis tauris,' he mistranslates the passage thus, "three hundred bulls yearly, or as many as there are days in the year;" and he makes it still worse by his explanation. Three hundred bulls a day is no more ridiculous hyperbola than three hundred bulls, or three hundred and sixty-five bulls a year.]

7. *ter amplum*] 'Ter' expresses the triple form of the giant. "Quidve tripectora tergemini vis Geryonaï" (Lucret. v. 28). ['Ter amplum' represents the τρισώματος of Euripides, Herc. furens, 423. Ritter.]

8. *tristi compescit unda*] This is Virgil's description (Aen. vi. 438):—

"—— tristique palus inamabilis unda
Alligat et novies Styx interfusa coercet,"

which is repeated from Georg. iv. 479. Sophocles (Electra, 137) calls it πάγκοινον λίμναν.

10. *Quicunque terrae munere vescimur*] This expresses the words of Homer, ὃς θνητός τ' εἴη καὶ ἔδοι Δημήτερος ἀκτὴν (Il. xiii. 322), οἳ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσι (Il. vi. 142), which last Simonides has closely imitated in the fragment preserved in Plato's Protagoras (8 Bergk).

11. *reges*] Horace's usual word for the rich (C. i. 4. 14). 'Colonus' was the lessee of a farm, the owner of which was called 'dominus' in respect to that property. 'Reges' therefore here are 'domini.' A 'colonus' might be rich and the tenant of a large farm; but Horace refers to the poorer sort here and in C. i. 35. 6. See Cic. in Verr. ii. 3, 5, 22; Long's notes. Horace uses 'inops' sometimes in an extreme, sometimes in a qualified sense of want, but more generally the latter, as he does 'pauper' C. i. 1. 18 n. The opposition is between high and low, and the difference is one of position, as in the third ode of this book (v. 21 sqq.). "The small and great are there, and the servant is free from his master" (Job iii. 19). This seems to express the meaning.

15. *Frustra per auctumnos nocentem*] There is a like passage in S. ii. 6. 18:

"Nec mala me ambitio perdit nec plumbeus Auster
Auctumnusque gravis Libitinae quaestus acerbae."

Dillenbr. says 'corporibus' may be governed by 'nocentem' or 'metuemus.' It can only be governed by 'nocentem.' Horace would not put that participle absolutely for 'noxium,' especially with a dative immediately following and depending on another word.

19. *damnatusque longi*] This follows the Greek construction, καταγνωσθεὶς πό-

Linquenda tellus et domus et placens
Uxor, neque harum quas colis arborum
Te praeter invisas cupressos
Ulla brevem dominum sequetur.
Absumet heres Caecuba dignior
Servata centum clavibus, et mero
Tinget pavimentum superbo
Pontificum potiore coenis.

νου, as observed C. ii. 9. 17 n. Dillenbr. says the genitive is admissible because 'damnare haud procul abest ab aestimando,' and that the genitive expresses the price. That might be true of Greek usage, but the Latins expressed the price, except in the case of certain words, by the ablative.

21. *et placens uxor*] This may be imitated from Lucretius (iii. 907):—

> "Nam jam non domus accipiet te laeta, neque uxor
> Optuma."

['Tellus' is perhaps 'the earth,' not the man's 'estate,' or 'land.' 'Cupressos:' comp. Epod. v. 18.]

24. *brevem*] 'Brevis' is nowhere else used in this sense. It corresponds to ὀλιγοχρόνιος and μινυνθάδιος. Compare C. ii. 3. 17 sqq.

25. *dignior*] This is ironical: the heir at least would know that wealth was made to spend, and so would be a worthier possessor than the man who had hoarded it.

27. *superbo*] This reading is supported by better MSS. than 'superbum,' '-bus,' '-bis.' The pride of the heir is transferred to the wine. Cicero (Phil. ii. 41) says, "natabant pavimenta vino, madebant parietes." On the pontifical feastings see C. i. 37. 2 n.

CARMEN XV.

About A.U.C. 726.

When Augustus had brought the civil wars to an end, A.U.C. 725, he applied himself to the reformation of manners, and Horace probably wrote this and other odes (ii. 18. iii. 1—6) to promote the reforms of Augustus; perhaps by his desire or that of Maecenas. They were all probably written between A.U.C. 725 and 728, and they should be read together, and with C. i. 2. From the reference to the temples in the last stanza, it may be assumed perhaps that this ode and iii. 6 were written about the same time, that is in 726, when Augustus set himself particularly to restore the public buildings. The authorities on the subject are Suetonius (Octav. 30), Dion (53. 1, 2), and Velleius (2. 89), and the Monumentum Ancyranum.

Augustus passed several sumptuary laws to keep down the expensive habits of the rich citizens, and to regulate the cost of festivals and banquets. But they soon fell into disuse and contempt, as Tiberius, writing to the senate fifty years afterwards, declared: "Tot a majoribus repertae leges, tot quas divus Augustus tulit, illae oblivione, hae, quod flagitiosius est, contemptu abolitae securiorem luxum fecere" (Tac. Ann. iii. 54). For an account of the 'Sumptuariae leges' see Aul. Gell. ii. 24.

ARGUMENT.

The rich man's palaces and flower-gardens and ponds are occupying all our once fertile land. This was not the way of our ancestors, who had but little, while the state was rich; who dwelt in no spacious houses; whom the law bade content themselves with a turf-roofed cottage, and beautify the towns and temples with marble.

Jam pauca aratro jugera regiae
Moles relinquent; undique latius
Extenta visentur Lucrino
Stagna lacu, platanusque caelebs
Evincet ulmos; tum violaria et
Myrtus et omnis copia narium
Spargent olivetis odorem
Fertilibus domino priori,
Tum spissa ramis laurea fervidos
Excludet ictus. Non ita Romuli
Praescriptum et intonsi Catonis
Auspiciis veterumque norma.

1. *Jam pauca aratro*] Tiberius complained to the senate that Rome was dependent on the provinces for her corn, and was at the mercy of the winds and waves, which might at any time cut off the supply and reduce the citizens to live on their ornamental woods and country houses. (Comp. Sall. Cat. 13.)

2. *undique latius*] The Scholiasts have misunderstood these words, joining 'latius' with 'visentur,' as if Horace meant 'the expanded waters of the Lucrine lake will be overlooked more widely, i. e. from lofty houses built on its banks. Cicero (ad Att. i. 18, 19, 20) complains that some of his contemporaries ('piscinarii' he calls them) were so devoted to their fish-ponds, that they cared more for them than for all the interests of the state, as if this might fall and they still keep their playthings: "Ita sunt stulti ut amissa re publica piscinas suas fore salvas sperare videantur" (18); and again, "Nunc vero cum—nostri principes digito se caelum putent attingere, si mulli barbati in piscinis sint qui ad manum accedant, alia autem negligant, nonne tibi satis prodesse videor," &c. (ii. 1). He calls them 'piscinarum Tritones' (ii. 9).

5. *tum violaria*] This is opposed to 'tum laurea' (v. 9).

6. *Myrtus*] This word is of two declensions. So likewise are 'quercus,' 'laurus,' 'pinus,' 'cornus,' 'ficus,' and, as Bentley says, judging from the variations in the MSS., 'cupressus:' but the readings now generally received all assign the last word to the second declension. In a very elegant illustration of the ornaments of speech Quintilian has the following passage; "An ego fundum cultiorem putem in quo mihi quis ostenderet lilia et violas et anemonas, fontes surgentes, quam ubi plena messis aut graves fructu vites erunt? Sterilem platanum tonsasque myrtos quam maritam ulmum et uberes oleas praeoptaverim? Habeant illa divites licet; quid essent si nihil aliud haberent?" (Inst. viii. 3. 8), in which 'myrtus' occurs of the second declension, and 'maritam ulmum' explains 'platanus caelebs.' [The plane was only for ornament: the elm was married to the vine. See Epp. i. 7. 84, and 16. 3, 'amicta vitibus ulmo.' 'Omnis copia narium' being placed with 'violaria' and 'myrtus' must mean something of a like kind, but this junction of 'copia' and 'narium' is singular. It seems to mean 'all that fills the nostrils.']

10. *ictus*] Some MSS. have 'aestus.' 'Haud dubie ex interpretatione,' says Jani. Lucretius uses 'ictus:' "Qui quoniam quodam gignuntur luminis ictu" (ii. 808), "aestiferum ut tantum radiorum exaugeat ictum" (v. 612). Ovid also (Met. v. 389), "Phoebeos submovet ictus" (not 'ignes'). Bentley remarks that Horace is bolder in putting 'ictus' by itself, without 'solis,' 'radiorum,' &c. But 'fervidos' is nearly equivalent to any of those genitives.

— *Non ita Romuli*] Aul. Gellius (ii. 24) introduces his account of certain ancient sumptuary laws with these words, "Parsimonia apud veteres Romanos et victus atque coenarum tenuitas non domestica solum observatione ac disciplina sed publica quoque animadversione legumque complurium sanctionibus custodita est."

11. *intonsi*] The commentators inform us from Pliny (N. H. vii. 59) that the age of shaving at Rome began A.U.C. 454, when barbers were first imported from Sicily. But the conventional sense of 'intonsi,' in which alone it could apply to the Censor

Privatus illis census erat brevis,
Commune magnum: nulla decempedis
Metata privatis opacam
Porticus excipiebat Arcton,
Nec fortuitum spernere caespitem
Leges sinebant, oppida publico
Sumptu jubentes et deorum
Templa novo decorare saxo.

Cato, is 'antiqui,' as may be seen by comparing the two verses of Ovid, quoted in the note on C. i. 2. 15.

14. *nulla decempedis*] 'Privatis' agrees with 'decempedis.' Horace complains that the private houses of his day had verandahs so large as to be measured by a ten-foot rule. Here they dined in the hot weather, and caught the cool breezes of the north. This practice was called 'caenatio ad Boream.' 'Opacam excipiebat Arcton' is like Virgil's 'Frigus captabis opacum' (Ec. i. 53), where 'the shady coolness' means 'the coolness caused by the shade:' and 'opacam Arcton' combines the notions of the north wind and the coolness of the shady or north side of the house. 'Metata' is again used passively in S. ii. 2. 114.

17. *fortuitum*] 'Fortuitum—caespitem' means cottages roofed with turf, as Virgil says (Ec. i. 69), "tuguri congestum culmine caespes," not 'couches,' as Dillenbr. says, quoting Tibullus (ii. 5. 99).

"At sibi quisque dapes et festas exstruet alte
Caespitibus mensas caespitibusque torum."

Here the whole passage has reference to buildings. 'Fortuitum' is equivalent to τὸν τυχόντα. It is sometimes used as a trisyllable. Cicero, in his defence of L. Flaccus (c. 12), has a passage very like this, "Haec enim ratio ac magnitudo animorum in majoribus nostris fuit ut cum in privatis rebus suisque sumptibus minimo contenti tenuissimo cultu viverent, in imperio atque in publica dignitate omnia ad gloriam splendoremque revocarent. Quaeritur enim in re domestica continentiae laus; in publica dignitatis." Horace alludes to the ruined state of the temples in Sat. ii. 2. 104.

CARMEN XVI.

After A.U.C. 720.

There are no means of fixing the date of this ode. It was written, however, after Horace had come into possession of his farm, to which he refers (v. 37). The person Pompeius Grosphus, to whom the ode is addressed, was, according to Porphyrion, of the equestrian order. He possessed large property in Sicily, of which island he was probably a native. On his return Horace gave him a letter of introduction to his friend Iccius (Epp. i. 12), in which he speaks highly of his worth. Cicero mentions a Sicilian Eubulidas, who bore the surname of Grosphus, a man of high character and birth, and great wealth (in Verr. ii. 3. 23). Estré supposes (p. 473) that this Grosphus was made a Roman citizen by Cn. Pompeius, and took his name, which descended to Horace's friend, his son or grandson. He is not to be confounded (as Jani and others confound him) with the Pompeius of C. ii. 7 (Introduction). He appears, from the latter part of the ode, to have been in Sicily when it was written. Perhaps he had written Horace a letter which called up the particular train of thought that runs through the ode, or had qualities which made it applicable to him.

ARGUMENT.

The sailor and the savage warrior alike pray for rest, but wealth cannot buy it. Riches

and power cannot remove care from the dwelling. The humble alone are free. Why do we aim at so much happiness in this short life, and run away from home? We cannot fly from ourselves and care. We should be cheerful for the present, and not expect perfect happiness. One man lives many days, another has few. I may have opportunities of happiness which are denied to thee; and yet thou hast ample possessions, and I but a humble farm, a breath of the Grecian muse, and a contempt for the vulgar.

Otium divos rogat in patente
Prensus Aegaeo, simul atra nubes
Condidit lunam neque certa fulgent
Sidera nautis;
Otium bello furiosa Thrace,
Otium Medi pharetra decori,
Grosphe, non gemmis neque purpura ve-
nale neque auro.
Non enim gazae neque consularis
Summovet lictor miseros tumultus
Mentis et curas laqueata circum
Tecta volantes.
Vivitur parvo bene cui paternum
Splendet in mensa tenui salinum,
Nec leves somnos timor aut cupido
Sordidus aufert.
Quid brevi fortes jaculamur aevo
Multa? Quid terras alio calentes
Sole mutamus? Patriae quis exsul
Se quoque fugit?

1. *patente*] I have adopted Bentley's termination, though nearly all the MSS. have 'patenti' (C. i. 2. 2 n.). Servius, on Virgil (Georg. iv. 421), "Deprensis olim statio fidissima nautis," says that 'deprensus' was a nautical term for a ship overtaken by a storm. This, as well as the weight of MS. authority, gives the preference to 'prensus' over 'pressus,' which several MSS. have, and Gesner approves. 'Prensus,' written with the usual mark 'prēsus,' would easily pass into 'pressus;' and Jani says the copyists often interchange these words. 'In patenti' has been changed into 'impotenti,' a common epithet for the winds and waves (C. iii. 30. 3. Epod. xvi. 62). But the MSS. and old editions all have 'in patenti,' either as one word or two. The storms of the Aegean are mentioned C. iii. 29. 63: "Tutum per Aegeos tumultus," &c.

7. *purpura ve-nale*] Comp. C. i. 2. 19, and 25. 11.

10. *Summovet*] This is the proper word to express the lictor's duty of clearing the way. [Compare 'summovet' (C. ii. 10. 17), and Juvenal i. 37, 'Quum te summoveant;' and 'Summosses,' Horace, S. i. 9. 48. 'Laqueata:' see C. ii. 18. 2. The 'lacunaria,' or intervals in a flat ceiling between the beams, were sometimes painted and gilded.]

14. *salinum*] See note on S. i. 3. 13. 'Cupido,' when it refers to the love of money, is always masculine in Horace.

17. *jaculamur*] Horace uses 'jaculari' three times, and always with an accusative. Comp. C. i. 2. 3; iii. 12. 9.

18. *Quid terras alio calentes*] Virgil has "Atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole jacentem."

19. *Patriae—exsul*] A Graecism, πα-

Scandit aeratas vitiosa naves
Cura nec turmas equitum relinquit,
Ocior cervis et agente nimbos
  Ocior Euro.
Laetus in praesens animus quod ultra est
Oderit curare et amara lento
Temperet risu; nihil est ab omni
  Parte beatum.
Abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem,
Longa Tithonum minuit senectus,
Et mihi forsan tibi quod negarit
  Porriget hora.
Te greges centum Siculaeque circum
Mugiunt vaccae, tibi tollit hinnitum
Apta quadrigis equa, te bis Afro
  Murice tinctae
Vestiunt lanae: mihi parva rura et
Spiritum Graiae tenuem Camenae

τρίδος φυγάς. Ovid uses the same construction (Met. ix. 409): "Exsul mentisque domusque." A passage in Lucretius (iii. 1057 sqq.) may be compared with this:

"plerumque videmus
Quid sibi quisque velit nescire et quaerere semper
Commutare locum, quasi onus deponere possint."

'Vitiosa' may, as Orelli says, be rendered 'morbid,' arising from a diseased state of mind. With 'turmas equitum' is usually compared 'post equitem sedet atra cura' (C. iii. 1. 40); but the sense there is a little different. Here he speaks of care following a man to the field of battle; there he refers to the rich man ambling on his horse. The notion is not Horace's, I think. The idea has something of a proverbial aspect. Like sentiments are found in S. ii. 7. 111—115. Epp. i. 11. 25 sqq. 14. 12 sq.

26. *Oderit*] This is a strong way of expressing 'nolit,' 'refuse.' ['Lento risu,' 'a tranquil, quiet smile.']

27. *nihil est ab omni*] This looks like an imitation of Euripides:

ὥστ' οὔτις ἀνδρῶν εἰς ἅπαντ' εὐδαιμονεῖ.
(Alexander, Fr. 3. Dind.):

or of Bacchylides (1 Bergk):—

ὄλβιος, ᾧτινι θεὸς μοῖράν τε καλῶν ἔπορεν
σύν τ' ἐπιζάλῳ τύχᾳ ἀφνειὸν βιοτὰν διάγειν·
οὐ γάρ τις ἐπιχθονίων πάντα γ' εὐδαίμων ἔφυ.

35. *equa*] Virg. Georg. i. 59: "Eliadum palmas Epiros equarum."

— *bis Afro Murice tinctae*] These garments were called *δίβαφα*; compare Epod. xii. 21: "Muricibus Tyriis iteratae vellera lanae." The purple dyes most prized were the Tyrian, the Sidonian (Epp. i. 10. 26), the Laconian, and African (Epp. ii. 2. 181). The garment dyed with this colour was the lacerna, an outer cloak worn over the toga, of which Martial mentions that they were sometimes sold as high as 10,000 sesterces.

"Emit lacernas millibus decem Bassus
Tyrias coloris optimi. Lucrifecit.
Adeo bene emit? inquis. Immo non solvit."

What these garments gained in appearance by their dye they lost in savour; for Martial reckons among the worst smelling objects "bis murice vellus inquinatum." "Olidaeque vestes murice," he speaks of elsewhere (i. 50. 32). And again:—

"Tinctis murice vestibus quod omni
Et nocte utitur et die Philaenis,
Non est ambitiosa nec superba;
Delectatur odore non colore" (ix. 63).

38. *Spiritum Graiae tenuem Camenae*] Porphyrion explains 'tenuem' by 'sub-

Parca non mendax dedit et malignum
Spernere volgus.

tilem.' Franke makes it synonymous with 'molles' (C. ii. 12. 3). Graevius, "imbellem, non aptum heroum factis et rebus gestis canendis." I do not think he means to describe the genius of the Greek muse, but (modestly) the amount of inspiration given to himself. 'Humile ingenium Graiae musae.' (Com. Cruq.)

39. *Parca non mendax*] Elsewhere he addresses the Parcae as 'veraces.' "Vosque veraces cecinisse Parcae" (C. S. 25); and Persius (v. 48) speaks of "Parca tenax veri." It may therefore be taken as a conventional epithet.

CARMEN XVII.

A.U.C. 728 (?).

The two last lines of this ode, showing that Horace had not yet paid the sacrifice he had vowed to Faunus for his preservation from death, make it most probable that it was written not long after C. 13 of this book, the composition of which has been assigned with some hesitation to A.U.C. 728. In the same year Maecenas appears to have recovered from a bad attack of fever to which he was liable, and was received with applause in the theatre on his first appearance after his illness (C. i. 20. 3). But his recovery seems to have been only partial; and it would appear that Horace had to listen to his complaints and apprehensions of death, his fear of which is said to have been great.

ARGUMENT.

Why kill me with thy complaints? I cannot survive thee, Maecenas: one half of my life being gone, how should the other stay behind? I have sworn to die with thee, and the monsters of Hell shall not separate us. Our star is one and the same. The power of Jove rescued thee from the adverse influence of Saturn on that day when thou wert received with acclamations in the theatre, and Faunus at the same time rescued me from death. Offer thy sacrifice and dedicate thy temple, and I will offer my unpretending lamb.

Cur me querelis exanimas tuis?
Nec dis amicum est nec mihi te prius
Obire, Maecenas, mearum
Grande decus columenque rerum.
Ah te meae si partem animae rapit
Maturior vis, quid moror altera,
Nec carus aeque nec superstes
Integer? Ille dies utramque

[1. *exanimas*] 'Why do you take away my breath by,' &c. 'Exanimati,' 'breathless,' Caesar, B. G. iii. 19.—'Obire:' 'mortem' is understood, or 'diem supremum.']

6. *altera*] 'Alteram' is the reading of some MSS., and it is adopted by Sanadon, Burmann, and Cunningham. Porphyrion had that reading, for he says, by way of interpretation, "partem quae apud me est non retinebo." Two definitions of friendship by Pythagoras are quoted by Cruquius. One is, *σώματα μὲν δύο ψυχὴ δὲ μία*; and the other, *ἐστὶ γὰρ ὥς φαμεν ὁ φίλος δεύτερος ἐγώ*. Erasmus (Adag. Neaera et Charmion) speaks of a custom of the Egyptians, among whom it was usual for persons to bind themselves by an oath each not to survive the other, such persons being called *οἱ συναποθνήσκοντες*. It corresponds with Caesar's account of the Sol-

Ducet ruinam. Non ego perfidum
Dixi sacramentum: ibimus, ibimus
Utcunque praecedes, supremum
Carpere iter comites parati.
Me nec Chimaerae spiritus igneae
Nec, si resurgat, centimanus Gyas
Divellet unquam: sic potenti
Justitiae placitumque Parcis.
Seu Libra seu me Scorpios adspicit
Formidolosus pars violentior
Natalis horae, seu tyrannus
Hesperiae Capricornus undae,
Utrumque nostrum incredibili modo

durii (B. G. iii. 23) of Aquitania. 'Carus' requires 'ipsi' to be supplied, as (Epp. i. 3. 29), "Si patriae volumus, si nobis vivere cari." 'I shall love myself less, and only part of me will survive.' Horace and Maecenas died the same year, and it has been unreasonably surmised from this coincidence and the language here used, that Horace hastened his own death in order to accompany his friend. (Comp. Epod. i. 5).

[11. *Utcunque*] Comp. C. i. 17. 10.—'Carpere iter:' see S. i. 5. 94, 'longum carpentes iter;' C. iv. 2. 29, 'carpentes thyma;' C. i. 11. 8, 'carpe diem.' From these and other examples, perhaps the reader may find out what is the meaning of 'carpere iter.']

14. *Gyas*] Acron and Porphyrion read 'Gigas,' and interpret 'Briareus.' Bentley says all his MSS. have that reading, which has probably arisen out of 'Gygas,' the Doric form of 'Gyges,' which occurs in some MSS. Buttmann (Lex. p. 2, Fishlake) thinks Γύης, not Γύγης, is the true form in Hesiod (Theog. 714): Κόττος τε Βριάρευς τε Γύης τ' ἄατος πολέμοιο. He considers that Γύγης is a corruption arising out of the Lydian name, which Horace has adopted (C. ii. 5. 20; iii. 7. 5), the first syllable of which is long, and that is an argument against this form. On Buttmann's authority I have adopted 'Gyas,' which Orelli also prefers (though his oldest MSS. have 'Gigas'), both here and at C. iii. 4. 69. Bentley reads 'Gyges,' but rather argues against it. Lambinus had originally adopted that reading, but his opinion was changed by the above objection about the quantity, which Bentley notices as if it were his own. Landinus and Ascensius follow the Scholiasts, though the former, quoting Hesiod in his Commentary, gives 'Gyas' as the name of Briareus' brother. Stephens has 'Gyas,' Cruquius 'Gigas,' in deference to all his MSS. (including the Blandinian; so that all the oldest MSS. known to have been collated concur in that reading). Of the editors I have compared besides the above, Burmann reads 'Gigas.' Baxter, Jani, Gesner, Mitsch., Fea, 'Gyges.' Cunningham, Dacier, Sanadon, Dillenbr., Duentzer, Jahn, 'Gyas.' [Ritter has 'Gigas,' the true reading.]

16. *Justitiae*] Δίκη and the Μοῖραι were daughters of Zeus and Themis, and the former is here introduced as associated with her sisters: "quibuscum aptissime conjungitur tanquam πάρεδρος," says Orelli; he does not say why.

17. *Seu Libra*] What Horace thought of astrology may be collected from C. i. 11. He introduces a little of it here to entertain his friend, showing, at the same time, but little care or knowledge of the subject, and rather a contempt for it.

20. *Capricornus*] So Propertius (iv. 1. 87):—

"Quid moveant Pisces animosaque signa Leonis,
Laetus et Hesperia quid Capricornus aqua."

'Laetus' being Kuinoel's reading instead of 'lotus,' in a sense corresponding to 'tyrannus' here, and to Virg. (Aen. ii. 417):

"Confligunt Zephyrusque Notusque et laetus Eois
Eurus equis."

21. *Utrumque nostrum*] Persius (v. 45. 51) has repeated and expanded Horace's

Consentit astrum. Te Jovis impio
Tutela Saturno refulgens
Eripuit volucrisque Fati
Tardavit alas, cum populus frequens
Laetum theatris ter crepuit sonum:
Me truncus illapsus cerebro
Sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum
Dextra levasset, Mercurialium
Custos virorum. Reddere victimas
Aedemque votivam memento:
Nos humilem feriemus agnam.

ideas writing to his master Annaeus Cornutus:—

"Non equidem hoc dubites amborum foedere certo
Consentire dies et ab uno sidere duci," &c.

23. *refulgens*] Shining in opposition, so as to counteract his influences. Thus it is doubtful whether 'Saturno' be governed by 'refulgens,' or 'eripuit.' Compare Persius v. 50, 'Saturnumque gravem nostro Jove frangimus una.' Bentley prefers 'volucres,' but 'celeres' would be a more suitable epithet for 'alas,' as in C. iii. 29. 53.

26. *ter crepuit sonum*] So Propertius iii. 10. 4:—

"Natalis nostrae signum misere puellae
Et manibus faustos ter crepuere sonos."

'Puellae,' i. e. 'Musae.' [See C. i. 20. 3: the reception was in one theatre, but Horace writes 'theatris.' Ritter says: "Sonus quo gaudent theatra plausus est. Hinc numerus multitudinis hoc loco explicatur." But this is not the explanation. 'Theatris' means from all or many parts of the theatre, as 'complere castrorum fossas' means to fill up many parts of the 'fossa' which surrounds a camp. So Caesar uses 'silvae' for various parts of a forest.]

28. *Sustulerat*] The use of the indicative in hypothetical cases of this kind is not easily reduced to rule, but it seems to correspond to the Greek construction of ἄν with the indicative. When the condition is not fulfilled, or is a negative condition, or implies a negation, then the consequent clause may be expressed by the indicative mood, in the pluperfect tense if the action be a complete action and past, in the perfect if it be present. "Sustulerat si non levasset: sed levavit." See Wagner on Aen. ii. 55 [and Conington's note]. See also Wagner's note on Aen. iv. 19:—

"Si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset,
Huic uni forsan potui succumbere culpae,"

where the perfect is used to express what might have been done at the time of speaking, for which the Greeks used the imperfect. In C. iii. 16. 3, there are 'munierant' and 'non risissent.' Professor Key (L. G. 1216) says that the apparent exceptions to the rule that in such cases as this the subjunctive is required in both clauses, are, for the most part, to be explained by the sentences being elliptical. He explains this passage as a "mere instance of ordinary exaggeration forthwith corrected." He translates the words thus: "Horace a trunk down gliding on his skull had carried off (or at least would have done so), had not Faunus with his hand lightened the blow." It is very difficult to put into words the nicety of a conventional expression. Mr. Key's judgment always commands respect, but this explanation is hardly satisfactory, I think; though it is more easy to feel the force of the construction than to explain it. It is common in our own language, in which Horace's meaning might be thus expressed, "the trunk had killed me, had not Faunus lightened the blow." Mr. Key adds in a note, "it should be observed, that in sentences of this character the 'nisi' or 'si' commonly follows." See Mr. Long's note on Cic. in Verr. ii. 5. 49, "licitum esset, . . . veniebant." Horace was under the particular care of Mercury, the Muses, and Faunus, to each of whom, as well as to Liber (iii. 8. 7), he attributes his preservation on this memorable occasion (C. iii. 4. 27). Faunus or Pan was the son of Hermes or Mercury.

CARMEN XVIII.

After A.U.C. 720.

This ode, which deals with Horace's favourite subjects, the levelling power of death, and the vanity of wealth, and the schemes of the wealthy, is dedicated to no particular friend, and is another proof of the little value or character that odes of this class derive from a name; though it was the poet's pleasure at times to attach names to them. What I mean is, that the name we find in conjunction with such odes must usually be looked upon as non-essential, and that to draw inferences from the ode, in respect to the individual nominally addressed, is a mistake. C. iii. 24 bears a strong resemblance to this ode, which must have been written after Horace became possessed of his farm (satis beatus unicis Sabinis), and that is all that can be said of the date.

In writing the first few verses Horace may have had in mind some lines of Bacchylides, inviting the Dioscuri to feast with him, preserved in Athenaeus (28 Bergk),

οὐ βοῶν πάρεστι σώματ' οὔτε χρυσὸς οὔτε πορφύρεοι τάπητες, ἀλλὰ θύμος εὐμενὴς Μοῦσά τε γλυκεῖα.

ARGUMENT.

No gold in my roof, no marble in my hall, no palace have I, nor female clients to serve me, but I have honesty and understanding, and though I be poor I am courted by the rich: what more should I ask of the gods or my friend, content with my single Sabine estate? Days are passing on, and, though ready to drop into thy grave, thou art building and stretching thy borders, and tearing up the landmarks of thy client, and driving him from his home. But to what purpose is this? To Hades thou must go in the end: the earth opens to rich and poor; Prometheus the crafty, and Tantalus the proud, they cannot escape; and the poor man finds in death a release from his toils, whether he seek it or not.

NON ebur neque aureum
  Mea renidet in domo lacunar;
Non trabes Hymettiae
  Premunt columnas ultima recisas

[2. *lacunar*] See C. ii. 16. 11. 'Ebur' was used to ornament tables and couches. See S. ii. 6. 103.]

3. *trabes*] [The Greek 'Epistylium' is 'trabs summis columnis imposita. Nostrates architravem vocant.' Harduin ad Plin. N. H. 35, c. 14.] 'Hymettias' and 'recisae' are conjectural readings, supported but not adopted by Bentley and Cunningham, so that 'trabes' should be beams of wood for the support of the roof, as C. iv. 1. 20, "sub trabe citrea." The foreign marbles used by the Romans were from Hymettus in Attica (which was white), and Pentelicus, part of the same range, from Numidia (which was yellow and here referred to), from the coast of Africa, from Taenarus in Laconia (which was green and highly valued), from Paros, from Carystus in Euboea, from Syene in the Thebaid, which, according to Pliny, was pyropoecilon, white with red spots. ("Trabes ex eo fecere reges quodam certamine obeliscos vocantes," N. H. 36. 8. All the large obelisks are of granite: but Pliny's description seems not to apply to that stone but to marble.) From Synnada in Phrygia was procured a still more famous marble, also white with red spots. See Stat. Silv. i. 5. 36—41. Martial (ix. 76) says that one Tucca built his baths,—

Africa; neque Attali
  Ignotus heres regiam occupavi;
Nec Laconicas mihi
  Trahunt honestae purpuras clientae:
At fides et ingeni
  Benigna vena est, pauperemque dives
Me petit; nihil supra
  Deos lacesso, nec potentem amicum
Largiora flagito,
  Satis beatus unicis Sabinis.
Truditur dies die,
  Novaeque pergunt interire lunae.
Tu secanda marmora
  Locas sub ipsum funus, et sepulcri
Immemor struis domos
  Marisque Baiis obstrepentis urges

"De marmore omni quod Carystos invenit,
Quod Phrygia Synnas, Afra quod Nomas mittit,
Et quod virenti fonte lavit Eurotas."

Tibullus mentions three sorts, and has Horace's word 'trabes' in the following lines (iii. 3. 13):—

"Quidve domus prodest Phrygiis innixa columnis,
  Taenare, sive tuis, sive Caryste tuis?
Et nemora in domibus sacros imitantia lucos,
  Aurataeque trabes marmoreumque solum?"

Propertius has a passage very like this of Horace (iii. 2. 11 sqq.):—

"Quod (i. e. quamvis) non Taenariis domus est mihi fulta columnis
  Nec camera auratas inter eburna trabes,—
At musae comites et carmina cara legenti," &c.

5. *Attali*] See C. i. 1. 12 n. The meaning is, "I have not had the luck to come to an unexpected estate, as the Romans came in for the property of King Attalus the Third.'

8. *honestae—clientae*] The form 'clientes' is found in the old editions, and 'cliens' is of common gender. But Charisius the Grammarian says that 'clientae' is the proper form here. The same occurs in Plautus (Mil. Glor. iii. 1. 192), "Habeo eccillam meam clientam meretricem adolescentulam;" (Rudens iv. 1, 2), "jam clientas repperi atque ambas forma scitula atque aetatula." It is not easy for us to enter into the state of society, which is represented by the words 'honestae—clientae,' supposing them to mean, as they seem to do, women of good birth receiving the bounty of rich patroni, and rendering them service in return. But I do not feel sure that this is what Horace means, and I have seen no satisfactory explanation of the words 'honestae clientae.' Mr. Long has suggested to me that they may refer to the rustic women on a man's farms, the wives of the coloni. The formal and legal connexion of client and patron had undergone great changes, and the use of the terms had become extended before Horace wrote; at which time, and still more afterwards, bodies of voluntary retainers were encouraged by men of wealth, who liked the display and the consequence such attendance gave them, and purchased it at a costly rate. The daily dole, which went by the name of 'sportula,' was not established till some years after Horace wrote; but the system which led to it existed in his day, though not to the same extent that it afterwards reached.

10. *Benigna vena*] This metaphor is from a mine; but Ovid (Trist. iii. 14. 33) takes the same word for a running stream:—

"Ingenium fregere meum mala, cujus et ante
  Fons infecundus parvaque vena fuit."

16. *interire*] This word seems to be an

Summovere littora,
  Parum locuples continente ripa.
Quid, quod usque proximos
  Revellis agri terminos et ultra
Limites clientium
  Salis avarus? Pellitur paternos
In sinu ferens deos
  Et uxor et vir sordidosque natos;
Nulla certior tamen
  Rapacis Orci fine destinata
Aula divitem manet
  Herum. Quid ultra tendis? Aequa tellus

adaptation of φθίνειν, by which the Greek expressed the latter days of the month.

17. *Tu secanda marmora locas*] You—*i.e.* any luxurious old man—'You enter into contracts for the hewing of marble,' to ornament your houses, in the way of pillars, wall-coating, and floors: unless 'secare' be limited to slabs for lining the walls, as Orelli says. 'Locare' may be said either of one who receives or of one who pays money: 'locare rem faciendam' or 'utendam,' to let out work to be done, or to let a thing (as a house, &c.) to be used. In the former case the 'locator' pays, in the latter he receives payment. Here the former is plainly meant. When 'locare' signifies as here the giving out of work to be done, the person who contracts to do it is either 'conductor' or 'redemptor' (C. iii. 1. 35 n.), and, when the 'locator' lets for a price, the hirer is said 'conducere,' so that "'conductio' and 'locatio' are the correlatives which express the contract by which a sum of money (merces) is agreed to be paid for the use of a thing, or to be received for the doing of something" (Long's note on Cic. in Verr. Act. i. c. 6). See C. iii. 1. 35 n.

[18. *sub ipsum funus*] 'Up to the very time of your death.' See Epod. ii. 44 n.]

20. *urges summovere littora*] Compare C. iii. 1. 33, "Contracta pisces aequora sentiunt." 'Summovere' means to push out the shore, and so increase your building ground. [See C. ii. 16. 10.] Ἐνέχειν, ἐπέχειν, are used by the Greek writers like 'urgere' in this place: as in Herodotus (i. 153, sub fin.), ἐπ' οὓς ἐπεῖχεε στρατηλατέειν αὐτός.

22. *ripa*] Forcellini does not notice the use of 'ripa' for 'littus' in this place, nor does he produce any other instances except from Columella, though he quotes examples of 'littus' for 'ripa,' which is more common. Orelli says the poets so use the word, but does not say where. ['Continens ripa' is the shore of the mainland. 'Continens' alone is used for the mainland of Europe, as opposed to the island Britannia by Caesar (B. G. iv. 31).]

23. *Quid, quod usque*] 'Quid' is commonly used to introduce a fresh instance or illustration of what has been said before. It has been usual to insert a note of interrogation after it in these cases, which only makes an intelligible formula unintelligible. See Mr. Long's note on Cic. in Verr. ii. 2. 7, 'Quid haec hereditas,' and S. i. 1. 7 n.

24. *Revellis agri terminos*] Compare Sallust. Bell. Jug. c. 41. Solomon thus exhorts the rich (Prov. xxiii. 10, 11): "Remove not the old land-mark, and enter not into the fields of the fatherless, for their Redeemer is mighty, he shall plead with thee."

29. *Nulla certior tamen*] The sentence is not easily rendered. The nearest translation appears to be this: 'There is no dwelling marked out (or defined) which more certainly awaits the wealthy landlord than the bounds of greedy Orcus.' Horace means to say, 'though you think you may push the boundary of your estate farther and farther, you must go to a home marked out for you, and which you can neither expand nor escape from.' In 'destinata' (agreeing with 'aula,' not with 'fine,' as Lambinus and others say) and in 'finis' is contained the notion of prescribed and fixed limits, in which the force of the passage lies. 'Finis' is once used by Horace in the feminine gender (Epod. xvii. 36). It is not usually of that gender, and when it is, it generally

Pauperi recluditur
  Regumque pueris, nec satelles Orci
Callidum Promethea
  Revexit auro captus. Hic superbum
Tantalum atque Tantali
  Genus coërcet; hic levare functum
Pauperem laboribus
  Vocatus atque non vocatus audit.

has some reference to death. With respect to 'aula' Orelli quotes Eurip. (Alcest. 259):

ἄγει μ', ἄγει μέ τις, οὐχ ὁρᾷς; νεκύων ἐς αὐλάν.

Bentley conjectures 'capacis' for 'rapacis,' a very flat substitution. He also follows Servius (on Virg. Aen. vi. 152) in reading 'sede' rather than 'fine.' Torrentius, and Lambinus, and Stephens had spoken favourably of that reading, and some editors have adopted it, but there is very little MS. authority for it.

[32. *Aequa tellus*] 'The earth alike opens for all.']

35. *Callidum Promethea*] This story of Prometheus trying to bribe Charon is not found elsewhere.

36. *Hic*] *i. e.* Orcus, "non exorabilis auro" (Epp. ii. 2. 179).

40. *Vocatus atque non vocatus audit*] It is usual to quote here Thucydides (i. 118), *αὐτὸς ἔφη ξυλλήψεσθαι καὶ παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἄκλητος.* Horace's language is bolder, coupling 'audit' with 'non vocatus.' 'Functum laboribus' is derived from the Greek *κεκμηκότα.* ['Levare' appears to depend on 'audit.' Ritter thinks that it depends on 'vocatus.' Perhaps it depends on both or either.]

CARMEN XIX.

This ode was perhaps composed at the time of the Liberalia, like the third elegy of the fifth book of Ovid's Tristia, but in what year there are no means of determining. Orelli says it appears to be copied from a Greek poem, because it approaches the character of the dithyramb. Except in the subject the resemblance does not strike me. If Horace had written on purpose to show the impossibility of reaching the force and beauty of the higher order of Greek lyric poetry through the medium of his language, he could not have succeeded better, and the *ἐνθουσιασμός*, 'furor,' &c., which some commentators profess to find in the ode, exist, I think, only in their own mistaken conception of Horace's mind and writings. They create the inspiration they expect to find. The subject is as likely to have been suggested by a Greek picture as a Greek poem, but neither hypothesis is necessary. The scene is laid in the woods,

ἵν' ὁ βακχιώτας
ἀεὶ Διόνυσος ἐμβατεύει
θείαις ἀμφιπολῶν τιθάναις (Soph. Oed. Col. 678 sqq.),

and the poet is supposed to come suddenly upon the party, consisting of Bacchus, with his attendant nymphs, and the wild creatures of the woods, all attending with admiration to the god as he sings his own achievements. The poet is smitten with terror, which gives place to the inspiration of the divinity, in virtue of which he breaks out into echoes of all he had heard. I cannot persuade myself that in this style Horace felt that his strength lay, or that he made any pretension to the afflatus which his admirers claim for him. There is skill in the poem; but the Greek fire is wanting, as we may easily conceive would be the case with a gentleman farming his own estate on the Sabine hills.

Horace was a man of the world, with good sense and good breeding; he had "fides et ingeni benigna vena," integrity, and fine wit, and correct taste and judgment; but he was not a dithyrambic poet, and if he had been, the language he wrote in would have checked his genius, and brought down his ideas to the more practical level above which the Roman mind rarely soared.

The article Dionysus in Smith's Dict. Mythol. may be consulted, and will explain most of the allusions in this ode.

ARGUMENT.

Among the far hills I saw Bacchus—O wonderful!—reciting, and the Nymphs learning, and the Satyrs all attention.

Awe is fresh in my heart; the god is within me, and I am troubled with joy. O spare me! dread Liber. It is past, and I am free to sing of the Bacchantes; of fountains of wine and milk and honey; of Ariadne; of Pentheus and Lycurgus; how thou tamedst the waters of the East, and dost sport with the Thracian nymphs; how thou hurledst the giant from Heaven, and how Cerberus did crouch to thee, and lick thy feet.

BACCHUM in remotis carmina rupibus
Vidi docentem—credite posteri—
  Nymphasque discentes et aures
    Capripedum Satyrorum acutas.
Euoe, recenti mens trepidat metu
Plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum
  Laetatur. Euoe, parce Liber,
    Parce, gravi metuende thyrso!
Fas pervicaces est mihi Thyiadas
Vinique fontem lactis et uberes
  Cantare rivos, atque truncis
    Lapsa cavis iterare mella;

1. *Bacchum*] The legends and attributes of Bacchus contained in this ode are entirely of Greek origin. The Romans had no independent notions of this divinity, whose name Βάκχος, the shouter, is properly no more than an adjunct of Διόνυσος.

2. *docentem — discentes*] These correspond to the Greek terms διδάσκειν and μανθάνειν, as applied to the choragus and chorus.

4. *Capripedum Satyrorum*] The Satyrs are usually confounded with the Fauns, Faunus again being confounded with Pan, who was represented with goat's feet like the Satyrs. Propertius (iii. 17. 34), speaking of the attendants of Bacchus, calls them Pans: "Capripedes calamo Panes hiante canent." Ovid (Met. i. 193) speaks of the Fauns and Satyrs, and again (vi. 392 sq.) makes the Fauns and Satyrs brothers; whereas Faunus was only a Latin deity. Lucian describes the Satyrs as being ὀξεῖς τὰ ὦτα, but only describes Pan as having the lower extremities like a goat, τὰ κάτω αἰγὶ ἐοικώς. It is vain therefore trying to trace any consistency in the poets' conceptions of these uncouth divinities.

9. *Fas pervicaces est*] 'Fas est' is equivalent to δυνατόν ἐστι. The power as well as the permission of the god is given: "Fas nunc non significat *licet* sed *possibile*" (Porph.). ['Pervicaces:' Comp. C. iii. 3. 70. Epod. xvii. 14.]

10. *lactis—mella*] The same attribute that made Dionysus the god of wine, also gave him milk and honey as his types. He represented the exuberance of nature, and was therein closely connected with Demeter. Euripides (Bacchae, 704 sqq.) may be consulted, and Plato (Ion, p. 534, A): αἱ Βάκχαι ἀρύτονται ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν μέλι καὶ γάλα κατεχόμεναι, ἔμφρονες δὲ οὖσαι οὔ. Any traveller in the East can tell of honeycombs on the trees as curiously

Fas et beatae conjugis additum
Stellis honorem tectaque Penthei
Disjecta non leni ruina,
Thracis et exitium Lycurgi.
Tu flectis amnes, tu mare barbarum,
Tu separatis uvidus in jugis
Nodo coërces viperino
Bistonidum sine fraude crines:
Tu, cum parentis regna per arduum
Cohors Gigantum scanderet impia,
Rhoetum retorsisti leonis
Unguibus horribilique mala;
Quamquam choreis aptior et jocis
Ludoque dictus non sat idoneus
Pugnae ferebaris: sed idem
Pacis eras mediusque belli.

wrought as those in garden-hives. Virgil says (Ec. iv. 30): "Et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella.'

12. *iterare*] Forcellini does not notice this instance, but quotes others from Plautus, and one from Gellius (referred to by Orelli), in which 'itero' signifies 'to relate.' The sense in those cases is, going over again in narrative what had passed in action. Here, I think, it is repeating what the poet had heard from the god as he taught the Nymphs to praise him.

13. *beatae conjugis*] i. e. Ariadne, whose crown is one of the constellations, 'corona,' placed in heaven by Bacchus, according to the story told in his happy manner by Ovid (Fast. iii. 459—516).

14. *tectaque Penthei*] So Euripides of the same person (Bacch. 663):—

Βάκχιος—
δώματ' ἔρρηξεν χαμᾶζε· συντεθράνωται δ' ἅπαν.

17. *Tu flectis amnes*] The Hydaspes and Orontes which Bacchus is said to have walked over dryshod.

[18. *separatis*] 'Retired,' lonely,' like 'remotis.' Comp. C. ii. 2. 10. 'Uvidus' is equivalent to 'ebrius.' Comp. iv. 5. 39.]

19. *Nodo coërces*] This is a variation of 'nodo cohibere crinem' (C. iii. 14. 22). The Bistones were a Thracian tribe. 'Fraus,' in this sense of harm, occurs C. iii. 27. 27, and C. S. 41.

21. *Tu, cum parentis*] Horace followed some legend not found by us elsewhere in this description of Bacchus changed into a lion and fighting with Rhoetus, whose name is Rhoecus in the editions of Lambinus and Cruquius (who follows a correction of his oldest Blandinian MS.), Baxter, Dacier, and some others, as from Ῥοῖκος, who however was a Centaur. But all the best MSS. (with the above exception, and there Rhoecus is a corrected reading), and all the old editions (according to Jani; of the fifteenth century I have only had access to the Venetian reprint of Landinus, 1483, which has Rhethum) have Rhoetum, or other forms with 't.' Bentley's note is very long. He suspects 'horribilis' to be the true reading. But none of the MSS. support him.

28. *Pacis eras mediusque belli*] Dillenbr. says, "*Medius pacis et belli* appellatur deus sua natura neutri parti deditus, sed ut tempus fert modo bellicosus modo pacis amans;" and quotes Epp. i. 18. 9: "Virtus est medium vitiorum et utrinque reductum." I think it means you were the same whether engaged in (in the midst of) peace or war; *the same*, i. e. as vigorous in war as in the dance or jest. So I find Turnebus understands it, quoting no better authority however than the Evangelist St. John (i. 26), μέσος δὲ ὑμῶν ἕστηκεν. St. Matthew also has (xiv. 24), τὸ δὲ πλοῖον ἤδη μέσον τῆς θαλάσσης ἦν. The whole of this stanza offends the taste of many editors. Their judgment may be just, but the verses appear suited to their position, and worse might be found even in

Te vidit insons Cerberus aureo
Cornu decorum, leniter atterens
Caudam, et recedentis trilingui
Ore pedes tetigitque crura.

Horace, who rarely sinks below himself. I think he was more likely to do so in attempting a dithyrambic flight than at any other time.

30. *leniter atterens caudam*] 'Gently brushing his tail against —' what? ask the critics, puzzled by the preposition. Orelli says against his own belly! ['On the ground,' says Ritter, who still seeks a solution of the great problem.] There is a notion of tameness and pleasure in the action. 'As you came he gently wagged his tail, as you departed he licked your feet.' 'Ter-' is to turn or wag, and 'adter-' is to wag at or towards.

31.] 'Trilingui ore' means no more than 'three mouths,' as *ἑκατομπόδων Νηρῄδων* signifies the hundred Nereids (Soph. Oed. Col. v. 717. [Three tongues in one mouth, as Naeke thinks, quoted by Ritter, for Horace allows only one head to Cerberus, C. iii. 11. 17, and C. ii. 13. 34.] Dionysus was called by the Greeks *χρυσόκερως*, and this symbol of power, common to the Greeks as well as to all the nations of the East (see the Hebrew Scriptures passim), was adopted probably from this divinity by Alexander the Great and his successors, on whose coins it is represented. Compare C. iii. 21. 18: "Viresque et addis cornua pauperi." [See Epod. xi. 13 n., and Ritter's note on 'aureo cornu.']

CARMEN XX.

This ode has none of the appearance to my mind of having been written, like the last of the third book, for the purpose of closing and commending a completed work, as those affirm who believe the first two books were published separately. There does not appear to be any method in the arrangement of the odes between the introductory one of the first book and the last of the third (with the exception of the first six of that book which are evidently connected with one another); and the position of this is probably as accidental as that of others. This ode appears to have been written impromptu, and I think the style is mock-heroic, or but half serious, though Horace had at least as much right as others to commend his poetry and to be conscious of his own powers. Various specimens of self-commendation, on the part of the poets, are quoted by Dillenbr., beginning with Ennius' famous verses,—

"Nemo me lacrumis decoret nec funera fletu
Faxit. Cur? Volito vivu' per ora virûm."

I think 'quem vocas' refers to some particular invitation of Maecenas, and that the ode was the result of that invitation, which opinion I had expressed before I met with Dillenbr.'s comments on this ode in his Qu. Hor. (1841, Bonn). He there treats it as an outburst of youthful spirits on the occasion of Maecenas' first invitation (Sat. i. 6). The epithet 'dilecte,' implying long familiarity, is opposed to this view, and Dillenbr. says nothing about it in his edition of Horace, though he there treats the ode as a juvenile production. I do not see any reason to agree with him as to that particular point.

ARGUMENT.

On a fresh strong wing shall I soar to heaven far above envy and the world. Whom thou, dear Maecenas, delightest to honour, Styx hath no power to detain. Even now my plumage is springing, and I am ready to fly away and sing in distant places, and to teach barbarous nations. No wailings for me: away with the empty honours of a tomb.

Non usitata nec tenui ferar
Penna biformis per liquidum aethera
Vates, neque in terris morabor
Longius, invidiaque major
Urbes relinquam. Non ego, pauperum
Sanguis parentum, non ego quem vocas,
Dilecte Maecenas, obibo
Nec Stygia cohibebor unda.
Jam jam residunt cruribus asperae
Pelles, et album mutor in alitem
Superne, nascunturque leves
Per digitos humerosque plumae.
Jam Daedaleo ocior Icaro
Visam gementis litora Bospori
Syrtesque Gaetulas canorus
Ales Hyperboreosque campos.

1. *Non usitata*] Aristophanes makes the poet Cinesias say (Av. 1372):—

ἀναπέτομαι δὴ πρὸς Ὄλυμπον πτερύγεσσι κούφαις.

On the meaning of 'biformis' the interpreters are not agreed. Horace can only mean as swan and poet. [Keller and Ritter have 'pinna.']

4. *invidia major*] Horace was not too good to be maligned, but he could rise above it, which is the meaning of 'major,' κρείσσων. His birth drew contempt upon him while he held a command in Brutus' army, and afterwards when he became intimate with Maecenas (Sat. i. 6. 46 sqq.); but those who envied tried as usual to make use of him (Sat. ii. 6. 47 sqq.). He appears in some measure to have outlived detraction (C. iv. 3. 16):

"Et jam dente minus mordeor invido."

6. *Quem vocas*] See Introduction. The Scholiasts separated 'dilecte,' from Maecenas, understanding the construction to be "quem vocas 'dilecte,'" as in Ovid (Am. i. 7. 19):

"Quis mihi non demens, quis non mihi barbare dixit?"

The supporters of this interpretation also quote Luke vi. 46: τί με καλεῖτε Κύριε; but there is no necessity for taking the word from the substantive it would most naturally agree with. [Ritter agrees with the Scholiasts, and perhaps he is right.] Bentley suspects the true reading to be 'vocant' instead of 'vocas,' and applies it to the preceding words, 'pauperum sanguis parentum,' as "quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum" (Sat. i. 6. 46); but there is no authority or reason for this change. It was on the strength of such invitations that he affirmed—

"pauperemque dives
Me petit" (C. ii. 18. 10).

11. *Superne*] As this is formed from 'supernus,' the last syllable would according to usage be long; but it is short in Lucretius twice, and the same with 'inferne.' It may therefore be short here; and there is no necessity for departing, as Fea does, from the reading of the best MSS., and taking 'superna' from a few. Forcellini observes that some MSS. have 'apprime,' with the last syllable short, in Virgil (Georg. ii. 134), "Flos apprime tenax," which is generally written 'ad prima' [and the expression is compared with Herodotus, vi. 13, ἐς τὰ πρῶτα (Conington's Virgil).]

13. *Daedaleo ocior*] Orelli has collected many examples of similar hiatus from Horace, Virgil, and Ovid. In Horace, see C. i. 28. 24. Epod. v. 100; xiii. 3. The oldest Berne and Zürich MSS. have 'notior' and 'nocior,' which last is an evident corruption of the true reading; [Keller has 'notior.'] Bentley conjectures 'tutior.'

15. *canorus ales*]

"O mutis quoque piscibus
Donatura cycni si libeat sonum."
(C. iv. 3. 19 sq.)

Me Colchus et qui dissimulat metum
Marsae cohortis Dacus et ultimi
Noscent Geloni, me peritus
Discet Hiber Rhodanique potor.
Absint inani funere neniae
Luctusque turpes et querimoniae;
Compesce clamorem ac sepulcri
Mitte supervacuos honores.

"Multa Dircaeum levat aura cycnum."
(C. iv. 2. 25.)

The bird therefore that Horace means cannot be mistaken. Virgil (Ec. ix. 27) has—

"Vare tuum nomen—
Cantantes sublime ferent ad sidera cycni."

Plato (Rep. x.) speaks of the spirit of Orpheus taking the shape of a swan: *ἰδεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἔφη ψυχὴν τήν ποτε Ὀρφεως γενομένην κύκνου βίον αἱρουμένην.* On the Hyperboreans, see Müller (Dorians ii. 4, § 6). Pindar calls them *Ἀπόλλωνος θεράποντες* (Ol. iii. 16), to whom they sacrificed asses (Pyth. x. 34). There was a mystery attached to the distant regions of the north, to which Pindar says no man ever found the way by land or sea:

ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰὼν ἂν εὕροις
ἐς Ὑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυματὰν ὁδόν.

And, though Perseus went there, it was with the divine help, with which the poet piously observes any thing may be done. They did not however neglect the Muses:—

Μοῖσα δ' οὐκ ἀποδαμεῖ
τρόποις ἐπὶ σφετέροισι, παντᾶ δὲ χοροὶ παρθένων
λυρᾶν τε βοαὶ καναχαί τ' αὐλῶν δονέονται.

They were a happy race, *ἀνδρῶν μακάρων ὅμιλος*; a sacred family, *ἱερὰ γενεά*, free from old age, disease, and war. Compare Pliny (N. H. iv. 26).

19. *peritus*] Here the meaning is 'instructed,' as 'juris peritus' is one instructed and skilled in the law. Horace means that barbarous nations will become versed in his writings: 'mei peritus me discet' is perhaps the full sentence. But why he should class those who drank of the waters of the Rhone (of which many Romans might drink also) with the barbarians mentioned is not easy to understand. As far as I can see, the adaptation of the name to the metre is the only way of accounting for it. By Hiber is probably meant the Caucasian people named Iberi. [But he may mean the Iberi of Spain, who were Romanized like the natives on the Rhone in the Roman Provincia.] The mode of expression for the inhabitants of a country, as those who drink of their national river, is repeated twice (C. iii. 10. 1):

"Extremum Tanain si biberes, Lyce;"

and (C. iv. 15. 21),

"Non qui profundum Danubium bibunt."

It may be observed here, as well as any where else, how frequently Horace ends the third verse of the Alcaic stanza with a word that belongs immediately to the last word of the stanza. The remark is Dillenbr.'s, and it is worth attending to. The Daci were not finally subdued till the reign of Trajan. But see C. ii. 9. 23 n.

24. *supervacuos*] The prose-writers before Pliny used the form 'supervacaneus.' Forcellini quotes one passage from Cicero (de Nat. Deor. i. 33), in which he says some editions have 'supervacuus.' All modern editions have the other form. [As to absence of lamentation over a death which left no body for interment, compare the verses of Ennius (Introduction).]

Q. HORATII FLACCI

CARMINUM

LIBER TERTIUS.

CARMEN I.

About A.U.C. 728.

This and the five following odes are generally admitted to be among the finest specimens of Horace's manner, and it appears to me that in this didactic style he shows most of his own character and genius. It is, as far as we know, entirely his own. There is no opinion from which I more entirely dissent than this of Franke, "Tota Horatii poesis lyrica et ex ipsius sententia dici et haberi potest amatoria" (F. H. p. 57). And Buttmann's sentence, which goes into the other extreme, appears to me as far from the truth, unless he limits it, as I believe he really meant to do, to the style that Franke thinks his strongest. "Non-reality," he says, "is an essential feature of Horace's odes." The fact appears to be, that reality was so much a part of Horace's mind, that he was never so great as when he wrote on some real subject, something that drew out his sound common sense, his regard for a friend, his sense of right, his appreciation of nature, and his feelings in respect to the times he lived in, and especially the condition of Rome itself. It is this that gives to the six odes with which the third book opens the force and charm we find in them. It has been already said (C. ii. 15, Introduction) that they appear all to have been written about the same time with one another and with other odes, when Augustus set himself the task of social reformation after the close of the civil wars.

The general purport of this ode is an exhortation to moderate living and desires.

The first stanza is generally understood to have been added as an introduction to the six odes, viewed as a whole.

ARGUMENT.

The worldly I despise, but have new precepts for the young.

Kings rule over their people, but are themselves the subjects of Jove. One may be richer, another nobler than his fellows, but all alike must die. No indulgence can get sleep for him who has a sword ever hanging over him, while it disdains not the dwellings of the poor. He who is content with a little fears not storm or drought. The rich man builds him houses on the very waters, but anxiety follows him go where he will. If then marble and purple, rich wines and costly perfumes, cure not grief, why should I build me great houses, or exchange for the burthen of riches my humble Sabine farm?

Odi profanum volgus et arceo;
Favete linguis: carmina non prius
  Audita Musarum sacerdos
    Virginibus puerisque canto.

Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis
Clari Giganteo triumpho,
Cuncta supercilio moventis.
Est ut viro vir latius ordinet
Arbusta sulcis, hic generosior
Descendat in Campum petitor,
Moribus hic meliorque fama
Contendat, illi turba clientium
Sit major: aequa lege Necessitas
Sortitur insignes et imos;
Omne capax movet urna nomen.
Districtus ensis cui super impia
Cervice pendet non Siculae dapes

1. *Odi profanum vulgus*] The first stanza is an imitation of the language used by the priests at the mysteries. There is a parody on the same in the Frogs of Aristophanes (353 sqq.):—

εὐφημεῖν χρὴ κἀξίστασθαι τοῖς ἡμετέροισι χοροῖσιν
ὅστις ἄπειρος τοιῶνδε λόγων ἢ γνώμην μὴ καθαρεύει
ἢ γενναίων ὄργια Μουσῶν μήτ' εἶδεν μήτ' ἐχόρευσεν.

'Favere linguis,' like *εὐφημεῖν*, in its first meaning seems to signify the speaking words of good omen. But it came as commonly to signify total silence. ['Linguis' is the ablative. The Romans sometimes said 'lingua,' or 'ore favere.'] Horace speaks as if he despaired of impressing his precepts on any but the young, and bids the rest stand aside as incapable of being initiated in the true wisdom of life.

3. *Musarum sacerdos*] Ovid calls himself the same (Amor. iii. 8. 23):—

"Ille ego Musarum purus Phoebique sacerdos."

[5. *in proprios greges*] Caesar has this use of 'imperium in greges,' 'power over,' in B. G. vi. 19, 'in uxores potestatem.']

7. *triumpho, cuncta*] There is some abruptness in this, which Cunningham removes by inserting 'et.'

9. *Est ut*] This is equivalent to *ἔστιν ὡς*, 'it may be.' Bentley prefers 'esto ut,' and Cruquius' Scholiast says in his note, as we have it, 'est pro sit.' He appears to have read 'esto.' 'Esto' without 'ut' occurs in Sat. i. 6. 19. ['Arbusta' are the vines in the vineyard.]

11. *Descendat in Campum*] The comitia centuriata at which the election of magistrates took place was held in the Campus Martius, from whence, Tacitus says (Ann. i. 15), the Comitia were removed by Tiberius to the senate, meaning that the senate chose the magistrates, under his dictation. But in the time of Augustus the form of comitia continued in the Campus Martius. (Sueton. August. c. 56.)

13. *Contendat*] This verb is used sometimes as a transitive verb for 'petere,' as in Cic. in Verr. (ii. 2. 53), "Hic magistratus a populo summa ambitione contenditur."

16. *Omne capax*] Compare C. ii. 3. 26, and likewise i. 4. 13; ii. 18. 32.

17. *Districtus ensis*] Some MSS have 'destrictus,' which most editors adopt. Cruquius inserts 'districtus' in his text, and Heindorf supports it on S. ii. 1. 41, where it occurs again. The Scholiasts, according to the text in Ascensius, have the same word, which is probably the right one, as signifying the separation of two things which have been joined. But the point is doubtful. [Ritter and Keller have 'destrictus.']

18. *Siculae dapes*] Plato (de Rep. iii. p. 404, § 13, Becker) speaks of *Συρακοσίαν τράπεζαν καὶ Σικελικὴν ποικιλίαν ὄψου*, where Ast says "pervulgatae sunt luxuriosae mensae *Σικελικαί, Συβαριτικαί, Ἰταλικαί* et *Χῖαι*." Plautus, in the prologue to the Rudens (v. 53), says—

"Infit lenoni suadere ut secum simul
Eat in Siciliam, ibi esse homines voluptuarios
Dicit."

Dulcem elaborabunt saporem,
Non avium citharaeque cantus
Somnum reducent. Somnus agrestium
Lenis virorum non humiles domos
Fastidit umbrosamque ripam,
Non Zephyris agitata Tempe.
Desiderantem quod satis est neque
Tumultuosum sollicitat mare,
Nec saevus Arcturi cadentis
Impetus aut orientis Haedi,
Non verberatae grandine vineae
Fundusque mendax, arbore nunc aquas
Culpante nunc torrentia agros
Sidera nunc hiemes iniquas.
Contracta pisces aequora sentiunt
Jactis in altum molibus; huc frequens
Caementa demittit redemptor
Cum famulis dominusque terrae

19. *elaborabunt*] The old editions have 'elaborarunt,' as referring to Damocles. But the future has most authority, and Horace is laying down a maxim, not relating a fact. Cic. (Tusc. Disp. v. 21) tells the story of Damocles with reflections similar to these. Compare Persius (iii. 40):—

"Auratis pendens laquearibus ensis
Purpureas subter cervices terruit."

20. *Non avium*] Seneca (de Provid. c. 3), says that Maecenas sought sleep by the help of distant music (per symphoniarum cantum ex longinquo lene resonantium). Aviaries were not uncommon in the houses of the rich.

21. *Somnus agrestium*] Acron and Porphyrion, whom Dillenbr. follows, make 'agrestium virorum' dependent on 'Somnus,' which destroys the prosopopoeia. Dillenbr., in his Quaestiones Horatianae, has drawn attention to the alternate arrangement of the epithets in this passage among many others. He gives instances, and they are numerous enough to constitute a feature in Horace's style. "Spiritum Graiae tenuem Camoenae," is one instance out of many. It is said to arise out of the liking the Latin poets had for homoeoteleuton.

27. *Arcturi cadentis—orientis Haedi*] Arcturus sets in the beginning of November. The constellation Auriga, of which the kids (two stars) form a part, rises in the beginning of October.

29. *verberatae grandine vineae*] See Epp. i. 8. 4: "Grando contuderit vites." 'Mendax fundus' is like "spem mentita seges" (Epp. i. 7. 87), and opposed to "segetis certa fides" (C. iii. 16. 30). As the vine complains of the rain, so Gesner would have the field abuse the drought and the storm, putting 'agro' for 'agros,' and supposing the final 's' to have arisen out of the first letter of the following word 'sidera.' 'Arbore' means the [vine, as Ritter correctly says. Comp. C. i. 18. 1]. There is no variation in the MSS. nor has any other emendation but Gesner's been suggested. And yet it must be allowed that the stanza has an odd appearance, the tree complaining of the excessive rain, or the star that burns the fields, or the cruel storm. If the reading be correct, the verses are not among Horace's happiest. But that is no reason for altering or abandoning them.

33. *Contracta pisces aequora sentiunt*] Compare C. ii. 18. 20,—

"Marisque Baiis obstrepentis urges
Summovere littora;"

and Epp. i. 1. 84,—

"Si dixit dives, lacus et mare sentit amorem
Festinantis heri," &c.

35. *Caementa demittit redemptor*] Compare C. iii. 24. 3 sq.:—

Fastidiosus. Sed Timor et Minae
Scandunt eodem quo dominus, neque
Decedit aerata triremi, et
Post equitem sedet atra Cura.
Quodsi dolentem nec Phrygius lapis
Nec purpurarum sidere clarior
Delenit usus nec Falerna
Vitis Achaemeniumque costum,
Cur invidendis postibus et novo
Sublime ritu moliar atrium?
Cur valle permutem Sabina
Divitias operosiores?

"Caementis licet occupes
Tyrrhenum omne tuis et mare Apulicum."

The walls were faced on each side with stone, and loose [or broken] stones (caementa) were thrown in between. 'Frequens' goes with 'cum famulis,' according to Doering, and means 'cum frequenti famulorum turba.' Others say it means 'frequenter.' I think it means this, or 'many a redemptor.' 'Redimere' was said of one who undertook to perform certain work for a stipulated price. The only case in which the person who paid was called 'redemptor' was that of the public revenue, the farmers of which were said 'redimere vectigalia' or 'emere' (Cic. in Verr. ii. 3. 12). See C. ii. 18. 17 n.

39. *triremi, et*] Bentley prefers omitting the 'et' for the sake of his ears, and substitutes 'postque.' The 'aerata triremis' was the rich man's private yacht [or the war-galley rather].

41. *Phrygius lapis*] See C. ii. 18. 3 n.

43. *delenit*] The MSS. and editors vary between this form and 'delinit.' The expression 'purpurarum usus sidere clarior' is uncommon. The first two words, which belong properly to 'purpurarum,' are transferred to 'usus'—'the enjoyment or possession of purple (purple vestments) brighter than a star:' which, though 'sidus' should be taken for the sun, as it may be, is rather a singular comparison.

44. *Achaemeniumque costum*] See C. ii. 12. 21. 'Que' is the reading of the MSS., and there being no opposition it is the right reading, though Bentley will have 've.'

47. *permutem*] See C. i. 17. 2.

CARMEN II.

About A.U.C. 728.

In addition to the general argument noticed before, Franke discovers in verses 19, 20, an indication of the date of this ode, supposing Horace to allude to Augustus' expressed intention of laying down his power in A.U.C. 726. I do not see any necessary connexion.

The purpose of this ode is to commend public and social virtue, and the opening shows that it is a continuation of the preceding ode.

ARGUMENT.

Contentment is to be learned in arms and danger. To die for our country is glorious, and death pursues the coward. Virtue is superior to popular favour or rejection, and opens the way to the skies, and rises above the dull atmosphere of this world. Good faith too has its reward, and I would not be the companion of the man who neglects it, lest I share his sure reward.

ANGUSTAM amice pauperiem pati
Robustus acri militia puer
Condiscat, et Parthos feroces
Vexet eques metuendus hasta,
Vitamque sub divo et trepidis agat
In rebus. Illum ex moenibus hosticis
Matrona bellantis tyranni
Prospiciens et adulta virgo
Suspiret, eheu, ne rudis agminum
Sponsus lacessat regius asperum
Tactu leonem, quem cruenta
Per medias rapit ira caedes.
Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori:
Mors et fugacem persequitur virum,
Nec parcit imbellis juventae
Poplitibus timidoque tergo.

1. *amice*] Some MSS., which Lambinus and Bentley follow, read 'amici;' and the ancient title 'ad amicos' shows that the Grammarians who first affixed that title had 'amici' before them. And Acron says, "Hanc oden generaliter ad amicos scribit commonens," &c. But Horace's advice is addressed to the young, as he shows not only in the introductory stanza of the first ode, but in the opening also of this. 'Amice ferre' is plainly the reverse of 'moleste ferre,' and corresponds to 'clementer' in Cicero's letter to Atticus (vi. 1. 3): "Cnaeus noster clementer id fert" (the loss of his money). "Ferendum est molliter sapienti" is another form of expression for the same meaning (Cic. de Senect. c. 2). This use of 'amice' is not noticed by Forcellini, who probably read 'amici.' I observe he chiefly used Lambinus' Horace. 'Militia,' in the next verse, may depend either on 'robustus' or 'condiscat.'

3. *Parthos feroces*] "Species pro genere" (Acron).

5. *sub divo et trepidis*] Doering omits 'et' against all MSS. and editions, to the injury of the verse and sense. 'Et' is wanted to couple 'trepidis rebus' with 'divo,' as 'que' couples 'vitam agat' with 'Parthos vexet.'

6. *Illum ex moenibus*] This picture, representing the fears of the Parthian mother and maiden, the danger of the son and lover, and the prowess of the Roman soldier, has been much commended. It is not in Horace's usual style, and is perhaps better suited to an ode addressed to the young than to any other. To them it might be inspiring, but hardly to older minds. Helen, looking out with her damsels from the walls of Troy (Il. iii. 139 sqq.), or the description of Hesiod (Scut. Herc. 242),—

——— *αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐϋδμήτων ἐπὶ πύργων*
χάλκεον ὀξὺ βόων κατὰ δ' ἐδρύπτοντο παρειάς,

or Antigone looking from the walls of Thebes (Eurip. Phoen. 88), were perhaps before Horace's mind.

13. *Dulce et decorum est*] In Horace's mind there was a close connexion between the virtue of frugal contentment and devotion to one's country. They are associated below (C. iv. 9. 49 sqq.).

14. *persequitur*] In this word is contained all that Bentley would gain by changing it against the MSS. to 'consequitur,' and it is more graphic. The line is a translation from Simonides (65 Bergk),—

ὁ δ' αὖ θάνατος κίχε καὶ τὸν φυγόμαχον.

Horace may have seen Tyrtaeus' elegy (7 Bergk), which begins—

τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ᾗ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον.

'Persequi' signifies 'to pursue and overtake.' Bentley prefers 've' to 'que,' with 'timido.' [There is better authority for 'timidove,' which Ritter and Keller have.]

Virtus repulsae nescia sordidae
Intaminatis fulget honoribus,
Nec sumit aut ponit secures
Arbitrio popularis aurae.
Virtus recludens immeritis mori
Caelum negata tentat iter via,
Coetusque volgares et udam
Spernit humum fugiente penna.
Est et fideli tuta silentio
Merces: vetabo qui Cereris sacrum
Vulgarit arcanae sub isdem
Sit trabibus fragilemve mecum

Bentley's reason is odd,—that there was no need for death to strike in more than one place: one would be enough. "Quod sane argutius!" says Jani. 'Tergo' is not opposed to 'poplitibus,' but coupled with it, and 'timido' applies to both (C. i. 2. 1 n.). [But the 've' denotes either of two ways of being wounded.]

17. *Virtus repulsae nescia sordidae*] 'Nescia' seems to mean 'unconscious of,' because 'indifferent to' the disgrace of rejection, which, if disgraceful to any, is not so to the virtuous, but to those who reject them. Dillenbr. interprets otherwise, that the virtuous do not seek honours, and therefore do not know the discredit of defeat; but that is contrary to fact, and therefore not likely to be Horace's meaning.

18. *Intaminatis*] This word has not been found elsewhere. Like 'contaminatus,' 'attaminatus,' it is derived from the obsolete word 'tamino,' and contains the root 'tag' of 'tango' as 'integer' does. 'In-contaminatis' is the reading of a few MSS. H. Stephens (Diat. ii. 1) says, "Ex quam plurimis manuscriptis exemplaribus afferri videmus 'incontaminatis,'" which is perhaps not true. Cruquius adopts it in his text (Orelli says "e Codd.," but I think he is mistaken, for Cruquius notices none in his commentary, where he has 'intaminatis'), and his Scholiast had the same reading. The other Scholiasts had 'intaminatis,' which is the reading of all the editions I have seen, except those of Cunningham and Sanadon. Lambinus and Bentley edit this, but prefer the other; but the latter sufficiently answers his own and the only argument against the received reading, by asking, "Are there not other words in Horace, Cicero, and others, which, through the loss of so many writers, we find nowhere else?"

20. *Arbitrio popularis aurae*] This means that the popular judgment is like a shifting breeze, setting now this way, now that, as in Virgil (Aen. vi. 817):—

"Nimium gaudens popularibus auris,"

and in Lucan (i. 132):—

"Totus popularibus auris
Impelli plausuque sui gaudere theatri."

Compare for the sentiments C. iv. 9. 39 sqq.

25. *Est et fideli tuta silentio*] Simonides, in the same poem (Bergk says, p. 767) from which the former quotation comes (v. 14 n.), says—

ἐστὶ καὶ σιγᾶς ἀκίνδυνον γέρας,

which words Augustus was acquainted with and approved. When Athenodorus was about to leave his camp he embraced the emperor and said, "O Caesar, whenever thou art wroth, say nothing, do nothing, till thou hast gone over in thy mind the twenty-four letters of the alphabet." Whereupon the emperor took him by the hand and said, "I have need of thee still;" and he detained him a whole year, saying, "Silence too hath its safe reward." (Plut. Apophthegm. Reg. et Imper. Caesar. Aug. 7.) Secrecy is a sign of good faith, and not an easy one to practise. Horace's indignation is levelled against the breaking of faith generally, and the divulging of the secrets of Ceres (whose rites, however, it appears were only attended by women) is only mentioned by way of illustration. Doering suggests, by way of accounting for the introduction of this particular virtue, that some notorious act of treachery is referred to indirectly. But the introduction of that virtue does not require an apology. There are few moral qualities that can be said to take precedence of it.

Solvat phaselon; saepe Diespiter
Neglectus incesto addidit integrum.
Raro antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede Poena claudo.

It is the basis of friendship, as Cicero says, and without it society cannot exist. (Compare S. i. 4. 84 n.) It is possible that Horace had heard Augustus repeat his favourite axiom. Mitsch. quotes Callimachus (Hymn. ad Cer. 118):

Δάματερ μὴ τῆνος ἐμοὶ φίλος ὃς σοι ἀπεχθὴς
εἴη μήδ' ὁμότοιχος.

Euripides (Elect. 1354) has:

οὕτως ἀδικεῖν μηδεὶς θελέτω,
μηδ' ἐπιόρκων μέτα συμπλείτω.

This way of speaking seems to have been proverbial. Compare Aesch. S. c. T. 602 sqq. There were no mysteries among the Romans corresponding to the Eleusinian or any of the other Greek Μυστήρια. But Cicero, anathematizing Verres at the close of his last oration, speaks of the rites of Ceres and Libera ("quam eandem Proserpinam vocant," Verr. ii. 4. 48), as those which "sicut opiniones hominum ac religiones ferunt longe maximis atque occultissimis caerimoniis continentur;" and, though introduced from abroad, he says these rites were observed by the Romans in public and private with such exactness, that they might appear to have been not imported into Rome from other countries, but exported to them from Rome.

28. *fragilemve*] 'Que' is the MSS. reading, but there is no connexion between 'trabibus' and 'phaselon:' 've' is Bentley's correction, [but no MS. is quoted in confirmation of it. Ritter who reads 'fragilemque' says that 'sub iisdem trabibus' means 'in eadem nave sive firma sive non firma,' and that the idea of danger is increased by the words 'fragilemque phaselon,' for the 'phaselus' is a light and long vessel, which is easily broken. If Horace meant all this, he was a tasteless trifler. But the poet means that he would not live under the same roof with such a man, and he would not sail with him; and so it is indifferent whether he says 'and' or 'or,' though according to the MS. evidence he said 'and.' 'Fragilem' is merely a poetical representation of the danger of navigation.] In respect to 'Diespiter' see C. i. 34. 5 n.

32. *Deseruit pede Poena claudo*] Aesch. Agam. 57:

τῶνδε μετοίκων, ὑστερόποινον
πέμπει παραβᾶσιν Ἐρινύν.

The same expression occurs also in the Choeph. 382,

Ζεῦ Ζεῦ κάτωθεν ἀμπέμπων
ὑστερόποινον ἄταν
βροτῶν τλάμονι καὶ πανούργῳ
χειρί, τοκεῦσι δ' ὅμως τελεῖται,

and corresponds to ὑστερόφθοροι in Soph. Antig. 1074,

τούτων σε λωβητῆρες ὑστεροφθόροι
λοχῶσιν Ἅιδου καὶ θεῶν Ἐρινύες.

Tibullus expresses the same (i. 9. 4), "Sera tamen tacitis Poena venit pedibus."

CARMEN III.

About A.U.C. 728.

This ode, which could not have been written before A.U.C. 727, when Augustus received that name, commends the virtue of perseverance by the example of heroes who had secured divine honours by it. It cannot be said that the long speech of Juno bears very directly upon the text supplied by the two first stanzas. A prophecy of the glory and extent of the Roman empire might have been adapted to any other exordium, or have been introduced without any at all. But it was necessary for Horace to diversify his homilies. The mention of Romulus is contrived to introduce the praises and power of

Augustus, and the speech is not destitute of such oratorical power as the case admitted of. It also contains indirect exhortations to abstinence and contentment, and so bears on the general scope of these odes. Suetonius, in his life of C. Julius Caesar (c. 79), says it was generally reported he meant to transfer the seat of empire to Alexandria (in Troas probably, not the Egyptian city) or to Ilium. Lucan ascribes to him the same intention, and makes him say (ix. 997),

> "Restituam populos: grata vice moenia reddent
> Ausonidae Phrygibus, Romanaque Pergama surgent."

Whether such was really the case or not, it appears that at the time such a transfer was not considered too absurd to be spoken of. We know that the abandonment of the mother city for Veii had its advocates, who were not influenced solely by the superior attractions of the city, but by dislike to the institutions of Rome and to laws which could only be got rid of by such a change. We can easily believe that in Horace's time among the remedies proposed for the evils of the state some may have freely spoken of transferring the seat of government to another spot, and that the site of Troy, the city of their supposed ancestors and the fountain of their race, may have been fixed upon for that purpose. To meet the spirit of avarice in some, and restlessness in all that would be mixed up with such a notion, seems to have been Horace's purpose. One of Orelli's Berne MSS. has this inscription, "Ad Musas de Augusto qui in proposito videtur perseverare," as if Augustus had entertained a desire and intention like the above, and some commentators have taken up that notion. If it had been the case, there is no likelihood that Horace would have taken this occasion and means of dissuading him. I believe, as I said before, he wrote these odes, if not by the emperor's desire, to second his efforts, and with his approval.

Justin describes the meeting of the Roman soldiers with the people of the Troad, when Scipio landed in Asia in his expedition against Antiochus: "Cum igitur ab utrisque bellum pararetur ingressique Asiam Romani Ilium venissent, mutua gratulatio Iliensium ac Romanorum fuit; Iliensibus Aeneam ceterosque cum eo duces a se profectos, Romanis se ab his procreatos referentibus; tantaque laetitia omnium fuit quanta esse post longum tempus inter parentes et liberos solet. Juvabat Ilienses nepotes suos Occidente et Africa domita Asiam ut avitum regnum vindicare, optabilem Trojae ruinam fuisse dicentes, ut tam feliciter renasceretur: contra Romanos avitos Lares ut incunabula majorum, templaque ac deorum simulacra inexplebile desiderium videndi tenebat" (31. 8).

ARGUMENT.

The upright man and firm no terrors can drive from his purpose. Through this virtue Pollux, Hercules, Augustus, Bacchus, have been translated to the skies. Romulus likewise, at the instance of Juno, who thus addressed the assembled gods: "Ilium hath paid the penalty of the founder's crime. That impious umpire and his foreign strumpet have overthrown it. But his beauty is gone; Priam's perjured house hath fallen; the war our quarrels protracted is at an end. My wrath then I remit. Let Mars have my hated grandson, let him come among us: only let seas roll between Ilium and Rome, and let the exiles reign where they will; let their Capitol stand, and the Mede own their sway; but let the tomb of Priam and of Paris be the lair of beasts. From Gades to the Nile let her be feared, but let her learn to despise the gold that lies buried in the ground. Let her stretch her arms to the limits of the earth, to the stormy north and the fiery east, but let her not dare to repair the walls of Troy. On an evil day would she rise again: thrice let her rise, thrice should she fall by the power of Jove's sister and spouse."

But hold, my Muse, nor bring down such themes to the sportive lyre.

JUSTUM et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non voltus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida, neque Auster
Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae,
Nec fulminantis magna manus Jovis;
Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinae.
Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
Enisus arces attigit igneas,
Quos inter Augustus recumbens
Purpureo bibit ore nectar.
Hac te merentem, Bacche pater, tuae
Vexere tigres indocili jugum
Collo trahentes; hac Quirinus
Martis equis Acheronta fugit,
Gratum elocuta consiliantibus
Junone divis: Ilion, Ilion
Fatalis incestusque judex
Et mulier peregrina vertit

1. *Justum*] i.e. "qui jus servat."

5. *Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae*] Compare C. ii. 17. 19, and C. i. 3. 15:

"Quo non arbiter Hadriae
Major."

This assemblage of terrible objects is heterogeneous enough, but the seventh and eighth verses present a fine picture. The third corresponds with Juvenal's

"—— Phalaris licet imperet ut sis
Falsus et admoto dictet perjuria tauro" (viii. 81).

6. *fulminantis*] This is not a word used by prose-writers of Horace's day. The same may be said of 'triumphatis' (v. 43).

7. *illabatur*] The Zürich and one other of Orelli's MSS., with three of Bentley's, have the future, and with 'ferient,' that is the more regular construction. [Keller has 'inlabetur.'] But see below, C. iii. 9. 12.

[9. *Hac arte*] By the practice of justice and firmness. Comp. Epp. ii. 1. 13.]

10. *Enisus*] Some good MSS. have 'innisus,' which reading has led to 'innixus,' the reading of Acron, who renders it 'incumbens.' All the old editions appear to have 'innixus,' and Cruquius was the first to adopt 'enisus,' from his Blandinian MSS. and others. The idea is that of struggling forward, and not of rest; 'enisus,' therefore, is no doubt the best reading. Compare C. iv. 8. 29. Epp. ii. 1. 5 sq. Cic. de Legg. ii. 8.

12. *Purpureo bibit ore nectar*] Some MSS. have 'bibet' [and it is the reading of Keller and Ritter]; but the present has more force than the future, as in Epp. ii. 1. 15:—

"Praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores;"

and (C. iv. 5. 32)—

"—— alteris
Te mensis adhibet deum."

The epithet 'purpureo' is Greek:

—— πορφυρέου
ἀπὸ στόματος ἱεῖσα φωνὰν παρθένος
(Simonides, 72 Bergk).

16. *Martis equis*] 'Patris equis' is a doubtful reading, which Bentley and Gesner prefer. This appears to have been the genuine old legend of the disappearance of Romulus. See Ovid, Met. xiv. 820 sqq. Fast. ii. 495 sq.:—

"Hinc tonat, hinc missis abrumpitur ignibus aether,
Fit fuga, rex patriis astra petebat equis;"

which gives some colour to the reading 'patris,' but not much. See Epod. xvi. 13 n.

In pulverem, ex quo destituit deos
Mercede pacta Laomedon, mihi
Castaeque damnatum Minervae
Cum populo et duce fraudulento.
Jam nec Lacaenae splendet adulterae
Famosus hospes nec Priami domus
Perjura pugnaces Achivos
Hectoreis opibus refringit,
Nostrisque ductum seditionibus
Bellum resedit. Protinus et graves
Iras et invisum nepotem
Troica quem peperit sacerdos
Marti redonabo; illum ego lucidas
Inire sedes, ducere nectaris
Succos, et adscribi quietis
Ordinibus patiar deorum.
Dum longus inter saeviat Ilion
Romamque pontus qualibet exsules
In parte regnanto beati;
Dum Priami Paridisque busto

[19. *incestus*] Literally, 'unchaste.' Paris was an adulterer. C. i. 15. 19.]

21. *ex quo*] The fall of Troy was determined from the time of Laomedon's crime.

23. *damnatum*] Bentley conjectures 'damnatam,' lest there should be any doubt whether Horace meant to say 'Ilion damnatum,' or 'pulverem damnatum.' I do not think there can be any doubt. The feminine form 'Ilios' occurs in Epod. xiv. 14. [Ritter follows Bentley.]

25. *adulterae*] It is doubtful whether this is the dative or genitive case. Doering thinks the former; Orelli the latter.

28. *refringit*] 'Repels.'

29. *ductum*] 'Ducere' and 'trahere' for 'producere' and 'protrahere,' are usages well known. ['Resedit,' from 'residĕre,' means 'has settled down,' 'subsided,' as in Virgil, G. ii. 480; Aen. vi. 407.]

32. *Troica*] There is no authority for 'Troïa;' but Bentley adopts it here and in C. i. 6. 14; also Jani and Fea, the way having been led by Heinsius. There is much scorn in Juno's language, as in the words 'mulier peregrina,' 'Troica sacerdos,' 'fatalis incestusque judex,' 'exsules.'

33. *redonabo*] This word occurs only here and in C. ii. 7. 3.

34. *ducere nectaris*] Many MSS. have 'discere,' and Porphyrion explains it, "assuescere saporibus nectaris." But 'succus' means juice, not flavour, and to that sense 'ducere' is well suited. The same mistake appears in some of the MSS. in Ovid (A. Am. iii. 353):—

> " —— telorum ducere jactus
> Ut sciat."

Dillenbr., among others, has 'discere' [and Keller.] I do not like it at all, in the face especially of the very common use of 'ducere,' in this sense of quaffing. So the Greeks used ἕλκειν and σπᾶν, both of which occur in one verse of Euripides (Cycl. 417),

> ἔσπασέν τ' ἄμυστιν ἑλκύσας.

35. *quietis ordinibus — deorum*] This savours of the Epicureanism Horace had learnt in early life; "deos didici securum agere aevum." (S. i. 5. 101.) ['Adscribi:' the usual word for expressing addition to a list or roll, as 'adscribere in civitatem or civitati,' to enroll a man as a citizen.]

40. *Priami—busto*] Priam had no tomb according to Virgil (Aen. ii. 557), but we need not quarrel with Horace for that. The whole plain of Troy, says Dillenbr., was in a sense his tomb. Electra represents Aegisthus as leaping on her father's

Insultet armentum et catulos ferae
Celent inultae, stet Capitolium
Fulgens, triumphatisque possit
Roma ferox dare jura Medis.
Horrenda late nomen in ultimas
Extendat oras, qua medius liquor
Secernit Europen ab Afro,
Qua tumidus rigat arva Nilus,
Aurum irrepertum et sic melius situm
Cum terra celat spernere fortior
Quam cogere humanos in usus
Omne sacrum rapiente dextra.
Quicunque mundo terminus obstitit
Hunc tangat armis, visere gestiens
Qua parte debacchentur ignes,
Qua nebulae pluviique rores.
Sed bellicosis fata Quiritibus
Hac lege dico, ne nimium pii
Rebusque fidentes avitae
Tecta velint reparare Troiae.
Troiae renascens alite lugubri
Fortuna tristi clade iterabitur,
Ducente victrices catervas
Conjuge me Jovis et sorore.

grave, intoxicated with wine (Eurip. Elect. 326 sq.):—

μέθῃ δὲ βρεχθεὶς τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς πόσις
ὁ κλεινός, ὥς λέγουσιν, ἐνθρώσκει τάφῳ.

Compare Epod. xvi. 10 sqq., and Il. iv. 177. ['Bustum' is defined by Festus as a 'place in which a dead body is burnt and buried.' It is the participial form of 'burere,' to burn, as we infer from 'comburere,' 'combustus.']

44. *dare jura Medis*] This has been seized upon by one class of chronologists to prove the ode was written after the Parthians had restored the standards of Crassus and M. Antonius. But there is nothing in the words to warrant this inference.

[46. *qua medius liquor*] 'Where the intervening water separates;' he means the place where the two continents approach nearest at the Straits of Gibraltar; and the extent of the Roman dominion is indicated by the two extremes—the Straits and the Nile. Compare C. ii. 2. 10.]

48. *rigat arva Nilus*] There is some variety in the punctuation of this passage in the editions, some putting a full stop after Nilus, and a comma at 'dextra' (v. 52). Whether 'aurum irrepertum,' &c., be taken with the preceding stanza or the following, or with both, the connexion is this: 'let Rome extend her arms as she will, only let her not, as her possessions increase, learn to prize gold above virtue.'

53. *Quicunque mundo*] Bentley prefers 'quacunque,' "quot enim obsecro sunt mundi termini?" Nobody but Bentley would trouble himself about Horace's expression, which is as intelligible as 'quacunque.' Several MSS. have 'mundi' for 'mundo,' and most have 'tanget' for 'tangat.' Lambinus, Cruquius, and some other editors have 'mundi;' but the dative is wanted. Orelli prefers 'tanget' for the preponderance of authority [and Keller]. But 'tangat' corresponds to 'extendat.'

58. *ne nimium pii*] See Introduction.

64. *Conjuge me Jovis et sorore*] Both Horace and Virgil (Aen. i. 46) take this

Ter si resurgat murus aëneus
Auctore Phoebo, ter pereat meis
Excisus Argivis, ter uxor
Capta virum puerosque ploret.
Non hoc jocosae conveniet lyrae:
Quo, Musa, tendis? Desine pervicax
Referre sermones deorum et
Magna modis tenuare parvis.

from Homer (Il. xvi. 432):—

Ἥρην δὲ προσέειπε κασιγνήτην ἄλοχόν τε.

65. *murus aëneus*] Horace is partial to this epithet. See Epp. i. 1. 60: 'Hic murus aëneus esto;' and C. iii. 9. 18; and 16. 1. It means no more than strength and stability. Gellius (ii. 3) says it was written 'ahenus,' the aspirate being introduced in this as in other words which he mentions for no other reason "nisi ut firmitas et vigor vocis quasi quibusdam nervis additis intenderetur." But as he applies the same remark to 'onera,' 'onustum,' 'lacruma' (which he writes 'lachryma'), we must suppose that the MSS. he followed were none of the best. But his remark confirms Bentley's on S. ii. 3. 183, where he deserts the received reading 'aut aeneus,' and adopts 'et aëneus,' saying, "necessaria est sane haec emendatio: nusquam enim aeneus trisyllabon apud veteres poetas invenias (nisi forte ubi prave ediderunt pro 'aereus'), sed ubique est aut 'aëneus' aut 'aënus.'"

66. *Auctore Phoebo*] Bentley would like to change 'auctore' into 'structore,' but would not object to 'ductore,' because Horace says elsewhere,

"—— potiore ductos
Alite muros;"

and Virgil says (Aen. i. 423), 'pars ducere muros.' Horace might as properly say 'auctore Phoebo,' as Virgil 'Troiae Cynthius auctor' (G. iii. 36).

69. *Non hoc jocosae conveniet*] The MSS. vary greatly in these words: 'haec conveniunt' is the reading of most editions, 'hoc conveniet' of most MSS., including the Berne and Blandinian.

CARMEN IV.

About A.U.C. 728.

Pursuing his purpose, Horace here commends the power of wisdom and learning in subduing brute force and violent passions. If A.U.C. 728 be the year in which Horace met with his accident (C. ii. 13), this ode could not have been written before that year, for the circumstance is referred to in v. 27. The expedition intended for Britain, but turned against Spain, took place that year, and seems to Franke to be alluded to in the ninth stanza. A Parthian expedition was in contemplation at the same time. The allusions to violent men unrestrained by the Muses appear to the same writer to have reference to Cornelius Gallus and M. Egnatius Rufus, both disaffected men, the former of whom destroyed himself, and the latter conspired against Augustus' life, both in the above year (Dion. Cass. liii. 23, 24). This may or may not be true, but it is consistent with the notion, which some chronologies are not, that all these six odes were written about the same time. That Horace was still a frequenter of Baiae appears from v. 24. But when he wrote Epp. i. 15, which was probably composed A.U.C. 731, he had been forbidden by the doctor to go there, which Franke also notices as limiting the date of the ode.

ARGUMENT.

Come down, Calliope, and sing a lofty strain. Is it a dream, or am I wandering in the Muses' grove? I was a child, and tired with play I lay down to sleep on the Apulian hills. There doves made me a covering of leaves, and I slept safe, and men might well wonder how the gods were present with me. Yours am I, ye Muses, on the Sabine hills, at Tibur, at Praeneste, or at Baiae. Because I love your fountains and your choir I perished not when the battle was turned, nor by the accursed tree, nor in the Sicilian waters. Be ye with me and I will visit the mad Bosporus, the sands of the East, the savage Briton, the Concan, the Geloni, and the Tanais, unharmed. Ye refresh Augustus when he brings back his weary troops from the war. Mild are your counsels, and in peace is your delight. We know how that bold giant band struck terror into the heart of Jove; but what was their strength against the aegis of Pallas? 'Twas that which drove them back, though Vulcan too, and Juno, and Apollo with his bow, were there. Brute force falls self-destroyed: the gods detest violence, but tempered strength they promote: let Gyas be my witness, Orion the seducer, Earth mourning for her sons, Aetna with ever-burning and unconsuming flame, the vulture of Tityus, and the chains of Peirithous.

DESCENDE caelo et dic age tibia
Regina longum Calliope melos,
Seu voce nunc mavis acuta,
Seu fidibus citharaque Phoebi.
Auditis, an me ludit amabilis
Insania? Audire et videor pios
Errare per lucos amoenae
Quos et aquae subeunt et aurae.
Me fabulosae Vulture in Apulo
Altricis extra limen Apuliae
Ludo fatigatumque somno
Fronde nova puerum palumbes

2. *longum*] This seems to mean a sustained and stately song. There is a little likeness between this opening and a fragment of Alcman (29 Bergk):—

Μῶσ' ἄγε Καλλιόπα, θύγατερ Διός,
ἄρχ' ἐρατῶν ἐπέων, ἐπὶ δ' ἵμερον
ὕμνον καὶ χαρίεντα τίθει χορόν.

4. *citharaque*] The balance of authority is in favour of 've,' but the sense is against it. There is no opposition between 'cithara' and 'fidibus.' They mean the same thing. Bentley, as usual, prefers 've,' [and Keller and Ritter,] which got into the MSS. probably from a careless reference to 'seu.'

9. *fabulosae*] The Scholiasts take this with 'altricis,' but it clearly belongs to 'palumbes' the 'storied doves,' as 'fabulosus Hydaspes' (C. i. 22. 8). The range of the Apennines that bore the name 'Vultur,' was partly in Apulia and partly in Lucania. It is still called Monte Voltore. Venusia, Horace's birth-place, was near the boundary of those provinces, whence he calls Apulia his nurse, though elsewhere (S. ii. 1. 34) he says it is doubtful whether he was an Apulian or a Lucanian. Bentley proposes to read 'nutricis extra limina sedulae,' taking 'nutricis' literally, for which word he has authority; but 'sedulae' is his own invention. [As the first syllable in 'Apulus,' and 'Apulia' are supposed to be always long, and the second short, there are two faults in 'Apuliae.' The exception 'Apulia,' S. i. 5. 77, is explained, says Ritter, by the 'u' being 'in arsi, natura litterae liquidae adiutus;' but the length of the 'u' might be explained in the same way here. However, there

Texere, mirum quod foret omnibus,
Quicunque celsae nidum Acherontiae
Saltusque Bantinos et arvum
Pingue tenent humilis Forenti,
Ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis
Dormirem et ursis, ut premerer sacra
Lauroque collataque myrto,
Non sine dis animosus infans.
Vester, Camenae, vester in arduos
Tollor Sabinos, seu mihi frigidum
Praeneste seu Tibur supinum
Seu liquidae placuere Baiae.
Vestris amicum fontibus et choris
Non me Philippis versa acies retro,
Devota non exstinxit arbos,
Nec Sicula Palinurus unda.
Utcunque mecum vos eritis, libens
Insanientem navita Bosporum
Tentabo et urentes arenas
Litoris Assyrii viator;

remains the difficulty about the first syllable. As to the passage in Juvenal, S. iv. 27, 'Apulia vendit,' see Macleane, 2nd ed. "Quid multa?" says Ritter, "pro 'Apuliae' scribendum est 'Dauniae'='Apulae,' suadentibus Düntzero et Paldamo." Keller has 'nutricis ... limina * Pulliae,' Horace's nurse, I suppose. His note shows the various attempts to mend the verse; some of them as absurd as they can be. See C. iii. 24. 4 n.] The difference in the quantity of the first syllable of 'Apulo' and 'Apuliae' is not singular. The word Sicanus is used as three different feet. Italus has the first syllable long or short.

11. *Ludo fatigatumque somno*] Some other word like 'oppressum' must be understood for 'somno.' It is a translation of καμάτῳ ἀδδηκότες ἠδὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ (Il. x. 98). Acherontia, Bantia, and Forentum were neighbouring towns, and still retain their names under the forms Acerenza, Banzi, Forenza. Stories such as Horace has here invented for himself are told of Stesichorus, Pindar, Aeschylus, Plato. That which Pausanias (ix. 23) tells of Pindar is very like this.

[13. *quod foret*] 'To be a wonder.']

17. *Ut—dormirem*] This is connected with 'mirum;' 'how I slept.'

22. *Tollor*] Ovid uses the word (Met. vii. 779):—

"Collis apex medii subjectis imminet arvis:
Tollor eo."

'Seu' is understood after 'vester.' The epithet 'liquidae,' applied to Baiae, expresses the clearness of the atmosphere. (Epp. i. 1. 83.)

[23. *Praeneste*] 'Gelida Praeneste,' Juv. S. iii. 190, because it was situated high, Aen. vii. 682. 'Tibur' is 'pronum,' Juv. S. iii. 192.]

27. *Devota—arbos*] See C. ii. 13. And as to Philippi, C. ii. 7. 9. 'Devota,' 'cursed,' Newman. Comp. Epod. xvi. 9.]

28. *Nec Sicula Palinurus unda*] Horace's escape from shipwreck off Cape Palinurus is nowhere else related; and his biographers have been much perplexed as to the period of his life to which it ought to be referred. A suggestion which has been pretty confidently put forth (Class. Mus. ii. 205), that Horace was with the expedition against Sex. Pompeius, A.U.C. 718, in which many vessels were lost off Cape Palinurus, is inconsistent with the silence which Horace always maintains on the subject, and it is most improbable. Acron's comment is of no value: "Redeuntem se Horatius de Macedonia periclitatum dicit." 'Sicula unda' for the Tus-

Visam Britannos hospitibus feros
Et laetum equino sanguine Concanum,
Visam pharetratos Gelonos
Et Scythicum inviolatus amnem.
Vos Caesarem altum, militia simul
Fessas cohortes addidit oppidis,
Finire quaerentem labores
Pierio recreatis antro.

can Sea is an unusual limitation. It must not be confounded with Mare Siculum. Palinurus on the western coast of Lucania is Capo di Palinuro.

31. *urentes*] There is a reading 'arentes.' Acron read 'urentes,' as it appears. Four of Orelli's best MSS., with the Leiden of the tenth century, have the same. He prefers it as less otiose, and because all sands are dry, but all do not burn as the Syrian beach does. There is not much in this argument. The participle of a transitive verb is not commonly used as an epithet by Horace; and if 'urentes' is neuter, it is not less idle than 'arentes,' which Bentley, Lambinus, and Cruquius prefer. Authority is in favour of 'urentes,' but on their own merits it would be hard to decide between the two words. 'Litoris Assyrii,' Orelli says, may mean either the deserts east of Syria, in which Palmyra is situated, or the Syrian coast. 'Litoris' can hardly mean any thing but the latter. See note on C. ii. 11. 16. [Ritter says that the 'Assyrium litus' means the shore of the Persian gulf, to which the ancient Assyrian empire extended; a most forced and absurd explanation.]

33. *Visam Britannos*] Our ancestors had a bad name. St. Jerome says he saw a tribe in Gaul, the Atticoti, of British origin, eating human flesh (Orelli's note). The stories of their human sacrifices are too authentic to be doubted. See Tacitus (Ann. xiv. 30), where he says of them, "cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibris consulere deos fas habebant." Virgil (Georg. iii. 463) relates of the Geloni that they ate cheese dipped in horses' blood. Whether the Concani, who were a Cantabrian tribe, did the same is doubtful. Horace perhaps got his idea from Virgil, and Silius copied Horace (iii. 360):—

"Nec qui Massageten monstrans feritate parentem
Cornipedis fusa satiaris, Concane, vena."

[The 'Scythicus amnis' may be the Tanais, Don.]

38. *addidit*] The MSS. appear to be almost equally divided between this reading and two others, 'abdidit' and 'reddidit;' and Bentley, with Fea and Meineke, prefers the last. In A.U.C. 729, after the conquest of the Salassi (Livy, Epit. 135 and Dion Cassius liii. 25), Augustus assigned their territory to some of the praetorian troops, and there they built Augusta Praetoria (Aosta), and about the same time lands were assigned to others in Lusitania, on which they built Augusta Emerita (Merida). 'Reddidit' may be right, but 'addidit' is a word used in a like case by Tacitus (Ann. xiii. 31): "Coloniae Capua atque Nuceria additis veteranis firmatae sunt." It also comes nearer to 'abdidit,' which is the reading of all the Scholiasts, who explain it of the soldiers being sent to winter-quarters. I have no faith in this reading, and believe it to be a corruption of 'addidit.' Dillenbr. thinks 'abdidit' much the best: "mirifice conjunctus cum finiendis veteranorum militum laboribus." The truth lies, in my opinion, between 'reddidit' and 'addidit.' [Keller and Ritter have 'abdidit.']

40. *Pierio recreatis antro*] Suetonius, in his life of Augustus (84, 85), relates that he followed literary pursuits with great zeal, and dabbled in poetry. He could not have had much time for such pursuits when this ode was written, but he may have said enough to let it be seen that he desired leisure to follow them.

41. *Vos lene consilium*] The penultimate vowel coalesces with the next, as in 'principium' (iii. 6. 6). 'Alfenius' (S. i. 3. 130). 'Nasidieni' (S. ii. 8. 1). So Virgil says (Aen. i. 73): "Connūbio jungam stabili." This appears to be no more than a general commendation of the Muses. 'Ye give peaceful counsel and rejoice in giving it, because ye are gentle (almae)' [or 'helping,' 'beneficent.']

43. *Titanas immanemque turmam*] The wars of the Titanes (with Uranus), the Gigantes, the Aloïdae, Typhon or Typhoëus

Vos lene consilium et datis et dato
Gaudetis almae. Scimus, ut impios
  Titanas immanemque turmam
    Fulmine sustulerit caduco,
Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventosum, et urbes regnaque tristia
  Divosque mortalesque turbas
    Imperio regit unus aequo.
Magnum illa terrorem intulerat Jovi
Fidens juventus horrida brachiis,
  Fratresque tendentes opaco
    Pelion imposuisse Olympo.
Sed quid Typhoëus et validus Mimas,
Aut quid minaci Porphyrion statu,
  Quid Rhoetus evolsisque truncis
    Enceladus jaculator audax

(with Zeus), are all mixed up together in the description which follows. Virgil has given a description (Georg. i. 279 sqq.) where the Titans (Coeus and Iapetus), Typhon and the Aloïdae, are brought together with little distinction. But neither Horace nor Virgil was writing a mythological history, and in this description of Horace there is great power. Aeschylus (P. V. 358):

ἀλλ' ἦλθεν αὐτῷ Ζηνὸς ἄγρυπνον βέλος
καταιβάτης κεραυνὸς ἐκπνέων φλόγα,

where καταιβάτης explains 'caduco.' (See C. ii. 13. 11.)

[45. *inertem*] Comp. 'bruta tellus,' C. i. 34. 9.]

46. *urbes*] For this Bentley unauthorized substitutes 'umbras.' A distinction is drawn by some between 'temperat' and 'regit,' as if one only applied to inanimate objects, the other to gods and men. But there is no such distinction in C. i. 12. 15, where 'temperat' governs 'res hominum ac Deorum,' as well as 'mare ac terras mundumque.'

50. *Fidens juventus horrida*] Orelli prefers taking 'horrida' with 'brachiis.' I think it should be taken as an epithet of 'juventus,' leaving 'fidens' to govern 'brachiis' as a participle. It appears to be an imitation of Homer's χείρεσσι πεποιθότες (Il. xii. 135). ['Illa,' 'those horrible youths,' the giants, as Ritter remarks, of whom Horace is now going to speak.] 'Fidens,' as an adjective, is used in a good sense; 'confidens' in a bad, according to Cicero's definition (Tusc. iii. 7), "Qui fortis est idem est fidens, quoniam confidens, mala loquendi consuetudine, in vitio ponitur." So Horace describes Persius as a man "confidens tumidusque" (S. i. 7. 7). Silius has (Pun. ii. 154), "Sed fisus latis humeris et mole juventae." The brothers Horace speaks of were Otus and Ephialtes, the sons of Aloëus, whose exploit of piling Pelion on Ossa in their attack upon Olympus (of which legend some have not failed to see the origin in the building of Babel, —see the notes of Myrcillus and Farneri on Ovid, Met. i. 151. 155, Burmann's quarto edition) is first mentioned by Homer (Odyss. xi. 314):—

Ὄσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὄσσῃ
Πήλιον ἐννοσίφυλλον, ἵν' οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἴη.

Virg. (Georg. i. 280):—

"Et conjuratos caelum rescindere fratres,
Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam
Scilicet, atque Ossae frondosum imponere
  Olympum,"

where 'frondosum' explains Horace's 'opaco.' Ovid (Fasti, iii. 441) inverts the order, and puts Pelion uppermost, as Horace does:—

"Ignibus Ossa novis et Pelion altior Ossa
  Arsit, et in solida fixus Olympus
    humo."

In the fifth book of the Fasti (v. 35 sqq.), he attributes to the hundred-handed giants Briareus, &c., the exploit which the oldest

Contra sonantem Palladis aegida
Possent ruentes? Hinc avidus stetit
Volcanus, hinc matrona Juno et
Nunquam humeris positurus arcum,
Qui rore puro Castaliae lavit
Crines solutos, qui Lyciae tenet
Dumeta natalemque silvam,
Delius et Patareus Apollo.
Vis consili expers mole ruit sua:
Vim temperatam di quoque provehunt
In majus; idem odere vires
Omne nefas animo moventes.
Testis mearum centimanus Gyas
Sententiarum, notus et integrae
Tentator Orion Dianae
Virginea domitus sagitta.

legend assigns to the Aloïdae. These variations are only worth noticing as they help to show that the Romans set little value by these stories, and only used them as ornaments of poetry; and to prevent students from wasting their time with some commentators in attempting to reconcile statements which are not reconcileable.—Typhoëus (Τυφωεύς) warred with Zeus on his own account. Mimas and Rhoetus were giants. Mimas was also the name of a Centaur; and the name of Rhoecus, who was also a Centaur, has by some editors been substituted for Rhoetus here and in C. ii. 19. 23 n. Porphyrion and Enceladus were of the same family.

58. *avidus*] Blomfield (Gloss. Aesch. P. V. 376) makes 'avidus' a mere ornamental epithet, so that 'avidus Vulcanus' is like 'ignis edax.' I think that 'avidus' means 'avidus pugnae,' as in Virg. (Aen. xii. 430), "Ille avidus pugnae suras incluserat auro." Tacitus puts the word absolutely (Ann. i. 51), "Caesar avidas legiones quatuor in cuneos dispertit." In enumerating the principal gods who assisted Zeus in the battle, Horace means that, although they were present, it was Pallas to whom the victory was mainly owing; otherwise the force of his argument is lost. The description of Apollo combines his various places of abode, as Pindar does in Pyth. i. 39 sq., which lines Hermann thinks a blot on the poem, I do not know why.

Λύκιε καὶ Δάλου ἀνάσσων Φοῖβε Παρνασοῦ
τε κράναν Κασταλίαν φιλέων
ἐθελήσαις ταῦτα νόῳ τιθέμεν.

'Lyciae dumeta' are the woods about Patara, a town in Lycia, where Apollo passed six months of the year as he passed the other six at Delos (according to Servius on Aen. iv. 144), which place Horace means by 'natalem silvam,' i. e. the woods on Mount Cynthus. Herodotus, speaking of the similarity in one particular of the worship of Belus at Babylon and Apollo at Patara, alludes to this division of the god's presence (i. 182): Κατάπερ ἐν Πατάροισι τῆς Λυκίης ἡ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ ὦν αἰεί ἐστι χρηστήριον· αὐτόθι· ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται κ.τ.λ.

[61. *lavit*] The form 'lavĕre' occurs only in the Odes and Epodes. In the Satires and Epistles Horace uses both 'lavĕre' and 'lavare.' Ritter.]

67. *idem odere vires*] This seems to be taken from Euripides (Hel. 903), *μισεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὴν βίαν.* ['Vires' means 'violent persons,' as Ritter well observes. 'Vis' and 'vim' are abstract.] Respecting the name 'Gyas,' see C. ii. 17. 14 n. 'Integer' is equivalent to 'intactus,' and involves the same root (C. iii. 2. 18 n.). 'Tentator' is not elsewhere used for a seducer. It is taken from the Greek *πειρᾶν*, which Timaeus (Lex. Platon.) explains thus: *πειρῶντα· πειράζοντα διὰ λόγων παῖδα ἢ γυναῖκα*, where see Ruhnken's note. Tibullus uses the verb (i. 3. 73):—

"Illic Junonem tentare Ixionis ausi
Versantur celeri noxia membra rota."

See Muretus on this passage.

Injecta monstris Terra dolet suis
Maeretque partus fulmine luridum
Missos ad Orcum; nec peredit
Impositam celer ignis Aetnen,
Incontinentis nec Tityi jecur
Reliquit ales, nequitiae additus
Custos; amatorem trecentae
Pirithoum cohibent catenae.

74. *luridum*] For the meanings of this word, which is perhaps a contraction of 'livoridus,' and akin to 'lividus,' see Forcell. and C. iv. 13. 10.

75. *nec peredit*] Aeschylus, in the place quoted above, speaks of—

ποταμοὶ πυρὸς δάπτοντες ἀγρίαις γνάθοις
τῆς καλλικάρπου Σικελίας λευροὺς γύας.

Pindar (Ol. iv. 7. Pyth. i. 19) and Aeschylus make Typhon or Typhoëus the offender on whom Aetna was laid. Callimachus assigns this punishment to Enceladus, and also to Briareus. Which version Horace adopted does not appear.

78. *nequitiae additus*] 'Nequitiae' may mean 'propter nequitiam' by a Greek construction, or it may be put for 'nequam,' the crime for the criminal.

CARMEN V.

A.U.C. 728.

There would seem to have been generally prevalent a feeling of soreness and impatience under the disgrace, so long unredeemed, of the reverses sustained in Asia by the Roman arms under M. Crassus and M. Antonius; and this feeling it appears to be Horace's purpose in this ode to allay, and to discourage any hope or desire for the return of the Parthian prisoners. This desire Horace seems to impute to a degenerate spirit, and the story of Regulus is introduced apparently to call back men's minds to the standard of a former generation. An honourable death, he tells them, is better than a dishonourable slavery, and a virtuous fame is more to be cared for than personal safety.

The usual inscriptions, "In laudem Caesaris Augusti," "Ad divum Augustum," &c., do not represent the purport of the ode, though it is introduced with a flattering prophecy of the emperor's success in the expedition he had probably just entered upon, which was that noticed in the last ode.

ARGUMENT.

Jove is in heaven; Augustus shall be a god upon earth when he hath subdued the Briton and the Persian. What! can a Roman forget his glorious home and live a slave with the Mede? 'Twas not thus Regulus acted, when he saw the ruin a coward's example would bring on those who should come after him; and he cried, "I have seen our standards hung on Punic walls; our freemen bound; their gates unbarred; their fields all tilled. Will the ransomed soldier come back more ready for the fight? Ye do but add ruin to shame: the dyed wool recovers not its fair colour; and so virtue once lost cares not to be restored. When the freed hind fights the captor, the prisoner released shall cope again with his foe, he who has cried for mercy and made peace for himself on the battle-field: O shame! O Carthage, exalted on the fall of Rome!" Then he put away his wife and his children; and fixed his eyes upon the ground; strengthened

the wavering minds of the fathers; and departed among weeping friends a noble exile. And though he knew the torments that awaited him, he put aside his troops of friends as calmly as if he were going down to his home at Venafrum or Tarentum.

Caelo Tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare: praesens divus habebitur
  Augustus adjectis Britannis
    Imperio gravibusque Persis.
Milesne Crassi conjuge barbara
Turpis maritus vixit et hostium,
  Pro curia inversique mores!
    Consenuit socerorum in armis
Sub rege Medo Marsus et Apulus,
Anciliorum et nominis et togae
  Oblitus aeternaeque Vestae,
    Incolumi Jove et urbe Roma?

1. *Caelo Tonantem*] Orelli does right to take 'regnare' with 'caelo,' making 'Tonantem' absolute. 'Credidimus' has the common force of the aorist. [Ritter explains it 'I have begun to believe,' and compares C. i. 34.] 'Praesens,' which Dillenbr. takes in the sense noticed on C. i. 35. 2, is obviously 'praesens in terris,' as opposed to 'caelo.'

3. *adjectis*] This means 'when he shall have added.' It cannot mean, as some understand it, who place the date of the ode after the recovery of the standards from Phraates, 'because he has added.' That would be an assertion that Augustus had invaded and subdued Britain, which he never did, though Strabo says (iv. p. 200) that many of the native chiefs had sent embassies to secure his friendship. Horace's object seems to be to divert men's attention from the Parthian prisoners and past defeat to new objects of hope and ambition, under the guidance of Augustus. [Gravibus Persis: comp. C. i. 2. 22 and note.]

5. *Milesne Crassi*] It was about twenty-eight years since the disastrous campaign of Crassus, when about 10,000 Roman soldiers, and several eagles, were left in the hands of the Parthians. Orelli says Horace does not allude to M. Antonius' losses in the same quarter eighteen years afterwards, partly because it would have been indelicate towards Augustus, and partly because of his affection for his son Iulus Antonius.

— *conjuge barbara — maritus*] Ovid uses this construction (Heroid. iv. 134): "Et fas omne facit fratre marita soror." Virgil exclaims with the same horror of Antonius, "Sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia conjux" (Aen. viii. 688). The disgrace lay in their intermarrying with those who not only had not 'connubium' with Rome, but were her enemies. [Ritter makes 'conjuge' depend on 'turpis.' It is difficult to say which explanation is right.].

7. *Pro curia inversique mores*] Orelli says 'pro' "est demirantis cum indignatione." It expresses vehemence varying according to circumstances. It is followed by the nominative or accusative. In the common exclamation "pro deum hominumque fidem!" the accusative is used. (See Long's note on Cic. Divin. in Caecil. 3.)

8. *in armis*] Jani quotes one MS. which has 'arvis,' and Bentley adopts it after Tan. Faber, and Heinsius. But we may suppose that the Roman prisoners served in the Parthian armies. As slaves they would be forced to do so, and they might do it willingly, as Labienus did, who was not a prisoner. Horace at least makes it appear they did so.

10. *Anciliorum*] This genitive, from 'ancile,' is anomalous. Forcellini points out a similar irregularity in 'Saturnaliorum,' and Orelli adds 'sponsaliorum.' Horace collects the most distinguished objects of a Roman's reverence, his name, his citizenship (togae), the shield of Mars only to be lost, and the fire of Vesta only to be extinguished, when Rome should perish. Florus (iv. 11. 3) says of M. Antonius, that he was "patriae, nominis, togae, fascium oblitus."

12. *Incolumi Jove*] While the Capitol

Hoc caverat mens provida Reguli
Dissentientis conditionibus
Foedis et exemplo trahentis
Perniciem veniens in aevum,
Si non periret immiserabilis
Captiva pubes. Signa ego Punicis
Adfixa delubris et arma
Militibus sine caede, dixit,
Derepta vidi; vidi ego civium
Retorta tergo brachia libero
Portasque non clausas et arva
Marte coli populata nostro.
Auro repensus scilicet acrior
Miles redibit. Flagitio additis

is safe where Jove's temple stood. (Scholiast.)

15. *exemplo trahentis*] Horace means to say, that Regulus had foreseen the danger to posterity of a precedent which should sanction the purchase of life upon dishonourable terms. 'This the far-seeing mind of Regulus guarded against when he refused to agree to dishonourable conditions, and drew from such a precedent a presage of ruin upon generations to come.' 'Exemplo trahenti' was the reading Cruquius' Scholiast followed ("adferenti in futurum perniciem rei publicae"), though no MS. collated in modern times has shown that reading. Lambinus and Bentley adopt it, though the latter prefers 'exempli trahentis,' the genitive of quality. [Keller has 'trahenti.'] I think the reading I have followed, with Orelli and all the old editions, and most of the modern, is correct. 'Si non periret' is the hypothetical example from which the apprehension is drawn. Dillenbr. and others make 'trahentis' equivalent to 'qui traheret,' 'seeing that he would by his example bring.' But the two participles coupled by 'et' cannot have the signification one of the indicative and the other of the potential mood. The Greek example quoted by Dillenbr. from Plato's Criton (p. 48) has no force here, inasmuch as the Greeks were able by means of ἂν to show the potential or hypothetical bearing of a participle and avoid confusion. Plato's words are, τῶν ῥαδίως ἀποκτιννύντων καὶ ἀναβιωσκομένων γ' ἂν εἰ οἷοί τε ἦσαν, where the first participle is equivalent to οἳ ἀποκτιννύασι, and the second to ἀνεβιώσκοντο ἄν, but without ἂν it could only signify οἳ ἀναβιώσκονται.

17. *Si non periret*] There is no authority for the reading 'perirent,' which has been proposed. The fact is, that the two first lines of the Alcaic stanza are composed of two separate measures, the trochaic and dactylic; and though Horace usually employs a spondee instead of the second trochee, he does not do so here, nor did the Greeks invariably: see Alcaeus (Fr. 19 Bergk), τὸ δηὖτε κῦμα τῶν προτέρων ἄνω Στίχει, and (Fr. 35) οὐ χρὴ κακοῖσι θῦμον ἐπιτρέπην, Προκόψομεν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀσάμενοι.

21. *Derepta vidi*] Lambinus first corrected 'direpta' against all the MSS. he was acquainted with; for which Cruquius quarrels with him, and thinks 'direpta' will do very well. The remark made on 'dimoveo' in the note on C. i. 1. 13 (see also note on C. 1. 17 of this book) applies equally to 'diripio.' The difference is clearly marked in Tacitus (Ann. i. 20): "Direptisque proximis vicis ipsoque Nauporto quod municipii instar erat, retinentes centuriones irrisu et contumeliis postremo verberibus insectantur, praecipua in Aufidienum praefectum castrorum ira, quem dereptum vehiculo sarcinis gravant." Again (c. 23), "Tribunos tamen ac praefectum castrorum extrusere; sarcinae fugientium direptae." 'Deripere' is to pull down or off, 'diripere' (C. i. 9. 23) is to pull in pieces. The MSS., which are perhaps unanimous in favour of 'direpta' here, favour 'deripere' in other places (see Index). [Ritter has 'direpta.']

23. *Portasque non clausas*] Compare A. P. 199: "Et apertis otia portis." 'Marte' belongs to 'populata.' See C. i. 6. 2 n.

26. *Flagitio additis damnum*] Franke suggests that it may have been proposed

Damnum: neque amissos colores
Lana refert medicata fuco,
Nec vera virtus cum semel excidit
Curat reponi deterioribus.
Si pugnat extricata densis
Cerva plagis, erit ille fortis
Qui perfidis se credidit hostibus,
Et Marte Poenos proteret altero
Qui lora restrictis lacertis
Sensit iners timuitque mortem.
Hic unde vitam sumeret inscius
Pacem duello miscuit. O pudor!
O magna Karthago, probrosis
Altior Italiae ruinis!
Fertur pudicae conjugis osculum
Parvosque natos ut capitis minor

to purchase the liberty of the prisoners. Horace's words are 'ye are adding mischief to disgrace;' and from what follows it would seem that the mischief would arise from having among them again those who had sunk so low. [But 'damnum' seems to mean the cost of redeeming worthless men.] The words are like those of Euripides (Rhes. 102),

αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸς αἰσχύνῃ κακόν.

30. *reponi deterioribus*] This has sometimes been translated as if Horace meant that true virtue would not suffer itself to be replaced by false, or virtue of a lower sort. I think he means that true virtue, when it has once been lost, does not care to be restored to the degenerate. So the Scholiast understood it. "Excidit: scilicet animis. Curat reponi: i. e. restitui ipsis animis deterioribus, i. e. minus bonis quam prius." (Porph.) Acron gives the same explanation, and notices the opposite statement of Virgil (Aen. ii. 367):—

"Quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus."

Orelli adopts this interpretation.

33. *Qui perfidis se credidit hostibus*] Bentley conjectures 'dedidit,' destroying the force of the words 'he who has trusted himself to an enemy not to be trusted;' as C. iii. 27. 25, where the opposition is the same. Bentley's usual method of arguing down a received reading, by citing passages from other writers where his own word occurs, is a mere waste of labour. Any number of passages in which 'hostibus sese dedere' may occur, will not prove against all the MSS., the character of the sentence derived from the epithet 'perfidis,' and the passage I have quoted, that Horace here wrote 'dedidit,' which signifies an unconditional surrender without reference to the perfidy or good faith of the enemy.

37. *Hic unde vitam*] 'He (*i. e.* the coward), not considering to what he ought to owe his life (*i. e.* to his own sword, 'una salus victis,' Aen. ii. 354), confounds peace with war:' that is to say, makes peace for himself on the field of battle. In some MSS. Bentley finds the reading 'aptius' for 'inscius,' and corrects the whole passage thus,

"—— timuitque mortem
Hinc, unde vitam sumeret aptius;
Pacem et duello miscuit,"

where the 'hinc' and 'et' are his own inventions, and the punctuation is also his own.

40. *Altior Italiae ruinis*] On v. 52 of the last ode was quoted from Ovid (Fast. iii. 441) "Pelion altior Ossa," 'Pelion raised upon the head of Ossa.' So here is meant Carthage raised above the ruins of Italy, and looking down upon them. [Or it may mean 'raised by the disgraceful downfall of Italy' as Ritter seems to take it; and so it may be compared with 'crescere de' or 'ex:' as

'Gaudet et e nostro crescit maerore Charaxus,'

Ovid, Heroid. xv. 117.]

[42. *Capitis minor*] 'Capitis minor' is

Ab se removisse et virilem
Torvus humi posuisse voltum:
Donec labantes consilio patres
Firmaret auctor nunquam alias dato,
Interque maerentes amicos
Egregius properaret exsul.
Atqui sciebat quae sibi barbarus
Tortor pararet; non aliter tamen
Dimovit obstantes propinquos
Et populum reditus morantem,
Quam si clientum longa negotia
Dijudicata lite relinqueret,
Tendens Venafranos in agros
Aut Lacedaemonium Tarentum.

equivalent to 'capite minutus,' one who has undergone a 'capitis diminutio,' or 'deminutio,' which is a change in a man's condition as a citizen. The 'maxima capitis deminutio' implied a loss of liberty, the reduction of a citizen to a servile condition. Other examples of 'capitis minor' are not quoted, nor is it easy to explain the construction of 'minor' with a genitive. The only thing like it is 'minores vigintiquinque annorum' (Papinian. Dig. 50. 2. 6. Pand. Flor.). We find 'nimius' used thus, 'nimius sermonis,' 'excessive in talk' (C. ii. 12. 5 n.), and so 'minor capitis' may mean 'defective in respect of head, that is, civil station.'] Livy says the Romans always wanted compassion for their own soldiers taken in war (xxii. 61), "praeter exemplum civitatis minime in captivos jam inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniae quoque summa homines movit:" i. e. besides the usual habit of the citizens, who from the earliest times showed very little indulgence for prisoners of war, they were deterred by the magnitude of the ransom asked for Hannibal's prisoners from listening to their envoys. The vacillation of the senate on that occasion resembles their behaviour as Horace represents it in the case of Regulus.

The authenticity of the story of Regulus, as far as concerns his interview with the senate and his return, is not doubted. The horrors of his death have been questioned. [Horace followed the common Roman story.]

52. *reditus*] Dillenbr. explains the plural to signify his frequent attempts to shake off his friends and return. It is rather used to avoid the recurrence of a final 'm.'

53. *Quam si, &c.*] Than if he had been settling a dispute, as patroni were wont to do between their clients, and was going to his country-seat at Venafrum or Tarentum. (Compare C. ii. 6. 11.)

CARMEN VI.

About A.U.C. 728.

As the former odes are addressed more to qualities of young men, this refers more especially to the vices of young women, and so Horace discharges the promise with which this series of odes begins. The state of female morals at the time Horace wrote was probably not so bad as it became shortly afterwards, though his picture is dark enough.

In v. 13 there is an allusion to the battle of Actium, which makes it evident that this ode was written after that event. There is no clue to the date but this, and we may fairly assume that it was written about the same time as the others of this set.

ARGUMENT.

On you will be visited your fathers' guilt, O Romans, unless ye shall restore the worship and acknowledge the sovereign power of the gods. Already have they afflicted our land; twice the Parthian hath checked our arms, the barbarian hath well nigh destroyed us in the midst of our strife, the age is so full of shameless adultery and lasciviousness. Not from such parents were born the conquerors of Pyrrhus, Antiochus, and Hannibal, the manly offspring of soldiers who had handled the plough and carried the faggot. So doth time spoil all things. Our fathers were not as their fathers, nor we as they; and our children shall be worse than ourselves.

Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris
Aedesque labentes deorum et
Foeda nigro simulacra fumo.
Dis te minorem quod geris imperas:
Hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum.
Di multa neglecti dederunt
Hesperiae mala luctuosae.
Jam bis Monaeses et Pacori manus
Non auspicatos contudit impetus
Nostros et adjecisse praedam
Torquibus exiguis renidet.

1. *immeritus*] I do not see the difficulty said to exist in this word. The ode is addressed, like the others, 'virginibus puerisque,' and they could not be said to be responsible for the guilt of the civil wars (delicta) just brought to a close; but if they failed to do their duty in restoring the temples, and so repairing the consequences of the wars, they must be prepared to reap the fruits of them in the displeasure of the gods. Suetonius (C. ii. 15, Introduction) relates how Augustus applied himself to the restoration of the sacred buildings, which Ovid also records (Fast. ii. 59 sqq.), and Virgil thus amplifies his piety:—

"At Caesar triplici invectus Romana triumpho
Moenia dis Italis votum immortale sacrabat,
Maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem." (Aen. viii. 714 sqq.)

'Delubra,' mere way-side shrines, each containing an image or an altar or both, must not be confounded with 'templa.' Tiberius followed up the work that Augustus began (Tac. Ann. ii. 49): "Iisdem temporibus deum aedes vetustate aut igni abolitas, coeptasque ab Augusto dedicavit." The temples he built or completed were three in number, dedicated to Liber, Libera, and Ceres, to Flora, and to Juno. See C. ii. 15. 20. S. ii. 2. 104.

2. *Romane*] Horace uses the same form again, "Hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto" (S. i. 4. 85); and Virgil likewise, "Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento" (Aen. vi. 852). Livy often expresses himself so, as Quintilian observes (Inst. viii. 6), "Maxime in orando valebit numerorum illa libertas: nam et Livius saepe sic dicit 'Romanus proelio victor,' cum Romanos vicisse significat."

6 *principium*] See C. 4. 41 n. Orelli quotes Livy (xlv. 39): "Majores vestri omnium magnarum rerum et principia exorsi ab Dis sunt et finem statuerunt."

9. *Monaeses et Pacori manus*] Pacorus was son of the Parthian king, Arsaces XIV., or Orodes, as he is named, and appointed by his father to command the army against the Romans in the place of Surenas, who defeated Crassus A.U.C. 701, and was afterwards put to death by Orodes (Plutarch, Crassus, c. 33). Pacorus was associated with the renegade Labienus, and overran Syria and a great part of Asia Minor, while M. Antonius was amusing himself with Cleopatra. Who Monaeses was is not so certain. The principal person

Paene occupatam seditionibus
Delevit Urbem Dacus et Aethiops,
Hic classe formidatus, ille
Missilibus melior sagittis.
Fecunda culpae secula nuptias
Primum inquinavere et genus et domos;
Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.
Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo et fingitur artibus;
Jam nunc et incestos amores
De tenero meditatur ungui:

of that name recorded in history was a Parthian noble who fled from Phraates to M. Antonius, and, though he returned to the king, we do not hear that he fought against the Romans. It is therefore conjectured that Monaeses here means Surenas, which is not impossible. Monaeses being a common Parthian name, Surenas may have been so called, for Surenas was a title, as Zosimus says. Estré (p. 269 sqq.) discusses what he considers the historical difficulties of the passage, and concludes by banishing the stanza altogether: "Stropha haec quae nimium diu interpretes decepit exulabit me judice ex carmine Horatiano." Peerlkamp had passed the same sentence on it before. Horace plainly alludes, perhaps without strict accuracy, to the defeat, first of Crassus, and then of M. Antonius, who was twice defeated, first through his legate Decidius Saxa in 714 by Pacorus, and four years later when he commanded in person, at which time however Pacorus was dead. All the Scholiasts say that the defeats alluded to were those of Crassus and Saxa, whose name appears, as we now have their text, under the disguise of Decius Sextus, except in Cruquius' Scholiast, who gives the name correctly, all but one syllable, Didius for Decidius. 'Non auspicatos' is the usual way of accounting for defeat, by laying it to the neglect of the auspices. Bentley, not liking 'nostros non auspicatos impetus,' prefers, from one MS. of Priscian's, 'nostris,' the dative, but suggests as a variety 'nostrorum.'

12. *renidet*] Forcellini explains this word by 'gaudere,' 'laetari.' The word is sometimes used for smiling, and as it seems to be another form of 'niteo,' the lighting up of the face through pleasure, is the origin perhaps of this derived sense.

14. *Dacus et Aethiops*] Aethiops is Egyptian. See Introd. [The 'seditionibus' are the quarrel between M. Antonius and Octavianus Caesar, in which the Romans and the provincials sided with one or the other. Ritter supposes that 'Dacus' refers to the campaigns of M. Crassus against the Daci A.U.C. 724 and 725.]

20. *In patriam populumque*] Bentley, in one of the longest of his notes, proposes 'inque patres' for 'in patriam.' But the words 'in patriam,' &c., are a common formula.

21. *Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos*] The Ionian was a voluptuous dance which the Sicilians in particular used at the festivals of Diana. τὸ δὲ Ἰωνικὸν Ἀρτέμιδι ὠρχοῦντο Σικελιῶται μάλιστα (Pollux, quoted by Turnebus Adv. iv. 21). The MSS. vary between 'fingitur artibus,' 'fingitur artubus,' and 'frangitur artubus' [but there is little authority for 'frangitur.'] The first reading is (among others quoted by Lambinus and Cruquius and Bentley) that of Orelli's oldest Berne and Zürich MSS. It is that of the Venetian copy of Landinus (1483), (except that 'fingitur' is by a misprint 'figitur,') and Lambinus, Bentley, and most modern editors have adopted it. 'Artibus' must be a very old reading, for Porphyrion, who with the other Scholiasts preferred 'artubus,' gives a note to caution readers against 'artibus.' "Artubus legendum; quia non venit a nominativo artes sed artus." Nevertheless it has been pointed out by Lambinus, that 'fingitur artubus' for 'fingitur artus' is a very unusual and hardly admissible construction. 'Frangitur artubus' is open to the same objection. The true reading, I believe, lies between 'fingitur artibus' and 'frangitur artibus.' The latter has no authority, and I am not therefore disposed to adopt it on my own; but

Mox juniores quaerit adulteros
Inter mariti vina, neque eligit
Cui donet impermissa raptim
Gaudia luminibus remotis;
Sed jussa coram non sine conscio
Surgit marito, seu vocat institor
Seu navis Hispanae magister,
Dedecorum pretiosus emptor.
Non his juventus orta parentibus
Infecit aequor sanguine Punico,
Pyrrhumque et ingentem cecidit
Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum;

the expression is a legitimate one, and the word 'frangitur' comes nearer to the Greek of Aristophanes (Thesm. 163), which it is not improbable Horace may have had in mind. Speaking of the combination of music and poetry, he says of the great lyric poets that they ἐμιτροφόρουν τε καὶ διεκλῶντ' Ἰωνικῶς.—Dancing was taught by slaves, Pantomimi, whom Ovid (A. A. iii. 351) calls "artifices lateris, scenae spectacula;" and Seneca says "juvenes mancipia pantomimorum" (Ep. 47). Tiberius passed a decree that they should never appear in public except on the stage (Tac. Ann. i. 77), which explains Ovid.

23. *Jam nunc*] The meaning of 'jam nunc' is sufficiently marked in A. P. 43:

"Ordinis haec virtus erit et Venus, aut ego fallor,
Ut jam nunc dicat jam nunc debentia dici."

'Nunc' is 'now,' and 'jam' gives intensive force to 'nunc.' 'Jam jamque' expresses 'what is expected every moment' (Key, L. G. 1450, e.), but has not happened yet. The commentators mix up 'jam nunc' and 'jam jam,' as if they were synonymous. So Orelli, on C. ii. 1. 17, explains 'jam nunc minaci,' &c., thus "fingit se jamjam vel ante lectam Asinii curam in medias res abreptum esse." Horace says as soon as a girl has grown up she is trained by lascivious teaching and turns her thoughts to unchaste pleasures. The expression 'de tenero ungui' is taken from the Greek ἐξ ἁπαλῶν ὀνύχων, which signifies 'from tender years,' when the nails are delicate, and such is the meaning here; but it does not contradict 'matura' as some suppose: the expression will apply to a girl in the earliest stage of womanhood. I do not follow Orelli's punctuation. Cicero, in his letter to Lentulus (i. 6), says, "praesta te eum qui mihi a teneris ut Graeci dicunt unguiculis es cognitus." The Greeks appear from Cicero's statement to have used the phrase proverbially, but it is only found in an Epigram of Automedon in the Anthology (Br. ii. 207), in which the writer probably had regard to Horace's ode, as Mitsch. observes:

τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίης ὀρχηστρίδα, τὴν κακοτέχνοις
σχήμασιν ἐξ ἁπαλῶν κινυμένην ὀνύχων,
αἰνέω οὐχ ὅτι πάντα παθαίνεται, οὐδ' ὅτι βάλλει
τὰς ἁπαλὰς ἁπαλῶς ὧδε καὶ ὧδε χέρας.

26. *Inter—vina*] See Epp. i. 7. 28; 'ad vina' in C. iv 5. 31.

27. *impermissa*] This word occurs nowhere else. 'Intermissa' and 'improvisa' have thus got into some MSS. in place of the true reading. 'Inconcessus' is used by Virgil and Ovid, and Horace uses 'interdicta.' Orelli (third edn. by Baiter) here treats 'intermissa' as 'interpolatio:' but in his V. L., on iv. 7. 10, where 'imperitura' has got into one of his MSS. for 'interitura,' he says this makes it very doubtful whether the true reading here is 'impermissa.'

29. *Sed jussa coram*] The connivance of the husband at the wickedness of the wife is touched by Juvenal in his first Satire (56 sqq.). Metals appear to have been the chief articles imported from Spain, with red lead and those stones which were polished into mirrors, whatever stones those may have been. See Plin. N. H. iii. 3.

32. *Dedecorum*] Forcellini gives no other instance of 'pretiosus' in an active sense, 'one who gives a large price.' Ulpian's definition of 'magister' is this: "Magistrum navis accipere debemus cui

Sed rusticorum mascula militum
Proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
Versare glebas et severae
Matris ad arbitrium recisos
Portare fustes, sol ubi montium
Mutaret umbras et juga demeret
Bobus fatigatis, amicum
Tempus agens abeunte curru.
Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?
Aetas parentum pejor avis tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosiorem.

totius navis cura mandata est" (Dig. 14. l. 1. § 1). 'Institor' was a shopman or manager "qui tabernae locove ad emendum vendendumve praeponitur, quique sine loco ad eundem actum praeponitur" (Dig. 14. 3. 18). The 'institor' therefore was an agent and he might be a slave. [Ulpian says, "Institor appellatus est ab eo quod negotio gerendo instet."] The 'magister' might be a degree higher, but he was usually a person who received wages, though the 'magister' might also be owner; or the owner might allow him part of the tonnage to trade on his own account, as is common now, and he might be rich, which the 'institor' could not, except by robbing his employer. There seems to be opposition between 'institor' and 'magister,' and the indiscriminate prostitution of these women to any coarse fellow, for low wages or high, seems to be intended. The 'magister' of a Spanish trading-vessel, even if he were rich, must have been generally a low sort of person. Comp. Epod. xvii. 20.

34. *Infecit aequor*] See C. ii. 12. 3 n.; and on 'dirum,' which Bentley admits here, see the verse before that. 'Cecidit' is used with some latitude. [Ritter refers to this passage the remark of Quintilian, viii. 2. 9, quoted on C. ii. 12. 2.]

[35. *ingentem*] 'Ingentem opibus et exercitibus,' says Ritter. It may be so. In C. iv. 9. 19 'Idomeneus' is 'ingens.']

[41. *Portare fustes*] 'The young Calabrian peasant, after hoeing the ground all day with no better fare than bread and water, seasoned with a clove of garlic, an onion, or a few dried olives, does not presume to present himself before his mother without a faggot of lentiscus or other wood, which he throws down at the door ere he offers to pass the threshold.' Swinburne's "Two Sicilies," i. 336.]

— *sol ubi*] There are not many poets who could incidentally have expressed in so few words, and so graphically, the hour of evening, for I am inclined to understand that time to be meant, and not noon, as some suppose. Comp. Epp. (i. 16. 7):

"Laevum discedens curru fugiente vaporet;"

and Virg. (Ecl. ii. 67):

"Et sol crescentes decedens duplicat umbras."

The last stanza is a very solemn and comprehensive conclusion to these six stirring and instructive odes.

CARMEN VII.

The idea of this graceful ode is that of a young girl lamenting the absence of her lover, who is gone on a trading voyage to the Euxine. The names, as usual in these compositions, are foreign. Gyges is Lydian. The time is winter. The lover is supposed to be on his voyage home and detained on the coast of Epirus, whither he had been driven by the southerly winds which prevailed at that season. He is waiting for the spring to return home. There is great simplicity and beauty in this ode. Orelli reckons it among Horace's best. Whether it is original or a free copy from the Greek we cannot determine.

ARGUMENT.

Weep not, Asterie; Gyges is faithful and will return with the spring a rich man. He has been driven to Oricum and is weeping with impatience for thee. Chloë, his hostess, is trying to seduce him, and frightens him with stories of rejected women's revenge. But he is deaf to her seductions. Beware in thy turn of Enipeus, thy gallant neighbour. Shut thy doors and listen not to his songs.

Quid fles, Asterie, quem tibi candidi
Primo restituent vere Favonii
Thyna merce beatum,
Constantis juvenem fide,
Gygen? Ille Notis actus ad Oricum
Post insana Caprae sidera frigidas
Noctes non sine multis
Insomnis lacrimis agit.
Atqui sollicitae nuntius hospitae,
Suspirare Chloën et miseram tuis
Dicens ignibus uri,
Tentat mille vafer modis.
Ut Proetum mulier perfida credulum
Falsis impulerit criminibus nimis
Casto Bellerophonti
Maturare necem refert.

2. *Favonii*] See C. i. 4. 1. Favonius, according to Pliny (ii. c. 47), blew 'ab occasu aequinoctiali,' that is, due west. It would therefore be a favourable wind for a vessel coming down the Adriatic, and not very unfavourable for sailing up the west coast of Italy. It would be in her teeth as she tried to make the straits of Messina. But Horace's winds are not more studied than his places and persons. The lover is waiting till the weather changes and the winds are mild and favourable. The Favonii are called 'candidi' as Notus and Iapyx are each called 'albus' (C. i. 7. 15; iii. 27. 19).

4. *fide*] According to Aulus Gellius, who has devoted a chapter to the subject (ix. 14), the older forms of genitives of this declension were four, 'es,' 'ei,' 'i,' and 'e.' Most of the MSS. have 'fidei,' one of Bentley's 'fidi,' a few 'fide,' which is generally adopted now. [Keller and Ritter have 'fidei.'] "Munera laetitiamque dii" is Heyne's reading of Aen. i. 636. But in Georg. i. 208 he reads 'die' for the genitive. See Heyne's and Wagner's observations on those passages [and Conington's]. The Thyni and Bithyni are the same in Horace, and Bithynian traffic is rich merchandize (Epp. i. 6. 33).

5. *Oricum*] Or Oricus was a town in Epirus, situated at the top of the bay formed by the Acroceraunian promontory. The constellation of the great Amalthea rises at the beginning of October.

13. *mulier perfida*] Antea or Sthenobaea (Iliad. vi. 155 sq.). Some writers make Astydamia, others Hippolyte, the wife of Acastus, who, out of revenge for his rejection of her, induced her husband to expose Peleus to destruction. Joseph's virtue has its parallels in Grecian fable. Juvenal refers to the women, and adds (S. x. 328):

"——Mulier saevissima tunc est
Cum stimulos odio pudor admovet."

On 'tentat' (v. 12) see note on C. iii. 4. 71. 'Ignibus' is used as Ovid uses it (Am. iii. 9. 56), "vixisti dum tuus ignis eram." We may understand 'ignibus,' C. i. 27. 16, in the same way, *i. e.* the flame put for the person who causes it. 'Impello' is used with the infinitive mood by Tacitus (Ann. xiv. 60). The common construction is with 'ut,' as in Epp. ii. 2. 51.

Narrat paene datum Pelea Tartaro,
Magnessam Hippolyten dum fugit abstinens;
Et peccare docentes
Fallax historias movet.
Frustra: nam scopulis surdior Icari
Voces audit adhuc integer. At tibi
Ne vicinus Enipeus
Plus justo placeat cave;
Quamvis non alius flectere equum sciens
Aeque conspicitur gramine Martio,
Nec quisquam citus aeque
Tusco denatat alveo.
Prima nocte domum claude neque in vias
Sub cantu querulae despice tibiae,
Et te saepe vocanti
Duram difficilis mane.

20. *Fallax historias movet*] Most MSS. have 'monet' [and Keller]. 'Mentionem movere' occurs in Livy; 'cantus movere' in Virgil; 'carmen movere' in Ovid [and 'jocum movere' in Sallust, Cat. c. 25]. 'Historias movere' is therefore a legitimate expression, and more forcible than 'monere.' In Ovid (A. A. iii. 651) the common reading is "Quid juvat ambages praeceptaque parva movere?" where Burmann has adopted 'movere,' after the editio princeps, the Aldine, and nine MSS., observing that the words are often confused. 'Monet' and 'mouet' are easily confounded. Bentley proposes 'pellax' for 'fallax' without authority. The word occurs only once, 'pellacis Ulixei' (Aen. ii. 90), where many MSS. have 'fallacis.' The reading 'pellacia,' quoted by Bentley from Georg. iv. 443, is satisfactorily shown by Wagner to be wrong. The word is admitted into the text of Lucretius (v. 1004) by Lachmann and other editors:—

"Nec poterat quemquam placidi pellacia ponti
Subdola pellicere in fraudem ridentibus undis."

But, if that reading be correct, the word seems to have been irregularly coined from 'pellicio' for the occasion. It therefore has the sense of attraction, which in the above passage of Virgil has no place. The proper form of the adjective from 'pellicere' is 'pellex,' the crude form being 'pellic-'. It is doubtful whether 'pellacia' any more than 'pellax' is a genuine Latin word. [See Conington's note on Virg. Aen. ii. 90.]

21. *Frustra*] A complete and very comprehensive sentence. It occurs below (C. 13. 6). Some persons join the word on with the last line, which weakens its force. ['Icari:' the small rocky island Icarus or Icaria.]

25. *flectere equum*] To wheel the horse round in a small circle (Ovid. Her. iv. 79).

"Sive ferocis equi luctantia colla recurvas,
Exiguo flexos miror in orbe pedes."

Tacitus (Germ. vi.) says the German horses were not taught like the Roman 'variare gyros.'

28. *denatat*] This word is used nowhere else. See C. i. 8. 3; iii. 12. 7.

29. *neque in vias*] This use of 'neque' for 'neve,' in connexion with the imperative mood, is not usually noticed in the grammars. It is confined to the poets.

[30. *cantu*] There is a reading cantū, that is, 'cantum,' which may be right, for the meaning perhaps is 'when the music begins,' S. i. 1. 10. 'Sub cantu' means 'during the music.']

CARMEN VIII.

A.U.C. 729 (?).

This ode was composed on the anniversary of Horace's accident with the tree (C. ii. 13), and is supposed by Franke (p. 158 sqq.) to have been written A.U.C. 729. His argument is very long, and rests chiefly on the allusions in the fifth and sixth stanzas. The Parthians were invaded that year by a Scythian army to restore Phraates (C. i. 26, Introduction). In that year Augustus brought to an end his expedition against the Cantabri (C. iv., Introduction), and during his absence he assumes that Maecenas was governor of the city, as he had been on former occasions (Tac. Ann. vi. 11, Dion. 51. c. 3). He places in that year the expedition of Lentulus against the tribes of the Danube (C. ii. 9. 23), here represented by the Dacian king Cotison. The only authority on that subject is Florus (iv. 12) and Suetonius (Octav. 63), who do not give any clue to the date. The whole argument appears to be full of doubt. Lentulus' was not the only expedition against the northern tribes. No mention is any where made of Maecenas being employed as here supposed on the occasion in question, nor does Horace say he was or even imply it: v. 17, "Mitte civiles super urbe curas," might have been written to any public or thoughtful man in Rome on such an occasion. The quarrels of the Parthians and the subjection of the Cantabri are the two points that have most weight, and from those I should be inclined to adopt Franke's date (rather than others that have been proposed), which fixes those of ii. 13; ii. 17, and furnishes an approximation to that of i. 20, as the introductions to those odes will show. [Lachmann, followed by Ritter, fixes the date of this ode in A.U.C. 725. An examination of all the authorities which are quoted in support of this opinion will show that the conclusion is not true. All that is proved is that the ode was not written before A.U.C. 725.]

ARGUMENT.

Wonderest thou, learned friend, what this sacrifice means on the Kalends of March, and I a bachelor? On this day I was delivered from death, and it shall be a holiday. Come, Maecenas, a hundred cups of my oldest wine to the health of thy friend. Away with anxiety. The Dacian has fallen, the Mede is divided against himself, the Cantabrian is in chains and the Scythian has unstrung his bow. Be here the private gentleman; never mind the people; enjoy thyself and unbend.

MARTIIS caelebs quid agam Kalendis,
Quid velint flores et acerra turis
Plena miraris, positusque carbo in
  Caespite vivo,
Docte sermones utriusque linguae?
Voveram dulces epulas et album
Libero caprum prope funeratus
  Arboris ictu.

1. *Martiis caelebs*] The Matronalia or feast of married persons in honour of Juno Lucina, when husbands made presents to their wives, and offered prayers for the continuance of happiness in their married life, was celebrated on the 1st of March. See Ovid, Fast. iii. 229 sqq. Hence Juvenal (ix. 53): "Munera faemineis tractas secreta Kalendis," *i. e.* the Kalends of March. See also Martial's epigram to Galla (v. 84):—

"Scis certe, puto, vestra jam venire
Saturnalia Martias Kalendas.
Tunc reddam tibi, Galla, quod dedisti."

4. *Caespite vivo*] C. i. 19. 13.

5. *Docte sermones utriusque linguae*] Cicero writes his treatise de Officiis for

Hic dies anno redeunte festus
Corticem adstrictum pice dimovebit
Amphorae fumum bibere institutae
Consule Tullo.

the benefit of his son Marcus, "ut par sit in utriusque orationis facultate," by which he means not only the Greek and Latin languages, but the knowledge of things as viewed through both a Greek and Roman medium. Martial, commending his friend Maevius, whose only fault was being a poet (a very great one he admits), compliments him as

"Jucundus, probus, innocens, amicus,
Lingua doctus utraque." (x. 76).

The words therefore express a man well read in the literature of Greece and Rome. Such an one, say the commentators, would be more likely than another to notice the seeming anomaly of Horace, the bachelor, engaged in religious exercises on the day of the Matronalia. Elsewhere he addresses his patron as 'Maecenas docte' (Epp. i. 19. 1).

Bentley, finding 'sermonis' in most of the MSS. and the old editions, and in Acron's commentary, and objecting to the two genitives 'sermonis' and 'linguae,' proposes to read 'Cilni' for the latter word. But 'sermonis' may be supposed to stand for the accusative. Bentley thinks the person addressed ought to be named before the thirteenth verse; therefore he prefers, though he does not adopt, 'Cilni.'

7. *Libero caprum prope funeratus*] This last word is not found in any other writer earlier than Pliny. He and others use 'funero' for 'to bury.' Horace here attributes to Liber the deliverance he had attributed to Mercury, Faunus, and the Muses successively (C. ii. 17. 28 n.).

10. *dimovebit*] See C. i. 1. 13 n. The majority of the MSS. here have 'di.' If it had been otherwise, it would have made no difference, for the MSS. are unsafe guides in respect to these compounds.

11. *Amphorae fumum*] The 'amphorae' were kept in the apotheca in the upper part of the house, to which the smoke from the bath had access, as this was thought to hasten the ripening of the wine and to improve its flavour, just as Madeira wine is improved by being kept in a warm temperature. The amphora being lined with pitch or plaster, the smoke could not penetrate so as to affect the flavour of the wine by making it smoky. Horace does not mean that; and though Tibullus speaks of smoky Falernian (ii. 1. 27), he only means the amphora:—

"Nunc mihi fumosos veteris proferte Falernos
Consulis, et Chio vincula solve cado."

Ovid applies it to the amphora (Fast. v. 517):—

"Quaeque puer quondam primis diffuderat annis
Promit fumoso condita vina cado."

But if the amphora was badly corked or lined, the smoke would penetrate and spoil the wine: whence Martial abuses the fumaria of Marseille, and of Munna, a wine-merchant there, in particular (x. 36):—

"Improba Massiliae quicquid fumaria cogunt,
Accipit aetatem quisquis ab igne cadus,
A te, Munna, venit: miseris tu mittis amicis
Per freta, per longas toxica saeva vias:
Nec facili pretio, sed quo contenta Falerni
Testa sit aut cellis Setia cara suis.
Non venias quare tam longo tempore Romam
Haec, puto, causa tibi est, ne tua vina bibas."

Columella (R. R. i. 6) says, "Apothecae recte superponentur his locis unde plerumque fumus exoritur, quoniam vina celerius vetustescunt quae fumi quodam tenore praecocem maturitatem trahunt."

12. *Consule Tullo*] L. Volcatius Tullus was consul A.U.C. 688, the year before Horace was born. The wine therefore had probably been in the 'amphora' upwards of forty years. Sulla treated the Romans with wine upwards of forty years old (Plut. Sull. c. 35), and this is not an extreme age for some modern wines. An amphora in the British Museum has this inscription:—

L. CASSIO
C. MARIO
COS.

It had therefore been filled during the Jugurthine War, in the year A.U.C. 647, when L. Cassius Longinus and C. Marius were consuls. This amphora was found on

Sume, Maecenas, cyathos amici
Sospitis centum et vigiles lucernas
Perfer in lucem; procul omnis esto
  Clamor et ira.
Mitte civiles super urbe curas:
Occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen,
Medus infestus sibi luctuosis
  Dissidet armis,
Servit Hispanae vetus hostis orae
Cantaber sera domitus catena;
Jam Scythae laxo meditantur arcu
  Cedere campis.

the site of the ancient Leptis in Africa. Juvenal (S. v. 34) speaks of wine

"——cujus patriam titulumque senectus
Delevit multa veteris fuligine testae."

13. *amici Sospitis*] This is a Greek construction, which occurs again in C. iii. 19. 9, 10. See Theoc. xiv. 18:

——ἔδοξ' ἐπιχεῖσθαι ἄκρατον
ὦτινος ἤθελ' ἕκαστος· ἔδει μόνον ὦτινος
εἰπῆν.

Horace's request may amount to this, 'pray that my life may be prolonged a hundred years;' according to that of Ovid (Fast. iii. 531 sqq.):—

"Sole tamen vinoque calent, annosque precantur
Quot sumunt cyathos, ad numerumque bibunt.
Invenies illic qui Nestoris ebibat annos,
Quae sit per calices facta Sibylla suos."

14. *vigiles lucernas Perfer*] The preponderance of authority is in favour of 'perfer.' Some MSS. have 'profer.' Forcellini, who gives no signification of 'perfero' that would suit this passage, quotes from Cicero (de Fin. iii. 22. 76), "beatam vitam usque ad illum a Cyro exstructum rogum protulisset," which is precisely the same; but Orelli says 'pertulisset' is the proper reading, and so Ernesti has it, but says the other would do. It is impossible to decide the question upon its merits, and the MSS. are not safe guides in such a matter. The abbreviations for 'per' and 'pro' are nearly the same, as observed by Mr. Long on Cic. Divin. in Q. Caecil. c. 12. The objection taken to 'profer' is that 'in lucem proferre' means 'to bring to light.' But in this place there could be no confusion. In C. iii. 21. 23 we have "vivaeque producent lucernae," where 'vivae' corresponds to 'vigiles' here. Virgil uses 'ferre' uncompounded in Aen. ix. 338: "Aequasset nocti ludum in lucemque tulisset."

17. *Mitte civiles*] See Introduction respecting the historical allusions.

19. *sibi*] This word is so placed that it may depend on 'infestus,' 'luctuosis,' or 'dissidet.' I prefer the first. Bentley with little authority makes these adjectives change cases.

22. *catena*] See above (C. ii. 13. 18 n.).

23. *Scythae*] Franke supposes these to be the Scythians who had helped Phraates. Orelli and Dillenbr. imagine them to be the Geloni and other trans-Danubian tribes. I believe Horace meant no more than generally to say that the enemies of Rome were no longer disturbing her.

26. *Parce privatus*] This I take to mean no more than I have expressed in the Argument, not "cum sis privatus," as Orelli says, referring to Maecenas' refusal to accept senatorial rank (C. i. 23. 5 n.). Bentley opposes 'privatus' to 'populus,' and explains 'since you have no cause to be anxious about public affairs, do not be too anxious about your own,' and this may be the meaning. I am not certain of my own interpretation, but I feel sure Orelli's is wrong. In the next verse there is a contest in the editions and MSS. between 'cape' and 'rape.' Bentley defends the former, because it is not usual to snatch a gift, but only to take it quietly. His arguments will not often bear being translated into English. [Keller and Ritter have 'cape,' which has the better authority. Also they have

Neglegens ne qua populus laboret
Parce privatus nimium cavere:
Dona praesentis cape laetus horae et
Linque severa.

'cavere, et . . .' Ritter follows Orelli's interpretation of 'privatus,' and adds "nullo magistratu populi jussu collato praeditus neque certis obstrictus officiis."]

CARMEN IX.

This is an elegant trifle ("an incomparable dialogue," Buttmann calls it), showing the process of reconciliation between two lovers, in which the desire for peace appears in the midst of pretended indifference, and mutual jealousy is made the means of re-union. The subject could hardly have been more delicately handled. Whether the treatment of it is original or not, it is impossible to say. It is just such a subject as one might expect to find among the erotic poetry of the Greeks. One of Buttmann's remarks with reference to this ode is well worth quoting: "The ancients had the skill to construct such poems, so that each speech tells us by whom it is spoken; but we let the editors treat us all our lives as schoolboys, and interline such dialogues after the fashion of our plays with the names. To their sedulity we are indebted for the alternation of the lyrical name *Lydia* with the name Horatius in this exquisite work of art; and yet, even in an English poem, we should be offended at seeing Colin by the side of Phyllis." Such offence the officiousness of editors has already obtruded upon the readers of that poet; and the practice, which justly offends the good taste of this discerning scholar, had probably its origin among Horace's very earliest transcribers. Like other unauthorized interpretations, it takes away from the artistic character of Horace's poems, and substitutes for it a supposititious reality at variance with the passionless tone of the works. As works of skill they are very elegant: as works of feeling they must always rank low.

ARGUMENT.

While thou didst love me better than all the world, no prince was as happy as I.
While Lydia was dearest to thee of women, the name of Ilia was not so noble as mine.
Chloë the sweet singer is my queen: for her I would gladly die.
Calaïs loves me and I love him: for him I would gladly die.
What if the old love were to unite us again, if Chloë were cast off and turned from my door, and I opened it to Lydia again?
Though Calaïs is handsome, and thou art fickle and passionate as the stormy sea, I would live and die with thee.

Donec gratus eram tibi
Nec quisquam potior brachia candidae
Cervici juvenis dabat,
Persarum vigui rege beatior.
Donec non alia magis
Arsisti neque erat Lydia post Chloën,

[2. *potior*] 'Preferred.' See Epod. xv. 13. Ritter.]

5. *alia*] Some MSS. have 'aliam,' which Bentley adopts, thinking the copyists would have omitted the 'm' in consequence of the same letter coming immediately

Multi Lydia nominis
Romana vigui clarior Ilia.
Me nunc Thressa Chloë regit
Dulces docta modos et citharae sciens,
Pro qua non metuam mori
Si parcent animae fata superstiti.
Me torret face mutua
Thurini Calaïs filius Ornyti,
Pro quo bis patiar mori
Si parcent puero fata superstiti.
Quid si prisca redit Venus
Diductosque jugo cogit aëneo,
Si flava excutitur Chloë
Rejectaeque patet janua Lydiae?
Quamquam sidere pulchrior
Ille est, tu levior cortice et improbo
Iracundior Hadria,
Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens.

afterwards, rather than have inserted it. Orelli thinks just the reverse. Either construction is correct (see C. ii. 4. 7 n.). On "multi nominis," see C. i. 36. 13.

[10. *citharae sciens*] 'Sciens pugnae,' C. i. 15. 24.]

12. *Si parcent animae*] Cic. ad Fam. (xiv. 14): "Vos meae carissimae animae quam saepissime ad me scribite." Since 'metuam' here and 'patiar' below (v. 15) are the present subjunctive, 'parcent,' following those words, should, in strict Latinity, be 'parcant.' But the same construction occurs in C. iii. 3. 7, where, however, some MSS. have 'illabetur.' Why Chloë should be a Thracian, and Ornytus a Sybarite (Thurii was formerly Sybaris) is not worth questioning. The reading Cressa is properly rejected as harsh, and Ornithi, which can only be derived from ὄρνιθος, has the penult long. Both may have got into the Scholiasts' text through the error of transcribers. "Cressa, Thracia," is Acron's note in Ascensius' text.

17. *prisca*] Forcellini gives other instances of this use of 'priscus,' where 'pristinus' is more usual. 'Deductos,' the reading of the oldest Berne and one Leipzig MS. quoted by Jani, could only be taken with 'jugo,' and signify 'withdrawn from the yoke,' which might be admitted by a double construction of 'jugo' with 'deductos' and 'cogit.'

19. *excutitur*] Bentley understands 'janua' from the next line, following Acron, who says, "Excutitur: pro expellitur." Orelli says it is a metaphor taken from a horse that throws its rider. The English "cast off" expresses the meaning best. On the meaning of 'improbus' as a word expressing 'excess,' see C. iii. 24. 62.

[22. *levior*] Ritter asks how 'levior' can be properly opposed to Calaïs, who is 'sidere pulchrior.' His answer is that Lydia assumes that a man 'lighter than cork' and of two foot stature (S. ii. 3. 309) cannot aspire to beauty. He adds that in other cases 'levis' signifies an inconstant, unsteady person; but as 'levis' is opposed to the notion of beauty, it cannot signify the same here. Thus he takes the man to be Horace, the woman to be a reality, and Horace's small weight and short stature are contrasted with the beauty of Calaïs. Such a method of interpretation shocks common sense and offends good taste. If a man can be called more passionate than a stormy sea, he may also be called lighter than cork, and nobody will doubt about the meaning.]

CARMEN X.

This ode is supposed to be sung by a lover under the window of his mistress, who on a cold night refuses him admission. It is what the Greeks called a *παρακλαυσίθυρον*. This species of serenade was so common among the Greeks, that we may suppose Horace had some poem of the sort in his mind when he wrote this. The thirteenth ode of the fourth book is nominally connected with this; but as there is no necessity for supposing, nor any likelihood, that Horace wrote this from his own experience, so neither is it likely that he wrote that to taunt in her decline the girl who is supposed to reject his addresses here. There is something ludicrous in Jani's distress at the virulence with which Horace could find it in his heart to attack a woman he had once been so fond of.

ARGUMENT.

Were Scythia thy dwelling-place, Lyce, this inclement night should move thee to pity me. Hear how the wind howls; see how the snow lies freezing. Venus loves not pride: the rope may break and the wheel run back; though nothing bends thee, neither presents, nor prayers, nor these wan cheeks of mine, nor thy husband's faithlessness, though thou be hard as the oak and cruel as the serpent, yet as a goddess have pity! Flesh and blood will not stand this for ever.

EXTREMUM Tanain si biberes, Lyce,
Saevo nupta viro, me tamen asperas
Porrectum ante fores objicere incolis
  Plorares Aquilonibus.
Audis quo strepitu janua, quo nemus
Inter pulchra satum tecta remugiat
Ventis, et positas ut glaciet nives
  Puro numine Juppiter?

1. *Tanain si biberes*] This is the way of speaking adopted in C. ii. 20. 20 and iv. 15. 21. [The Tanais (Don) was the limit of the geographical knowledge of Horace in one direction. 'Extremus' is the Greek *ἔσχατος*.] For 'porrectum,' Bentley reads 'projectum' here and in two other places (Epod. x. 22; Sat. ii. 3. 112), with no authority, but relying, as he always does, on the use of the word by other writers. 'Incolis Aquilonibus' are the north winds that have their home in Scythia.

5. *nemus*] Small trees were sometimes planted round the impluvium of a Roman house. 'Remugiat ventis,' 'echoes back to the winds their howling.' Orelli, who takes 'ventis' to be the ablative case, quotes from Virgil "gemitu nemus omne remugit" (Aen. xii. 722). But even if 'gemitu' is the ablative, and not the dative (as it may be), in that place, we have one ablative in this passage already, 'strepitu.' Bentley changes 'ventis' into 'sentis' without authority. It is easy to supply 'vides,' or 'sentis,' or any other word more appropriate than 'audis.' One verb of sense is often made to serve for two or three. But Horace says elsewhere "inclinare meridiem sentis" (C. iii. 28. 5); therefore, says Bentley, 'sentis' is the true reading here, a kind of reasoning which is inconclusive. For those who will not admit 'sentis' for 'ventis,' Bentley suggests 'en' for 'et,' and 'audi' for 'audis.' For 'satum,' which is the true reading of the Berne, Zürich, Blandinian, and other old MSS., others have 'situm;' and such was Porphyrion's reading, and the common one, till Bentley edited 'satum' after Cruquius' Scholiast. Bentley substitutes 'duro' for 'puro,' which latter is an epithet well suited to a clear frosty night. Again, 'lumine' is said by Lam-

Ingratam Veneri pone superbiam,
Ne currente retro funis eat rota.
Non te Penelopen difficilem procis
  Tyrrhenus genuit parens.
O quamvis neque te munera nec preces
Nec tinctus viola pallor amantium
Nec vir Pieria pellice saucius
  Curvat, supplicibus tuis
Parcas, nec rigida mollior aesculo
Nec Mauris animum mitior anguibus.
Non hoc semper erit liminis aut aquae
  Caelestis patiens latus.

binus to have existed in some of his MSS. Bentley says it arose out of another various reading 'limine' (Canter, Nov. Lect. iv. 2), from which he draws fresh support for his reading 'duro,' quoting Ovid (Rem. Am. 508), "Nec latus in duro limine pone tuum." He might have added (Epod. xi. 22), "Limina dura quibus lumbos et infregi latus." Aristotle (Probl. xxv. 18) answers the question, why it is colder in clear weather than in cloudy, in a way of his own: διὰ τί τῆς αἰθρίας, κ.τ.λ. ['Glaciet' perhaps first used by Horace. Statius has it.]

10. *Ne currente retro funis eat rota*] 'Lest the wheel turn back and the rope with it,' is Orelli's interpretation, applying 'retro' to both 'currente' and 'eat.' The metaphor in that case is taken from a rope wound round a cylinder, and when the cylinder is allowed to run back, the rope runs down and the weight or thing attached goes with it. The application of the proverb to a coquette who continues her pride till she loses her power is obvious. The passage has caused a good deal of difficulty, and no two interpreters are entirely agreed as to the meaning of the words. Orelli's interpretation is the best that I have seen. Turnebus takes 'funis' for 'funalis equus,' and 'rota' for the chariot-wheel; and he understands the words to mean, 'lest the rope-horse should start back while the coach is going on, and so you be thrown out and killed.' He quotes Ausonius (Epitaph. Her. xxxv.):

"Pegasus hic dexter currat tibi; laevus Arion
Funis; et ad quartum det tibi Castor equum."

But the proper reading there seems to be 'funalis; quartum;' and 'funis' will hardly bear this meaning. The 'funalis equus' was one of those which were not under the yoke, but attached by traces, either as leaders or by the side of the yoke-horses.

15. *Pieria pellice*] A Macedonian strumpet, just as Chloë in the last ode was a Thracian, and on the same principle. Nearly all Horace's women of this character are represented as Greeks. 'Curvat' is nowhere else used in this sense. [Keller and Ritter write 'paelice' on the authority of the oldest Berne MS. and others of the best MSS. 'Pellex,' says Ritter, owes its existence to a false etymology. But if 'paelex' is the true form, it is an otherwise unknown Latin word (paelic). 'Pellic,' the crude form of 'pellex,' has a clear etymology. There is nothing like 'paelic' except the Greek παιδικ-α, and the corresponding Latin word.]

19. *aquae Caelestis*] (Epp. ii. 1. 135) "Caelestes implorat aquas." There is some intentional bathos in this threat of the despairing lover to the mistress he had just addressed as a goddess.

CARMEN XI.

The common inscription AD MERCURIUM, adopted by Bentley and others, is plainly wrong, and calculated to mislead. The inscription should be AD TESTUDINEM, if any thing; for Mercury disappears after the first two verses. The miracles alluded to, except Amphion's, were those of Orpheus, and of the lyre in his hands, not Mercury's, which Orelli not perceiving contradicts himself. The ode is of the same class as the two last. We have no means of tracing the original if it is a copy, and there is no clue to the date.

ARGUMENT.

Mercury, who didst teach Amphion to move stones, and thou, lyre, once dumb, now welcome at feast and festival, tune me a strain to which even Lyde, though she be free as the young colt, must attend. Thou charmest tigers, woods, streams, and hell's bloody sentinel, and Ixion, and Tityus, and the daughters of Danaë. Let Lyde hear of their crime and punishment, and how one was merciful and spared her young husband's life, saying, "Rise up; begone, lest the sleep of death overtake thee. They have sprung upon their prey. My heart is not as their heart. I will do thee no harm. Let my father do with me as he will, yet go thou while night and love protect thee. Farewell, and when I am gone engrave a word of sorrow on my tomb."

Mercuri,—nam te docilis magistro
Movit Amphion lapides canendo,—
Tuque testudo resonare septem
  Callida nervis,
Nec loquax olim neque grata, nunc et
Divitum mensis et amica templis,
Dic modos Lyde quibus obstinatas
  Applicet aures,
Quae velut latis equa trima campis
Ludit exsultim metuitque tangi,
Nuptiarum expers et adhuc protervo
  Cruda marito.
Tu potes tigres comitesque silvas
Ducere et rivos celeres morari;
Cessit immanis tibi blandienti
  Janitor aulae

[3. *resonare . . . Callida*] See C. i. 1. 18 n.]

10. *exsultim*] This word is not found elsewhere. The words ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in Horace are 'allaborare,' 'tentator,' 'exsultim,' 'inaudax,' 'immetata,' 'faustitas,' 'belluosus,' 'apploraus,' 'inemori,' 'prodocere,' 'emetere,' 'laeve,' 'insolabiliter,' 'defingere,' 'vepallidus.' (See Index.) It does not follow because we have no other examples of these words that Horace had none. [' Rivos . . . morari:' compare C. i. 12. 9.]

Cerberus, quamvis furiale centum
Muniant angues caput ejus atque
Spiritus teter saniesque manet
  Ore trilingui.
Quin et Ixion Tityosque voltu
Risit invito, stetit urna paullum
Sicca dum grato Danai puellas
  Carmine mulces.
Audiat Lyde scelus atque notas
Virginum poenas et inane lymphae
Dolium fundo pereuntis imo,
  Seraque fata
Quae manent culpas etiam sub Orco.
Impiae,—nam quid potuere majus?—
Impiae sponsos potuere duro
  Perdere ferro!
Una de multis face nuptiali
Digna perjurum fuit in parentem
Splendide mendax et in omne virgo
  Nobilis aevum,
Surge, quae dixit juveni marito,
Surge, ne longus tibi somnus unde

17. *Cerberus, quamvis*] Many German scholars (Orelli names ten, among whom is Buttmann) have rejected this stanza as spurious, the description being considered tame, and the second verse in particular unworthy of Horace. This way of arguing overthrows all authority, and makes genuineness a matter of taste and opinion. Allow that the stanza is none of the best, I do not think the ode itself equal to many others. Certainly more than one verse is prosaic and feeble, judged by Horace's usual standard, and the length of the ode on such a subject seems to me a defect, though the scene at the end is pleasing. But others may think differently, and if all thought alike the ode would still be Horace's. Bentley would mend 'ejus atque,' which especially offends him, and is indeed not very harmonious or strong, by inventing 'exeatque,' which some may think better and others worse; and, although

"—— halitus exit
Ore niger Stygio"

occurs in Ovid (Met. iii. 75), 'spiritus exit' is only used to signify the breath taking leave of the body, which Bentley himself perceiving confesses he wishes Horace had written 'halitus' instead of 'spiritus.' Is this criticism? The passage may be compared with C. ii. 13. 33 sqq. There is a still less poetical line in Virgil:

"Quis mihi reddat eum vel eo me solvat amantem" (Aen. iv. 479) [and Conington's note].

[21. *Quin et*] Comp. C. ii. 13. 37. The sense of 'moreover,' 'further,' is derived from the original meaning, as in 'quin surgis?' 'why don't you get up?' which became 'Quin, surge,' 'get up, then, why don't you?' and finally 'quin,' 'well,' 'further,' and the like.]

28. *Seraque fata*] ὑστεροφθόρον δίκην. See note on C. iii. 2. 32. ['Inane lymphae' is 'empty of water.' The construction of 'inanis' is the same as that of 'plenus,' Cic. de Or. i. 9. See Ovid Her. iii. 60.]

31. *potuere*] This would be expressed by ἔτλησαν in Greek. In a more familiar passage 'possum' occurs with the same kind of meaning (Epp. i. 5. 1): "Si potes Archiacis conviva recumbere lectis," 'if you can make up your mind.'

Non times detur; socerum et scelestas
  Falle sorores,
Quae velut nactae vitulos leaenae
Singulos eheu lacerant: ego illis
Mollior nec te feriam neque intra
  Claustra tenebo.
Me pater saevis oneret catenis
Quod viro clemens misero peperci;
Me vel extremos Numidarum in agros
  Classe releget.
I pedes quo te rapiunt et aurae
Dum favet nox et Venus, i secundo
Omine et nostri memorem sepulcro
  Scalpe querelam.

37. *Surge, quae dixit*] Ovid has borrowed all but the words of Horace in Hypermnestra's letter to Lynceus, one of the most touching of his poems. Her. xiv. 73:

" Surge age, Belida, de tot modo fratribus unus:
Nox tibi ni properas ista perennis erit."

43. *nec — neque*] Bentley says that Horace always varies these conjunctions when the metre will let him, not putting 'nec—nec,' or 'neque—neque,' if he can help it. Here he has good MSS. for and against his assertion. In the first line of the next ode, however, the MSS. are nearly all against him.

CARMEN XII.

This ode represents a girl lamenting to herself over a love she must not indulge. The majority of editions have supposed that the poet is himself addressing Neobule, and Lambinus says, "haec ode est *παραινετική* seu *προτρεπτική*, id est ad suadendum et exhortandum," the meaning of which is not very clear. The way I understand the first stanza and its connexion with the second may be seen from the Argument. Some suppose that Neobule is contrasting her own condition with that of others. 'Miserable are the women who cannot indulge in love and wine; for thee, Neobule, it is otherwise.' I do not quarrel with that interpretation, but prefer the other. There is a fragment of Alcaeus (58 Bergk) that may have belonged to a poem which furnished the materials of this ode. Some have assumed it to be a free translation from Alcaeus' poem. There is nothing more to judge from than this fragment, which runs thus: *ἐμὲ δείλαν, ἐμὲ παισᾶν κακοτάτων πεδέχοισαν*, which line, as far as it goes, is in favour of the interpretation I have given.

ARGUMENT.

Poor women! we must not love, we must not drown care in wine, or a cruel guardian scolds us to death. Alas! Neobule, thou canst not spin nor work for love of Hebrus, so beautiful as he bathes in the waters of Tiber, a horseman like Bellerophon, unsurpassed in the combat and the race, in piercing the flying deer or catching the lurking boar.

Miserarum est neque amori dare ludum neque dulci
Mala vino lavere, aut exanimari metuentes
  Patruae verbera linguae.
Tibi qualum Cythereae puer ales, tibi telas
Operosaeque Minervae studium aufert, Neobule,
  Liparaei nitor Hebri,
Simul unctos Tiberinis humeros lavit in undis,
Eques ipso melior Bellerophonte, neque pugno
  Neque segni pede victus;
Catus idem per apertum fugientes agitato
Grege cervos jaculari et celer alto latitantem
  Fruticeto excipere aprum.

3. *Patruae*] Compare (Sat. ii. 3. 88) "ne sis patruus mihi." On the form 'lavere,' see C. iii. 4. 61 n.

4. *qualum*] Wool-basket. This is perhaps an imitation of Sappho:

γλυκεῖα μᾶτερ, οὔτοι δύναμαι κρέκην τὸν ἱστὸν
πόθῳ δαμεῖσα παῖδος βραδινὰν δι' Ἀφροδίταν (91, Bergk).

The name Neobule is found in one of Archilochus' fragments (67 Bergk). Hebrus' birth-place is mentioned to give more reality to the person. The island Lipara, it must be admitted, was an odd place to choose.

7. *Simul*] 'Soon as' is an early English equivalent for 'whenever,' and 'simul' bears that sense here. The last syllable of Bellerophonte is long as from the Greek. ['Simul:' see C. i. 12. 27.]

11. *alto*] There is another reading 'arto' which Lambinus and others adopt [Ritter has 'arto']. It appears, among other MSS., in the oldest Blandinian; but Cruquius reads 'alto,' and so did his Scholiast and Acron. Dillenbr. prefers 'arto' because it is opposed to 'apertum,' but so is 'alto.' Either would do; 'arto' would correspond to Homer's

ἐν λόχμῃ πυκινῇ κατέκειτο μέγας σῦς.
(Odyss. xviii. 439.)

CARMEN XIII.

The situation and title of the fountain, the name of which is used in this ode, are sufficiently proved by a bull of Pope Pascal II., A.D. 1103, first brought to notice by Capmartin de Chaupy in his work on Horace's country-house (vol. iii. pp. 364, 538), and given more fully by Fea. There was a monastery dedicated to the Virgin at Bantia (C. iii. 4. 15), over hich the bull appoints a certain abbot, and over "omnia quae ad illud (coenobium) pertinent—videlicet ecclesiam S. Salvatoris cum aliis ecclesiis *de Castello Bandusii*,—ecclesiam S. Anastasiae apud Acheruntiam cum ecclesiis ad eam pertinentibus; ecclesiam SS. Martyrum Gervasii et Potasii *in Bandusino fonte apud Venusiam.*" De Chaupy made a journey to the spot, which he was able satisfactorily to himself to recognize in a town called Palazzo, about six miles from the site of Venusia. Acron says that Bandusia was the district in which Horace's farm was situated, and some commentators following this statement have identified the 'fons Bandusiae' with the small river Digentia (Licenza) in the Sabine hills. De Chaupy sufficiently disproves this. Lambinus adopts the Scholiast's statement as well as his way of spelling the name 'Blandusiae,' which the above-named document sufficiently proves to be wrong, though most editors have adopted it.

The ode is an address to a fountain, a common subject enough, and we need only suppose that the name was suggested to Horace by the recollections of his childhood, without imagining him really on the point of offering sacrifice, or being in the neighbourhood of his birth-place when he wrote. It has something of the nature of an epigramma or inscription, and is among the choicest of Horace's small pieces.

ARGUMENT.

Fair fountain of Bandusia, thou art worthy of my libation and of the kid that shall fall for thee to-morrow and dye thy cold stream with his blood. Thee the summer's heat pierceth not; cool is thy water to the flocks and herds. Thou too shalt be placed among the fountains of fame when I sing of the oak that hangs from the rock whence thy babbling waters spring.

O fons Bandusiae, splendidior vitro,
Dulci digne mero non sine floribus
  Cras donaberis haedo
    Cui frons turgida cornibus
Primis et venerem et proelia destinat;
Frustra: nam gelidos inficiet tibi
  Rubro sanguine rivos
    Lascivi suboles gregis.
Te flagrantis atrox hora Caniculae
Nescit tangere, tu frigus amabile
  Fessis vomere tauris
    Praebes et pecori vago.
Fies nobilium tu quoque fontium,
Me dicente cavis impositam ilicem
  Saxis, unde loquaces
    Lymphae desiliunt tuae.

1. *splendidior vitro*] On the use of glass by the ancients, which was long a matter of dispute, but is now generally allowed to have been brought by them to some perfection, see Smith's Dict. Ant., art. 'Vitrum.'

[2. *floribus*] Some critics connect this word with 'mero,' and place a comma after it. I think 'non sine floribus' belong to what follows. But the reader may choose.]

6. *Frustra*] See C. iii. 7. 21 n.

9. *atrox hora Caniculae*] From its diminutive form Canicula is taken by some for the constellation Canis Minor, known by the Romans as Antecanis, and by the Greeks as Προκύων, because its rising precedes that of the Canis Major by a few days (in July). See C. iii. 29. 18. But Canicula is another name for the well-known star of the first magnitude in the head of Canis Major, called by the Greeks Σείριος. See Pliny (N. H. ii. c. 47), "Ardentissimo aestatis tempore exoritur Caniculae sidus, Sole primam partem Leonis ingrediente, qui dies xv ante Aug. Cal. est."

CARMEN XIV.

A.U.C. 729 or 730.

This ode has been animadverted upon pretty severely, and even rejected as spurious, because unequal to the occasion it was written for. It may not be one of Horace's best. But it was evidently only a private affair. It was composed at the close of the Cantabrian war, A.U.C. 729, when Augustus' return was expected, or on his return the following year. He was detained by illness at Tarraco. Franke gives, from Norisius, a fragment of an inscription which makes it appear probable that Augustus recovered his health and returned in the summer of 730, in which year C. Norbanus Flaccus was consul:

NORBANO FLAC. COS.
EID. IVIN (ID. IVN)
. . . . CAESAR VALETVD.

ARGUMENT.

Caesar is returning a conqueror from Spain, O ye people, he who but just went forth like Hercules to the field. Let his chaste wife and sister go forth to offer sacrifice with the matrons, while the young soldiers and their brides stand reverently by. I too will keep holiday; for I am safe while Augustus is lord of the world. Bring flowers, boy, and ointment, and my best old wine, and go bid Neaera come: if the churlish porter refuse thee, come away; I have no mind for strife, though I might not have borne as much in the heyday of my youth.

Herculis ritu modo dictus, o plebs,
Morte venalem petiisse laurum
Caesar Hispana repetit penates
  Victor ab ora.
Unico gaudens mulier marito
Prodeat justis operata sacris,
Et soror clari ducis et decorae
  Supplice vitta

1. *o plebs*] 'Plebs' and 'populus' are used synonymously (C. ii. 2. 18 sq.), and either word stands for the common formula 'populus plebsque Romana,' as, among other places, Cic. in Verr. ii. 5. 14, "Mihi Floram matrem populo plebeique Romanae ludorum celebritate placandam." Nothing can be in worse taste than the idea of Klotz (Lect. Ven. p. 317), followed by Gesner, Jani, Tate, that Horace meant to oppose the plebeians, who were anxious when they heard of Augustus' illness, to the patricians who were delighted. ['Herculis ritu:' 'novo ritu,' C. iii. 1. 45. 2; 'ritu fluminis,' C. iii. 29. 33.]

2. *Morte venalem*] This is an expression like that of Aeschines (c. Ctes. 77. 26, Reiske), αἵματός ἐστιν ἡ ἀρετὴ ὠνία. I see no objection, as Orelli does, to extending the example of Hercules to both clauses. As Hercules braved death, so did Augustus, and like Hercules he is returning from Spain victorious.

5. *Unico gaudens*] Livia was never suspected of infidelity to her husband, though she has been suspected, probably without just reason, of hastening his death. But that which appears to have been the first cause of dissension between her and Augustus, the succession of Tiberius, was not yet thought of. Horace therefore need not be accused of bad taste or gross flattery for what he says. Dillenbr. interprets 'unico' 'amato, caro,' and the same in "Satis beatus

Virginum matres juvenumque nuper
Sospitum. Vos, o pueri et puellae
Jam virum expertae, male ominatis
Parcite verbis.
Hic dies vere mihi festus atras
Eximet curas; ego nec tumultum
Nec mori per vim metuam tenente
Caesare terras.

unicis Sabinis" (C. ii. 18. 14), as if 'unicus' had the force of ἀγαπητός, as that has of 'unicus,' "ἀγαπητός enim praeter quem alius non datur, ut eum philosophorum princeps oculum monoculi ἀγαπητόν dixit" (Heinsius, Exercit. Sacr. in Marc. i. 11). I do not agree with Dillenbr. Plautus (Captiv. i. 2. 47) has "Tibi enim unicust, mihi etiam unico magis unicus;" and Catullus (73), "Quam modo qui me unum atque unicum amicum habuit."

6. *justis operata sacris*] The MSS. vary between 'sacris' and 'divis.' The latter is the reading followed by all the Scholiasts, and nearly all the editors till Bentley. Dillenbr. supports the Scholiasts and reads 'divis,' thinking that 'sacris' is more likely to have crept in from a gloss than 'divis.' [Keller has 'divis.'] [Livy has (i. 31) 'operatum sacris.' 'Laetis operatus in herbis' (Virg. Georg. i. 339) expresses the place of sacrifice. Tibullus, ii. 5. 95, has 'operata deo pubes discumbet in herba.'] Ladies of birth appear to have been distinguished on these occasions from freedwomen by a wreath, which explains Tibullus (i. 6. 67):

"Sit modo casta doce, quamvis non vitta ligatos
Impediat crines nec stola longa pedes."

The persons forming the procession are supposed to be the wife, and Octavia, the sister of Augustus, and the mothers of the soldiers who had returned, and of their young wives, who are represented as looking on reverentially at the thanksgiving sacrifice.

9. *juvenum*] This and 'pueri' both mean the soldiers, as 'virginum' and 'puellae' both mean their wives. Cunningham conjectures and Fea adopts 'expertes' for 'expertae' in order to distinguish between 'puellae' and 'virginum.' Dillenbr., comparing the other passages in which 'pueri' and 'virgines' or 'puellae' come together (C. iii. 1. 4; iv. 1. 25. S. i. 1. 85; ii. 3. 130), thinks the words are a formula for all the youth of Rome, and that 'virum expertae' means that they had experienced the virtues of Augustus. What he says of 'pueri' and 'puellae' is not true; and his way of accounting for Horace having written 'expertae,' whereas the masculine would be required for his interpretation, will not satisfy many, neither is it very intelligible. 'Virum expertae' is clearly equivalent to 'nuper virgines nuptae' (C. ii. 8. 22). 'Male ominatis' may be pronounced as one word, as 'maleolens,' 'suaveolens,' &c. [Ritter has 'male nominatis,' for which there is good MSS. authority; but it is a bad reading.] Bentley proposes 'inominatis.' All the Scholiasts have 'ominatis,' and some of the best MSS.

14. *eximet*] Orelli's B has 'exiget,' but all his other MSS. have 'eximet,' and I do not find the other reading quoted by Jani or Fea. In C. iv. 15. 18, the MSS. vary more, though the majority and best have 'eximet' there likewise. Orelli makes this distinction, that 'exigere' is more appropriate to express the violent expulsion of a good thing, as in the above passage; 'eximet,' which he has here, for the quiet removal of an evil: but he is almost inclined, out of deference to his MS. B, to contradict himself, and read 'exiget' here. 'Eximet' is a better word, I think, in this place, and 'exiget' in the other.

— *tumultum Nec mori per vim*] 'Tumultus' and 'vis' are well-distinguished terms. When some would have softened the terms of the decree of the senate against M. Antonius by substituting the word 'tumultum' for 'bellum,' Cicero told them they did not know the meaning of the words: "Potest enim esse bellum sine tumultu, tumultus esse sine bello non potest. Quid est enim tumultus nisi perturbatio tanta ut major timor oriatur? unde etiam nomen ductum est tumultus. Itaque majores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus; tumultum Gallicum quod erat Italiae finitimus; praeterea nullum nominabant. Gravius autem tumultum esse quam bellum hinc intelligi licet quod bello vacationes valent, tumultu non valent."

I pete unguentum, puer, et coronas
Et cadum Marsi memorem duelli,
Spartacum si qua potuit vagantem
Fallere testa.
Dic et argutae properet Neaerae
Murreum nodo cohibere crinem;
Si per invisum mora janitorem
Fiet, abito.
Lenit albescens animos capillus
Litium et rixae cupidos protervae;
Non ego hoc ferrem calidus juventa
Consule Planco.

Again, Cicero says (in Verr. ii. 4. 23), "Scuta si quando conquiruntur a privatis in bello ac tumultu, tamen homines inviti dant, etsi ad salutem communem dari sentiunt." Tumultus was "a sudden rising or hostile demonstration," as Mr. Long says on the above passage. 'Vis,' 'violence,' was either 'publica' or 'privata,' and the distinction between the two will be found on referring to the article 'Vis' in Smith's Dict. Ant. Horace, says he, is not afraid of losing his life by any popular insurrection and so forth, or by the hand of an assassin or private malice.

18. *Marsi memorem duelli*] The Marsic or Social War continued from A.U.C. 663 to 665, and the Servile War, headed by the gladiator Spartacus, from 681 to 683. Therefore the wine Horace wanted would have been sixty-five years old at least. Juvenal, one hundred years afterwards, speaking of the selfish man who keeps his best wine for his own drinking, says:

"Ipse capillato diffusum consule potat
Calcatamque tenet bellis socialibus uvam."
(S. v. 30 sq.)

The 'cadus,' 'testa,' and 'amphora,' were names for the same vessel.

[19. *Si qua*] If 'qua' is the nominative, it is made long contrary to custom after 'si.' But it may be the ablative. 'Fallere' is equivalent to λαθεῖν. Newman's 'clear-voic'd' approaches as near the meaning as we can render 'argutae:' but, as Ritter says, she plays on the 'cithara,' and sings also, we may suppose. See C. iv. 6. 25.]

22. *Murreum*] 'Myrrheum,' Lambinus and others. 'Cohibere' is the reading of all the MSS. Bentley prefers his own conjecture 'cohibente' [or it may belong to Muretus: Keller].

28. *Consule Planco*] L. Munatius Plancus was consul with M. Aemilius Lepidus A.U.C. 712, at which time Horace was in his twenty-third year. ['Albescens:' compare Epp. i. 20. 24, 'praecanum'—'animos:' 'spirit,' 'impetuosity,' as the plural often signifies.]

CARMEN XV.

This ode combines with the lyric something of the spirit of the Epodes. It is impossible to say why Horace chose so often this same subject, but he always handles it very sharply. (See C. i. 25; iv. 13.) Some critics suppose he wrote under the influence of his own disappointments, and they find particular periods of his life suitable for the composition of each. This ode also has accordingly had different dates assigned it. But I need not trouble the reader with such discussions. [In A.U.C. 724 Chloris was very beautiful. In A.U.C. 730 this ode was written. Six years were enough to make this sad change in Chloris. This is Ritter's opinion.]

ARGUMENT.

Put a stop to thy intrigues; for thou art old and poor, a cloud among bright stars, ready to drop into thy grave. What becometh thy daughter becometh not thee, Chloris. She may go and besiege the young men's doors: she is in love and cannot help it. But do thou go spin; music and flowers and wine are not for thee.

Uxor pauperis Ibyci,
Tandem nequitiae fige modum tuae
Famosisque laboribus:
Maturo propior desine funeri
Inter ludere virgines
Et stellis nebulam spargere candidis.
Non si quid Pholoën satis
Et te, Chlori, decet: filia rectius
Expugnat juvenum domos,
Pulso Thyias uti concita tympano.
Illum cogit amor Nothi
Lascivae similem ludere capreae:
Te lanae prope nobilem
Tonsae Luceriam, non citharae decent,
Nec flos purpureus rosae
Noc poti vetulam faece tenus cadi.

1. *pauperis*] He means to say a poor man's wife should be thrifty and mind her work, especially if she be old. For 'fige' some MSS. have 'pone,' which Orelli says is a gloss.

6. *Et stellis nebulam*] An old woman in a company of girls would be like a cloud in a starry sky. On the elegy of Tibullus mentioned before (C. i. 33. 7) Heyne has the following note, which Buttmann calls incomprehensible (unbegreiflich): "Pholoë inter claras ejus aetatis puellas etiam ex Horatio nota est ubi, C. i. 33. 7, aspera puella Cyrum fastidit alium mollem puerum, et ii. 5. 17 est ea Pholoë fugax. Chloridis eam filiam fuisse idem Horatius colligere jubet nos, iii. 15. 7, 8." The first of these Pholoës is a virtuous girl who would scorn the advances of a profligate like Cyrus. The second is a timid girl as her title 'fugax' shows. She is also coupled with a young Chloris, as handsome as herself. The Pholoë of this ode is the wanton daughter of a wanton old mother, Chloris by name. But Heyne and others confound all these persons. Such, as Buttmann has very well shown, are the inconsistencies of the matter-of-fact school of interpreters. [Ritter is one of them. He compares Pholoë with the Sempronia of Sallust, Cat. 25.]

10. *tympano*] There are two good woodcuts, one from a painting at Pompeii, the other from a fictile vase, representing the use of the tympanum in Smith's Dict. Ant. (sub. v.). ['Thyias:' comp. C. ii. 19. 9.]

14. *Luceriam*] This was a town of Apulia, now Lucera, in the neighbourhood of which was one of the largest tracts of public pasture land.

16. *vetulam*] Many good MSS. have 'vetula,' and in support of that reading, which some editors have adopted, is quoted Catullus (xxvii. 1): "Minister vetuli, puer, Falerni." But 'vetula' would be without force here. Porphyrion, however, read 'vetula.' The 'm' may have dropped out in the usual way from the omission of the mark over the 'ā.'

CARMEN XVI.

Horace here dwells on his favourite theme,—contentment and moderation,—which he is able to illustrate by the example of Maecenas as well as his own. The ingenuity which has discovered the occasion that gave rise to this ode will hardly throw any new light on the meaning of it, which is very plain. Whether therefore Horace's friends had urged him to make more than he had done of his opportunities with Maecenas for the purpose of enriching himself or not may very well remain doubtful. I confess the idea would not have occurred to me. The French editors suppose it to be an ode of thanks to Maecenas for the gift of the farm, which it certainly is not; and one editor, J. F. Schmid, suspects Horace meant gently to hint to his patron that he should be glad of an extension of his liberality, a species of *εἰρωνεία* which it is to be hoped does not represent the principles of the person who suggests this notion. There is no clue to the date of the ode further than that it was written after Horace came into possession of his farm.

ARGUMENT.

A stout prison and savage watch-dogs might have kept Danaë from harm; but Jove and Venus smiled, for they knew that the god need but change himself to gold, and the way would be clear for him. Gold penetrates through guards; gold shall burst rocks; thereby fell the house of Amphiaraus; thereby the Macedonian won cities; thereby stern admirals are ensnared. And as it grows the desire for more grows too. A high estate I dread. Maecenas, thou good knight, the more a man denies himself the more the gods will give him. I fly from the rich to the contented, and am more independent than any poor rich man in the world. My stream, and my little wood, and my trusty field, are a happier portion than all Africa. I have no honey of Calabria, nor wine of Formiae, nor Gaulish fleece, yet poverty doth not pinch me; and if I wanted more thou art ready to give it. My small income will go further by the restricting of my wants, than if I had all Lydia and Phrygia for my own. Who ask much lack much. It is well with him who has enough.

INCLUSAM Danaën turris aënea
Robustaeque fores et vigilum canum
Tristes excubiae munierant satis
  Nocturnis ab adulteris,
Si non Acrisium virginis abditae
Custodem pavidum Juppiter et Venus
Risissent, fore enim tutum iter et patens
  Converso in pretium deo.

1. *Inclusam Danaën*] The story of Danaë, Acrisius' daughter, and the fable of the shower of gold, are explained by Horace in his own way. Compare the chorus of Soph. Antig. (944):

> *ἔτλα καὶ Δανάας οὐράνιον φῶς*
> *ἀλλάξαι δέμας ἐν χαλκοδέτοις*
> *αὐλαῖς, κ.τ.λ.*

'Tristes excubiae' is like Ovid's 'tristis custodia servi' (A. A. iii. 601). On the tense 'munierant,' see C. ii. 17. 28 n.

6. *Custodem pavidum*] Acrisius shut up his daughter lest she should bear a son who should cause his death as the oracle had threatened. For 'risissent, Bentley prefers 'risisset,' in accordance with his rule

Aurum per medios ire satellites
Et perrumpere amat saxa potentius
Ictu fulmineo: concidit auguris
  Argivi domus ob lucrum
Demersa exitio; diffidit urbium
Portas vir Macedo et subruit aemulos
Reges muneribus; munera navium
  Saevos illaqueant duces.
Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam
Majorumque fames. Jure perhorrui

(C. i. 24. 8 n.). But the MSS., except one, perhaps, do not vary. 'Fore enim' is an elliptical form of the obliqua oratio, in translating which 'they said,' or 'they knew,' must be supplied. 'Pretium' has reference to the corruption of the guards, the price at which they were bought. Ovid applies the bribe to Danaë herself (Am. iii. 8. 33):

"Sed postquam sapiens in munera venit adulter,
Praebuit ipsa sinus, et dare jussa dedit."

10. *amat*] Used as φιλεῖ, like "consociare amant" (C. ii. 3. 10) and "amet quavis adspergere" (S. i. 4. 87).

11. *concidit auguris Argivi domus*] The story is that of Amphiaraus and of his wife Eriphyle—

ἣ χρυσὸν φίλου ἀνδρὸς ἐδέξατο τιμήεντα
(Odyss. xi. 327).

Eriphyle, bribed by Polyneices, induced her husband to join the expedition against Thebes, where he fell, leaving an injunction with his sons to put their mother to death, which Alcmaeon did, and like Orestes was pursued by the Erinyes of his mother, and was finally put to death in attempting to get possession of the gold necklace with which she had been bribed. 'Exitio,' and not 'excidio,' or 'exscidio,' is no doubt the true reading. 'Excidio' with 'demersa' would be an incongruous expression. Acron read 'exitio.' Landinus, Ascensius, and Cruquius, among the editors I have seen, have the same. Lambinus thinks it is not to be despised, though he adopts 'exscidio,' and Bentley adopts and defends 'exitio,' but in doing so writes as if he had the merit of restoring it from the MSS. against the judgment of the editors.

14. *Portas vir Macedo*] Plutarch (Paulus Aemilius c. 12) says it was Philip's gold, not Philip, that won the cities of Greece. And Cicero (ad Att. i. 16) says, "Nunc est expectatio ingens comitiorum: in quae omnibus invitis trudit noster Magnus Auli filium; atque in eo neque auctoritate neque gratia pugnat, sed quibus Philippus omnia expugnavisse dicebat in quae modo asellus onustus auro posset ascendere." Juvenal calls Philip "callidus emptor Olynthi" (xii. 47); and Valerius Max. (vii. 2. 10), "mercator Graeciae."

15. *munera navium Saevos illaqueant duces*] This is supposed to refer to Menas, otherwise called Menodorus, the commander of Sex. Pompeius' fleet, who deserted from him to Octavianus and back to Pompeius, and then to Octavianus again. He was rewarded beyond his merits. He was a freedman of Cn. Pompeius; and Suetonius (Octav. 74) states that Augustus made him 'ingenuus:' "Valerius Messalla tradit neminem unquam libertinorum adhibitum ab eo (Octaviano) coenae excepto Mena, sed adserto in ingenuitatem post proditam Sex. Pompeii classem." Appian (B.C. v. 80) says: Μηνόδωρον ἐλθόντα ἐλεύθερον εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνεν ἐξ ἀπελευθέρου. However, a man could only be 'ingenuus' who was born free, and all that Octavianus could do was to confer the rights of 'ingenuitas,' which was sometimes done. According to Servius, Virgil assigns him his reward (Aen. vi. 612 sqq.):

"—— Quique arma secuti
Impia nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras,
Inclusi poenam expectant."

See Introduction to Epod. iv. Forcellini quotes only one other instance of 'illaqueo' from Prudentius, and one of the passive participle from Cicero. 'Irretio,' as Orelli says, is the more common word of the same meaning.

18. *Majorumque fames*] Bentley, after proposing to alter 'majorum' into 'majoris,' or else 'pecuniam' into 'pecunias,' in order that both may be of the same number, comes to the right conclusion at last, that 'majorum' has no connexion with 'pecuniam,' but is of the neuter gender, as in Theocritus (xvi. 65), αἰεὶ δὲ πλεόνων

Late conspicuum tollere verticem,
  Maecenas, equitum decus.
Quanto quisque sibi plura negaverit,
Ab dis plura feret: nil cupientium
Nudus castra peto et transfuga divitum
  Partes linquere gestio,
Contemptae dominus splendidior reï,
Quam si quidquid arat impiger Apulus
Occultare meis dicerer horreis,
  Magnas inter opes inops.
Purae rivus aquae silvaque jugerum
Paucorum et segetis certa fides meae
Fulgentem imperio fertilis Africae
  Fallit sorte beatior.

ἔχοι ἵμερος αὐτόν. With 'tollere verticem' compare C. i. 18. 15; and on 'equitum decus' see C. i. 30. 5 n.

21. *Quanto quisque sibi*] This sentiment approaches as near as possible to the fundamental rule of Christian ethics. The accuracy of the picture in the next verses must not be insisted on too closely. It would imply that Horace, a wealthy Epicurean, had thrown up his riches in contempt, and gone over to the ranks of the Stoics, as Cicero says (ad Fam. ix. 20), "in Epicuri nos adversarii nostri castra conjecimus." But, as Horace never was rich, he never could have acted the deserter on these terms, though he changed his opinions. He may sometimes be supposed (C. ii. 6, Introduction) to put general maxims in the first person without strict application to himself. 'Nudus' signifies one who has left every thing he had behind him. 'Contemptae' Bentley supposes to mean that for which Horace had a contempt. But he means that the rich man with fine houses had a contempt for his little property.

26. *arat impiger*] To avoid the lengthening of the final syllable in 'arat,' some editions, supported by a few MSS. (pauci codices, ut e meis Alt. 1. Lips. 3.—Jani) have 'non piger.' But the licence may be admitted in the caesural place, and the MSS. authority is in favour of 'impiger.' ['Quidquid arat,' 'whatever he gains by the plough:' something like Sallust's 'quae homines arant, navigant, aedificant,' 'what men do in ploughing, navigating ships, and building,' Cat. c. 2.] 'Occultare,' 'to hoard,' which was commonly done to raise the price. 'Meis' is emphatic, as 'proprio horreo' (C. i. 9).

29. *Purae rivus aquae*] Horace alludes to the small river Digentia. On 'certa fides' see C. iii. 1. 30 n. 'Fallit beatior' is a Greek construction, λανθάνει ὀλβιώτερον ὄν. Propertius has (i. 4. 15):

"Quo magis et nostros contendis solvere amores,
  Hoc magis adducta fallit uterque fide."

'The more you try to loosen our affection, the more we each of us, imperceptibly to you, interchange the assurance of fidelity.' Lucan also (vi. 64. 68) has the same construction twice:

"Prima quidem surgens operum structura fefellit
Pompeium, veluti—
Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos."

Horace says, 'Mine is a happier lot than his who has all Africa for his possession, though he knows not that it is so.' Bentley interprets 'imperio' and 'sorte' with reference to the proconsul; 'fulgentem' he changes to 'fulgente,' and 'fallit' he understands 'absolute.' Porphyrion interprets 'fulgentem' &c. rightly: "Qui sibi clarus videtur quia latissimas multasque habet in Africa possessiones." [Ritter also supposes that 'Africae sors' is the proconsular government of the province Africa, and he compares Tacitus, Ann. iii. 58, 71, 'sors Asiae.' His translation is 'and my crop's certainty how it is richer than Africa's productive province he sees not who is resplendent with proconsular power.' He takes 'fulgentem imperio' absolutely; but we must connect with it 'fertilis Africae,' which is also connected with 'sorte.' The passage is difficult. I think Macleane's interpretation is better. 'Fulgen-

Quamquam nec Calabrae mella ferunt apes
Nec Laestrygonia Bacchus in amphora
Languescit mihi nec pinguia Gallicis
  Crescunt vellera pascuis,
Importuna tamen pauperies abest,
Nec si plura velim tu dare deneges.
Contracto melius parva cupidine
  Vectigalia porrigam
Quam si Mygdoniis regnum Alyattei
Campis continuem. Multa petentibus
Desunt multa: bene est cui deus obtulit
  Parca quod satis est manu.

tem' is necessary, because there is 'fallit,' but we must also take 'fulgentem' to act the part of 'fulgentis.']

33. *Calabrae—apes*] See C. ii. 6. 18 n. 'Laestrygonia amphora' (like 'Sabina diota,' which was the same sort of vessel, C. i. 9. 7), 'an amphora of Formian wine.' The inhabitants of Formiae supposed it to be the Laestrygonia of Homer:

*ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἱκόμεσθα Λάμου αἰπὺ πτολίεθρον,
τηλέπυλον Λαιστρυγονίην* (Od. x. 81).

See Introduction to the next ode. Ovid (Met. xiv. 233):

"Inde Lami veterem Laestrygonis, inquit, in urbem
Venimus."

The Scholiast on Lycophron (Cassandra, v. 236) says, *Λαιστρύγονες οἱ νῦν Λεοντῖνοι*, and Acron in his note raises a doubt whether 'Laestrygonia amphora' is 'Formiana an Sicula;' but Pliny (N. H. iii. 5) writes, "Oppidum Formiae, Hormiae olim dictum, ut existimavere, antiqua Laestrygonum urbs." Cicero, writing to Atticus (ii. 13), says, 'Si vero in hanc *τηλέπυλον* veneris *Λαιστρυγονίην*—Formias dico." 'Languescere' means 'to be mellowed by keeping.' The Formian wine is mentioned C. i. 20. 11. The pasture lands in the basin of the Po (Gallica pascua) were very extensive and rich.

38. *Nec si plura velim*] Compare Epod. i. 31: "Satis superque me benignitas tua Ditavit." In what follows he says, "I shall make my small means go farther by keeping my desires within bounds, than if I were to join Lydia with Phrygia (and call them mine)." The Mygdonia of Asia Minor (part of Macedonia was also so called) was not very clearly defined, as Strabo says. That Horace identifies it with Phrygia appears from C. ii. 12. 22, "Aut pinguis Phrygiae Mygdonias opes." Claudian (in Eutrop. ii. 1) speaks of the ruins of Troy as "Mygdonii cineres." 'Alyattei' is the genitive of 'Alyatteus,' another form of 'Alyattes' (king of Lydia), as Achilleus -ei of Achilles, Ulyxeus -ei of Ulyxes. Bentley established this reading, to which Tan. Faber made an approximation in 'Alyattii,' seeing that 'Halyattici,' the reading of all former editions, had no meaning, though the editors supposed it to mean Croesus, the son of Alyattes. I do not find that there is a reading 'Alyattei,' but it is now generally adopted. ['Parva vectigalia:' Horace's small income. Cicero uses 'vectigalia' in the same sense. The meaning of 'porrigam' is given in the Introduction, and the word can have no other meaning here. Ritter, following Acron, says 'porrigere vectigalia est dare in manum colligentis.' But after the conquest of Macedonia (B.C. 167) there was no land-tax (tributum) in Italy; in Cicero's time (ad Attic. ii. 16) the 'portoria' were abolished, and there remained no tax in Italy except five per cent. on the value of manumitted slaves. There was, therefore, nothing for Horace to pay. Ritter remarks that Augustus established the 'centesima,' or tax of one per cent. on articles sold (Tacit. Ann. i. 78), but that tax would not touch Horace. Further, Ritter's translation of 'porrigere' is inconsistent with 'continuem' &c., which makes Horace's meaning certain. I omit part of Ritter's argument, which requires no notice.]

42. *Multa petentibus*] The same sentiment appears in C. iii. 24. 63:

"Crescunt divitiae, tamen
  Curtae nescio quid semper abest rei."

'Bene est' occurs again in Epp. i. 1. 89:

"Jurat bene solis esse maritis."

CARMEN XVII.

The short ode, C. i. 26, and this ode were addressed to the same person, L. Aelius Lamia (see Introduction to C. i. 26). The language of the former ode has led to the inference that Lamia was a young man of desponding disposition, and this that he was proud and vain-glorious—a sort of criticism impertinent and unreasonable as it seems to me. What is clear is no more than that Lamia was a young man of good birth, being of the Aelia gens, who were plebeians, but of old standing. Like other families the Lamiae were perhaps glad to trace their origin to a fabulous hero, and believed their founder to be Lamus, king of the Laestrygonians, the builder of Formiae, from whence they must have migrated to Rome (see last ode, v. 33 n). Horace had evidently an affection for the young man Lamia, whose father was a friend of Cicero, and died rich. It is not improbable the ode was written at his house in the country, whether at Formiae ("quod valde probabile," says Jani, I don't see why) or elsewhere. It has no particular merit, and could have cost Horace little labour. He must have written many such that have never been published, and these two odes were probably included in the collection out of compliment to Lamia. But there is not the least reason why Horace should be supposed not to have been the author of the ode; and though it might do very well, perhaps better, without the verses 2—5, which some editors would strike out (Jani says, "haud dubie spurii sunt," and has a long excursus to prove it), but no MSS. omit, it is the very worst species of criticism that endeavours to bring, by corrections, omissions, and additions, the received text into conformity with some standard which is presumed to represent the mind and style of the author. If this system were not so common, especially among the commentators of Horace, old and new, it would seem superfluous to say a word about it. Lamia had a brother Quintus, who died early, to the great grief of Lucius (Epp. i. 14. 6). There was one of this family, according to the Scholiasts Acron and Porphyrion, who wrote comedies; but there is no reason to suppose it was Horace's friend. In two passages Juvenal alludes to the Lamiae as a family of distinction (S. iv. 153):

> "Sed periit postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
> Coeperat; hoc nocuit Lamiarum caede madenti."

and (vi. 385):—

> "Quaedam de numero Lamiarum ac nominis Appi
> Et farre et vino Janum Vestamque rogabat;"

where they are associated with the family of the Appii, though the reading of the MSS. varies, and 'alti' is now received. Tacitus (Ann. vi. 27), mentioning the death of this Lamia, says his 'genus' was 'decorum.'

ARGUMENT.

Aelius, ennobled with the blood of Lamus (for like all the Lamiae thou derivest thy birth from him who founded Formiae and ruled on the banks of the Liris), a storm is coming, get in the wood while it is dry: to-morrow the servants shall have holiday, and thou wilt do sacrifice to thy genius.

AELI vetusto nobilis ab Lamo,
(Quando et priores hinc Lamias ferunt
  Denominatos et nepotum
    Per memores genus omne fastos,

4. *memores—fastos*] These were the family records and genealogies, not the Fasti Consulares, as Acron says, in which only this Lamia would appear, and that after

Auctore ab illo ducis originem
Qui Formiarum moenia dicitur
Princeps et innantem Maricae
Litoribus tenuisse Lirim
Late tyrannus) cras foliis nemus
Multis et alga litus inutili
Demissa tempestas ab Euro
Sternet, aquae nisi fallit augur

Horace wrote. He was consul A.D. 3 (Clinton, F. H.). Orelli adopts the form 'fastos' in preference to 'fastus,' as being, he says, more ancient. 'Fastibus' occurs in Lucan (x. 187); and Priscian (vi. 14) says, that both forms have been found by him in this passage of Horace. The words occur again in C. iv. 14. 4.

5. *ducis*] This is the reading of all the MSS. D. Heinsius proposed to read 'ducit,' to be governed by 'genus,' and Bentley warmly supports that reading. But there is no necessity to desert the MSS. What Horace says is nearly as follows, 'Since, as it is reported, your early ancestors declared they were descended from Lamus, and the same tradition has come down through their successors in the annals of the family, no doubt you draw your origin from that distinguished source;' in which there is nothing more than a little jocular irony, which would amuse Lamia whether it pleased his family pride or not. That the pronoun 'tu' ought to appear in opposition to 'priores' is no argument against 'ducis.' The poets, both Latin and Greek, often omit the personal pronoun, even when it is wanted for emphasis, as in C. i. 1. 35, "Quod si me lyricis vatibus inseris," where Maecenas is emphatically addressed; and in C. iv. 2. 33, "Concines majore poeta plectro Caesarem," where Iulus Antonius is opposed to Horace himself. 'Quando et' sufficiently makes the opposition here.

6. *Formiarum*] See Introduction.

7. *Maricae litoribus*] This means the shore of Minturnae on the borders of Latium and Campania, where the nymph Marica was worshipped.

12. *aquae—augur*] See C. iii. 27. 10, "Imbrium divina avis imminentum;" and Ovid (Am. ii. 6. 34), "pluviae graculus auctor aquae," where it appears Heinsius proposed to substitute 'augur' for 'auctor.'

13. *Dum potes*] Bentley, from three of his oldest MSS., introduced 'potis' for 'potes,' the reading of former editions. He says it is "sine dubio ab Horatii incude: unde enim bonis illis Librariis nummum tam rarae notae?" And he quotes Virgil (Aen. iii. 670):

"Verum ubi nulla datur dextra adfectare potestas,
Nec potis Ionios fluctus aequare sequendo."

To Bentley's three MSS. Vanderburg has added a fourth, also of the tenth century, "et exstitit haud dubie in pluribus aliorum etiam codd. sed neglectum fuit," says Jani, because he likes a word "tam exquisitum et rarum."

14. *cras Genium mero Curabis*] 'Genium curare' is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. 'Placare' and 'indulgere' are the usual words. Mitsch. says, that "any man of politeness will instinctively see that Horace means politely to offer himself as a guest at Lamia's table;" on which Orelli says that such politeness is a matter "de qua vehementer dubitare licet." The commentators have with their usual accuracy done their best to determine whether Lamia was going really to offer sacrifice to his genius, or whether Horace only meant him to do so; and also whether 'curare' can have reference to a sacrifice, or whether it does not rather mean that Lamia was going to keep his birthday next day; to which again it is objected that this could not be, as blood was not shed in sacrifice on birthdays; of which statement another satisfactorily disposes (C. iv. 11. 8 n.). I leave the reader to exercise his own judgment on the question. ['Quod et merum et porcus bimestris Genio dari nunc dicitur, non satis accurate factum est: nam vulgo Genium vino, Tellurem porco placabant.' Epp. ii. 1. 143—Ritter.]

16. *operum solutis*] This construction, like "desine querelarum" (C. ii. 9. 17), and other expressions there quoted, is similar to the Greek πόνου λελυμένοις. [Comp. S. ii. 3. 27.] On these constructions Prof. Key says (L. G. § 940, and note), "occasionally verbs of removal or separation

Annosa cornix. Dum potes aridum
Compone lignum: cras Genium mero
Curabis et porco bimestri
Cum famulis operum solutis.

have a genitive of the 'whence' in old writers and in poetry." "The legal language here, as in so many cases, retained traces of the old construction, as in 'liberare tutelae.'" So Cicero says (de Legg. ii. 20), "Is per aes et libram haeredem testamenti solvat." "Me omnium jam laborum levas" is a like construction quoted by Mr. Key from Plautus.

CARMEN XVIII.

It was usual to offer sacrifice to Faunus at the beginning of spring, though the Faunalia did not take place till the Nones of December. (See C. i. 4. 6 and 17.) This ode is very elegant, especially the picture of rustic security and cheerfulness in the last two stanzas. The confusion of the Greek Pan with the Latin god Faunus has been noticed before and is well known.

ARGUMENT.

Faunus, come with mercy to my fields and depart gentle to my young lambs, for I sacrifice and pour libations to thee at the fall of the year. When thy Nones come round the old altar smokes with incense; the flocks sport in safety, the oxen are at rest, and the village is gay; the wood sheds its leaves, and the clown smites his enemy, the earth, in the dance.

Faune, Nympharum fugientum amator,
Per meos fines et aprica rura
Lenis incedas abeasque parvis
Aequus alumnis,
Si tener pleno cadit haedus anno,
Larga nec desunt Veneris sodali
Vina craterae. Vetus ara multo
Fumat odore,

3. *incedas abeasque*] Faunus was not a stationary divinity. He was supposed to come in the spring and depart after the celebration of his festival in December. From 'parvis alumnis' we may suppose this ode was written in spring (C. iii. 23. 7). ['Alumnis' may include the slave children born on the farm. Ritter says: "Faunus, dum fugientes Nymphas rapido cursu sequitur, agri segetem calcare et alumnos arborum laedere potest." Ritter's 'parvi alumni' are the small trees (vines, perhaps, he means) lately planted. This explanation is new, as far as I know, but I do not think that it is true.]

5. *Si tener pleno cadit haedus anno*] 'Si' is not hypothetical, and the true reading is 'cadit,' not 'cadet.'—I have not followed the usual punctuation of this passage, which makes 'fumat' depend upon 'si,' with a comma at 'craterae,' and a period at 'odore.' Horace claims the protection of Faunus for his lambs in the spring, on the ground of his due observance of the rites of December. 'Pleno anno' means at the end of the year, when the Faunalia took place. Horace here makes the wine-cup the companion of Venus, as he made 'Jocus' in C. i. 2. 34. See also C. i. 30. 5 sqq. He uses both forms, 'crater' and 'cratera.' 'Vetus ara' may be an old altar Horace found on his farm when he came into possession of it.

Ludit herboso pecus omne campo,
Cum tibi Nonae redeunt Decembres;
Festus in pratis vacat otioso
  Cum bove pagus;
Inter audaces lupus errat agnos;
Spargit agrestes tibi silva frondes;
Gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor
  Ter pede terram.

9. *Ludit herboso*] The festivities of December in Horace's pleasant valley would hardly suit an English May-day. Several middle-age MSS. have changed 'pagus,' which stands for Horace's village Mandela, into 'pardus,' a monkish fraud or blunder, to effect a resemblance between this passage and the prophecy of Isaiah (xi. 6), "The wolf shall lie down with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid," &c. It does not quite appear why the wood should be said to shed its leaves in honour of Faunus: it may be in sorrow for his departure, or as a carpet for him to tread upon, or for his worshippers to dance upon.

16. *Ter*] "Quod est tripudiare. Ter ad rhythmum dactylicum vel anapaesticum rettulit" (Scholiast, quoted by Orelli, not Acron, Porph., or Comm. Cruq.). It is what Sir John Davies (Orchestra, st. 69, 70) calls

"Those current traverses
That on a triple dactyly foot do run."

He describes another which seems to correspond to the rustic dance in the text:

"Yet is there one of most delightful kind
  A lofty jumping or a leaping round:
Where arm in arm two dancers are entwined
  And whirl themselves with strict embracements bound,
  And still their feet an anapaest do sound.
An anapaest is all their music's song
Whose first two feet are short and third is long."

These were the 'courantoes' and 'lavoltaes' of the Elizabethan age, in which our modern dancers may perhaps trace something of their art.—'Fossor' is put generally for a labourer, who may be supposed to have no love for the earth that he digs for another. ['Fossor' is the name of the man who digs between the vines. Columella, iv. 27.]

CARMEN XIX.

The impetuosity and liveliness of this ode are remarkable. It would be difficult to find in any language, I think, a poem more expressive of the freedom suited to the occasion for which it was composed,—a supper in honour of Murena's installation in the college of augurs. In regard to this person see C. ii. 10. Telephus is no doubt a fictitious name, though Acron calls him a Greek poet and a friend of Horace, being led to that information as is common with commentators, old and modern, only by the ode itself, to which undue reality is given. The name occurs in two different odes (C. i. 13 and iv. 11), and efforts have been made to prove the person to be the same in each case. In the first of these he is a "puer furens," with "cervix rosea" and "cerea brachia," with whom Lydia is passionately in love. Here he is a bookworm given to antiquarian and historical researches, and in the fourth book he is still young enough to be a rival of the poet with Phyllis his last love. "Modern commentators have filled up the details of the (Scholiast's) picture. Telephus is made out to be a Greek youth of rank, is fond of antiquarian studies, and when he is once buried in them is hardly to be torn away from his books, with more of the same idle babble. Those good old scholars, Gerard Vossius and Fabricius, never dreamt of any thing of the sort, else they would not have failed to enrich their literary histories, in which they carefully stick every name they can pick up, with that of this

Telephus. But it looks rather ill that this well-bred learned Greek, who lived on such intimate terms with Horace, is never heard of in any other place. The best information about him may be gleaned from the other two odes. Telephus is a poetical name which Horace uses when it suits his purpose, as here, for instance, when he wanted such an one to give an air of individuality to an ode beginning with the humorous reproof, 'You tell us a great deal about the race of Codrus and of Aeacus, and about the Trojan War, but as to how, where, and on what we are to dine to-day, you don't say a word.'" This is Buttmann's opinion, and I think any sensible man who reflects on the subject, without preconceptions of reality in his mind, will agree with him. At any rate a very slight groundwork of truth would be enough for the part that Telephus bears in this ode, and on such questions conjecture and time are thrown away. [Ritter tells us to take his word, and believe that Telephus is the rhetorician Heliodorus, S. i. 5. 2. The reason for Horace giving him this name is as wonderful as the discovery itself. Yet Ritter says that the Telephus of C. iv. 11 is a different person.] Of the date we can only say it was written before A.U.C. 732, for the reasons stated C. ii. 10. The season was winter (v. 8), and the day was the first of the month (probably of the year).

Dillenbr. supposes the ode to have arisen out of the following scene. On a cold dull winter evening Horace is sitting in a room with some friends. They are talking and drinking without much spirit, till at last the dulness of the conversation turning upon dry points of history, through the prosy pedantry of some one of the party, Horace can bear it no longer, and bursts out with the contemptuous language with which the ode begins; then calls his friends to drink, and sets them the example. It is easy to adapt such a scene to the ode; but there can be little doubt, I think, that it is one on which Horace bestowed more than average pains, though there is no ode in which the "ars celare artem" is more conspicuous. It is impossible to suppose it the work of a moment, as Dillenbr.'s very neat adaptation would require us to suppose. He thinks the ode is one of the early ones, as more akin to the fire of youth than the sobriety of later life, to which remark I attach no importance.

ARGUMENT.

Talk not of Codrus, and Inachus, and Trojan wars: tell us what we may get a cask of Chian for, who will give us bath and house-room, and at what hour we may dine to-day. A cup, boy, to the new moon, another to midnight, and a third to Murena the augur; three and nine or nine and three; the rapt poet loves the nine; pure the Graces forbid. Let us be mad: bring music, scatter roses, let old neighbour Lycus and his young ill-sorted partner hear our noise and envy us. Rhode runs after thee, Telephus, with thy beautiful hair and bright face: as for me, I am wasting with love of Glycera.

QUANTUM distet ab Inacho
  Codrus pro patria non timidus mori
Narras, et genus Aeaci
  Et pugnata sacro bella sub Ilio:

1. *Quantum distet ab Inacho, &c.*] The number of years between Inachus, first king of Argos, and Codrus, the last king of Athens, is said to be eight hundred; but that it was a question not worth discussing was Horace's opinion, and perhaps the same opinion may be held now. On what authority Inachus is said to have been contemporary with Joseph I do not know, but so I find it is stated by Böckh (Manetho, p. 193) in Orelli's note on this passage. The late Mr. Gutzlaff, in his History of China, tells us how "the wise prince Te-ke" was chosen successor to the throne "by the unanimous voice of the people and the mandarins," and how he made an harangue to his court and marched against a refractory prince, with a fine army well equipped, in

Quo Chium pretio cadum
Mercemur, quis aquam temperet ignibus,
Quo praebente domum et quota
Pelignis caream frigoribus, taces.
Da lunae propere novae,
Da noctis mediae, da, puer, auguris
Murenae: tribus aut novem
Miscentur cyathis pocula commodis.

a year which the Jewish chronology puts before the dispersion of mankind, and Ta-ou the august was reigning at Pekin while Noah was floating in the ark.

4. *sacro—sub Ilio*] This is Homer's epithet, Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον.

5. *Chium—cadum*] This is the same form of expression as "Laestrygonia amphora," "Sabina diota;" and the vessels were all the same. Compare Tibullus (ii. 1. 27), quoted C. iii. 8. 11.

On the Chian wine see Sat. ii. 8. 15. The best foreign wines were Thasian, Lesbian, Chian, Sicyonian, Cyprian, and Clazomenian. Only the second and third are mentioned by Horace, who puts them together in Epod. ix. 34. They were mild wines. Lesbian was 'innocens' (C. i. 17. 21).

6. *Quis aquam temperet ignibus*] This is equivalent to 'who can give us a bath?' So Cicero, writing to Paetus, with whom he was going to dine (ad Fam. ix. 16, sub fin.), says, "ego tibi unum sumptum afferam quod balneum calfacias oportebit." Dillenbr. supposes Horace to be proposing an ἔρανος or symbola, each person contributing in kind to the entertainment. I do not take that view of his words. [Ritter, following Acron, explains 'quis aquam temperet,' &c., 'who will supply warm water for the wine?']

8. *Pelignis frigoribus*] Cold as bad as the Peligni know, who inhabited a high part of the Apennines in the Samnite territory. 'Quota' means at what hour we may sup. Bentley tells us Horace might have said 'quotus,' as he does in Epp. i. 5. 30. He thinks that word would have been equally good. I do not. [On 'frigoribus' Ritter remarks, 'numerus multitudinis notionem frigoris adauget.' The Roman use of plurals is common. Comp. Caesar, B. G. i. 16, 'propter frigora;' and C. iv. 7. 9.]

9. *Da lunae propere novae*] The scene is suddenly shifted to the supper-table. On the construction with the genitive see above (C. iii. 8. 13). Turnebus gives the right interpretation of 'lunae novae.' It means the Kalends, which was a feast day. (Compare iii. 23. 2, 'nascente luna.') The months of Numa's calendar being lunar, the association of the new moon with the first day of the month remained after the calendar was altered. A cup for midnight does not appear to have any other meaning than an excuse for another toast. "Dicetur merita Nox quoque naenia" (C. iii. 28. 16).

11. *tribus aut novem Miscentur cyathis*] The 'cyathus' was a ladle with which the drink was passed from the mixing bowl to the drinking cup. The ladle was of certain capacity, and twelve 'cyathi' went to the sextarius. Horace therefore says in effect, "let the wine be mixed in the proportion of three cyathi of wine to nine of water, or of nine of wine to three of water." He says also the poet under the inspiration of the Muses likes the stronger proportion; but the Graces (in other words, good breeding and good temper) forbid the wine to be drunk pure, lest it lead to intoxication and strife. 'Tres supra' means the three over the largest proportion of nine, and which, if added, would make the drink 'merum.' The above is Orelli's explanation, and it seems to me to be true. He held a different opinion at one time, and his Excursus may be consulted by those who are not satisfied with the explanation here given. There were different ways of drinking healths. One way was to drink as many cups as there were letters in the name. Some interpret this passage as meaning that the poet drank nine cups to the Muses, while others to the Graces drank only three, according to their number. This explanation Orelli does not give; but I like it best after his own. It requires us to render 'tres supra' 'above three,' which I do not like. 'Miscentur' means that such is the usual practice, and there is no necessity to change it to 'miscentor,' as Bentley has done, following Rutgersius. 'Commodis,' fit and proper 'cyathi,' that is, bumpers. [It may mean that either three or nine may be the right (commodis) number of

Qui Musas amat impares
  Ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet
Vates; tres prohibet supra
  Rixarum metuens tangere Gratia
Nudis juncta sororibus.
  Insanire juvat: cur Berecyntiae
Cessant flamina tibiae?
  Cur pendet tacita fistula cum lyra?
Parcentes ego dexteras
  Odi: sparge rosas; audiat invidus
Dementem strepitum Lycus
  Et vicina seni non habilis Lyco.
Spissa te nitidum coma,
  Puro te similem, Telephe, Vespero
Tempestiva petit Rhode:
  Me lentus Glycerae torret amor meae.

'cyathi.'] The Muses are 'impares' as being nine in number. 'Attonitus' is equivalent to ἐμβρόντητος. On 'nudis' see C. i. 30. 5 n.

18. *Insanire juvat*] This is a repetition of C. ii. 7. 28: "Recepto dulce mihi furere est amico." Berecyntus was a mountain in Phrygia, where Semele was worshipped. Compare Catullus (lxiv. 265), "Barbaraque horribili stridebat tibia cantu," where, according to the common application of the word, 'barbara' is equivalent to Phrygia or Berecyntia. Euripides also (Bacchae, 127) speaks of ἡδυβόᾳ Φρυγίων αὐλῶν πνεύματι. Compare C. iv. 1. 22. The 'fistula' corresponded nearly to the Greek 'syrinx,' and what we call the Pandean pipe: the 'tibia' was a sort of flageolet. Winter roses were cultivated at great cost.

24. *non habilis Lyco*] The oldest of the Blandinian MSS. had 'habili,' and that reading Rutgersius must have followed when he interpreted 'vicina' thus: "quae intacta neque aliter quam vicina cum vicino cum Lyco marito degit;" as Juvenal (vi. 509):

"—— vivit tanquam vicina marito.
Hoc solo propior quod amicos conjugis odit."

But 'vicina Lyco' is not necessarily his wife. "Quem Lycum quare ita in transitu carpserit Horatius non apparet," says Estré, on the matter-of-fact principle. Lycus need not be hurt. He was no more than a name. [Lycus, says Ritter, is the husband of Lyce (iv. 13). Lycus represents the Roman name Lupus, and hence his wife is called Lyce.]

CARMEN XX.

There can be very little doubt that this ode is imitated from the Greek, though Dillenbr. denies it, as he generally does. It represents in heroic language a contest between Pyrrhus and a girl not named for the affections of the handsome Nearchus. The last two stanzas furnish a striking group for a picture. The passion of the jealous girl, and the conscious pride of the beautiful boy, are happily painted. [Ritter observes that 'there is nothing about a girl in the ode,' and he adds 'neque puer qualis Nearchus describitur puellis habilis esse solet.' The 'Gaetula leaena' is the mother of Nearchus, who would save the youth. This explanation is at least worth consideration.]

ARGUMENT.

As well rob the lioness of her whelps, Pyrrhus. That girl will rush to the rescue of her lover, and like a coward and thief thou shalt quit the field after a hard-fought battle in which he shall stand like Nireus or Ganymede, the umpire of the fight.

Non vides quanto moveas periclo,
Pyrrhe, Gaetulae catulos leaenae?
Dura post paullo fugies inaudax
  Proelia raptor
Cum per obstantes juvenum catervas
Ibit insignem repetens Nearchum,
Grande certamen tibi praeda cedat
  Major an illi.
Interim, dum tu celeres sagittas
Promis, haec dentes acuit timendos,
Arbiter pugnae posuisse nudo
  Sub pede palmam
Fertur, et leni recreare vento
Sparsum odoratis humerum capillis,
Qualis aut Nireus fuit aut aquosa
  Raptus ab Ida.

3. *inaudax*] This word, which is not found elsewhere, is the Greek ἄτολμος.

5. *per obstantes*] i.e. 'when, like the lioness bursting through a host of huntsmen, she shall rush to the rescue of Nearchus more beautiful than all (insignem).'

8. *Major an illi*] Orelli, who seldom departs from the MSS., has here adopted an emendation which he calls "sagacem ac facillimam," and which Dillenbr. approves, and "tantum non recepit," 'major an illa,' which is due to the simultaneous sagacity of Peerlkamp and Haupt. The former has deserved little of Horace, and has not, I think, increased his claims by this suggestion. 'Major an illa' would mean, 'or whether she is superior;' 'major an illi,' 'rather to thee or to her.' The Greek could not be mistaken if it ran πότερα ἡ λεία σοὶ μείζων ἥξει ἢ ἐκείνῃ, where μείζων would be equivalent, not to λείας μεῖζον μέρος, but to μᾶλλον. Cicero (ad Qu. Fratr. i. 1. c. 4) says, "Sit lictor non suae sed tuae lenitatis apparitor; *majoraque* praeferant fasces illi ac secures dignitatis insignia quam potestatis." Probably Horace found μείζων in his original in some such combination as I have supposed. 'Certamen' has no regular government. The construction, however, is intelligible without supplying 'est' or 'erit,' as some propose.

11. *Arbiter pugnae*] Nearchus is represented as standing in doubt to which of the combatants he shall yield himself, with his naked foot upon the palm of victory, looking like Nireus,

——— ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθεν
τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα (Il. ii. 673),

or like Ganymede. The difference between the perfect and the present, the one as representing a complete, and the other a continuing action, is here clearly marked. (See C. i. 1. 4 n.) 'Fertur' a little disturbs the character of the description as a painting, whether we interpret with Dillenbr., who supposes a real story to be the subject of the ode, and has no faith in a Greek original, or with Orelli, who understands it to mean the remarks of the spectators looking on at this scene as it might be represented on a stage or in a picture. The latter does not satisfy me, and the word is one of which it is difficult to fix the exact meaning. I cannot help thinking that this too savours of a pretty literal copy, and indicates a composition not flowing from the mind of the writer, and therefore liable to some confusion, though to him it was plain enough. ['Aquosa;' Homer's πολυπίδαξ.]

CARMEN XXI.

The history of M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, of his learning and eloquence, and the origin of his double cognomen, under both of which he appears in Horace's poems, are fully given in Velleius, ii. 71. The date of this ode, which is addressed to the testa containing the wine intended for Messalla at a supper to which he has invited himself at Horace's house, cannot by any sort of evidence be even conjectured. Dillenbr. says it was a song composed extempore at a party at which Messalla was symposiarch. In such extemporaneous effusions Dillenbr. puts more faith than I can; but the ode may have been recited at the supper-table, and composed for the occasion it professes to have been composed for.

ARGUMENT.

Thou amphora, who wast filled at my birth, whether thy mission be one of sorrow or joy, of strife, or love or sleep, come down, for Corvinus would have my better wine. Learned though he be, he will not despise thee, for neither did old Cato. Thou dost soften the inflexible, aud open the heart, and bring back hope, and give strength and courage to the humble. Liber, Venus, and the Graces shall keep thee company till the dawn of day.

O NATA mecum consule Manlio,
Seu tu querelas sive geris jocos
Seu rixam et insanos amores
Seu facilem, pia testa, somnum,
Quocunque lectum nomine Massicum
Servas, moveri digna bono die,
Descende, Corvino jubente
Promere languidiora vina.

1. *O nata mecum*] Horace was born A.U.C. 689, or B.C. 65, when L. Manlius Torquatus and L. Aurelius Cotta were consuls, in which year the amphora addressed is here said to have been filled (C. iii. 8. 12 n.). 'Testa,' which signifies properly any 'vas coctile,' was used to express the 'dolium' as well as the 'amphora.' Here it obviously means the latter. In Epod. xiii. 6, Horace had before referred to this wine: "Vina Torquato move consule pressa meo." 'Pia testa' Dacier renders 'aimable bouteille.' The force of the epithet is more easily felt than described. 'Gentle cask' is Francis's translation, and I know no better, for the meaning is to be derived from its connexion with 'facilem somnum.' ['Kindly jar,' Newman.] Jahn (in whose judgment Orelli always places great faith) says Horace calls the testa 'pia,' because it was contemporary with himself. That does not bring us much nearer to the meaning.

5. *Quocunque—nomine*] 'On whatever account.' Orelli quotes Varro (de Re R. i. 1. 6): "Item adveneror Minervam et Venerem quarum unius procuratio oliveti, alterius hortorum, quo nomine rustica Vinalia instituta." On the technical meaning of 'nomen' signifying an entry in an account, see Mr. Long's note on Cic. in Verrem, ii. 1. 38. The derived sense of the word as used here is better illustrated by Cic. de Am. c. 25: "Multis nominibus est hoc vitium notandum," i. e. on many accounts or in many particulars. [The reference is to the preceding stanza, 'quocunque effectu sive quacunque potentia,' as Ritter rightly says; to the effect of the wine, not to the name, as some take it literally, for the name, as he tells us, is 'Massicum.'] Lectum,' which Forcellini interprets 'selected,' rather applies to the gathering of the grape from which the wine was made. Massic wine was from Mons Massicus in Campania. The word 'descende' is used because

Non ille, quamquam Socraticis madet
Sermonibus, te negleget horridus:
  Narratur et prisci Catonis
    Saepe mero caluisse virtus.
Tu lene tormentum ingenio admoves
Plerumque duro; tu sapientium
  Curas et arcanum jocoso
    Consilium retegis Lyaeo;
Tu spem reducis mentibus anxiis
Viresque, et addis cornua pauperi,
  Post te neque iratos trementi
    Regum apices neque militum arma.

the apotheca was in the upper part of the house. (C. iii. 8. 11 n.) For the same cause 'deripe' is used (C. iii. 28. 7). 'Dignus' is used sometimes by the later prose-writers with an infinitive, and by Horace several times in the Satires and Epistles. Orelli quotes Seneca (de Benef. i. 1. 10), "dignus est decipi." 'Languidiora' corresponds to 'languescit mihi' above (C. iii. 16. 35). For 'lectum nomine,' Bentley proposes 'fetum numine,' "hoc est, quacunque potestate praeditum; compellat enim testam tanquam Dea quaepiam fuerit. Et justa ni fallor metaphora est; et ad audacem Flacci indolem accommodata." He anticipates the rejection of his emendation because it is an emendation, but thinks if any MS. were to exhibit his reading it would be received with acclamation. There is a reading 'numine;' but no signs yet of the acclamation Bentley expected; when 'fetum' makes its appearance, editors may perhaps desert the received reading.

9. *madet*] This word would hardly have been used for 'imbuitur' in this sense on any other occasion, though Martial says (i. 40), "Cecropiae madidus Latiaeque Minervae Artibus." Pliny (Epp. iii. 12) copies the expression 'Socraticis sermonibus,' which Orelli supposes had passed into proverbial use. Speaking of a supper, he says, "Sit expedita: sit parca: Socraticis tantum sermonibus abundet." For 'negleget,' the reading of most MSS. and editions, Bentley prefers the present tense. [Ritter has 'neglegit.']

11. *Narratur et prisci Catonis*] Plutarch says the younger Cato drank a great deal of wine in the latter part of his life, and Seneca says the same. Some editors therefore have supposed that Horace refers to him. But he is not alluding to the intemperate use of wine, and 'prisci' can only apply to the elder Cato, as in "priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis" (Epp. ii. 2. 117). "Prisci: antiquioris, non Uticensis" (Acron).

13. *Tu lene tormentum ingenio*] 'Thou appliest a gentle spur to the usually ungenial temper.' 'Duro ingenio' does not, I think, as Bentley says, signify 'the genius that finds it hard to express itself,' but the reserved temper whose sympathies are not easily drawn out, as in Terence (Phorm. iii. 2. 12), "Adeon' ingenio esse duro te atque inexorabili." 'Sapientium' Dillenbr. supposes to be said ironically, signifying the Sir Oracles, "who therefore only are esteemed wise for saying nothing." I think it has a more serious and kindly meaning, and applies to the philosophical and thoughtful (as 'sapientia' is put for philosophy, C. i. 34. 2), who have little to do with mirth till they are brought out by cheerful company. It is said that in his odes Horace always uses the termination 'ium' for the genitive plural of nouns ending in 'ens,' and for participles the termination 'tum.' But the instances of either are not numerous enough to determine a rule, and the so-called nouns are usually participles, as 'sapiens' is. Ovid probably had this passage of Horace in his mind when he wrote the following verses (A. A. i. 237):—

"Vina parant animos faciuntque caloribus aptos,
  Cura fugit multo diluiturque mero.
Tunc veniunt risus, tunc pauper cornua sumit,
  Tunc dolor et curae rugaque frontis abit.
Tunc aperit mentes aevo rarissima nostro
  Simplicitas artes excutiente deo."

Te Liber et, si laeta aderit, Venus
Segnesque nodum solvere Gratiae
Vivaeque producent lucernae,
Dum rediens fugat astra Phoebus.

['Cornua' is 'strength,' 'courage,' 'power to attack or to resist' (Ovid, Am. iii. 11. 6). Ritter observes that Bacchus is ταυρόκερως, Eurip. Bacch. 100, and he refers to Tibullus, ii. 1. 3, 'Bacche, veni, dulcisque tuis e cornibus uva Pendeat.']

19. *Post te*] "Quis post vina gravem militiam aut pauperiem crepat?" (C. i. 18. 5.) As to 'apices,' see C. i. 34. 14.

22. *Segnesque nodum solvere Gratiae*] As Horace represents the Graces naked, 'nodum' cannot signify the zone, as some commentators say. It seems to mean the bond that unites them. They are always represented with their arms intertwined. Acron says, 'Segnesque nodum solvere—hoc est quae nodum non solvunt quo connexae sunt. Propterea hoc dictum est quia qui fida inter se gratia junguntur nunquam resolvuntur ab amicitiae fide, unde et ipsae Gratiae conjunctis inter se manibus finguntur." As to the next line, see C. iii. 8. 14.

CARMEN XXII.

Horace on some occasion thought fit to dedicate a pine in his garden to Diana, and his commentators have suggested various reasons and occasions for his doing so. One thinks it may have been when he first had possession of his farm, which enables him to fix the date of the ode; another that he had had an escape from the attack of a boar pig; the French editors have settled it was on the arrival of news that one of his mistresses had been safely delivered of a child; "for the ode," says Dacier, "has all the air of a thanksgiving," of which suspicion Jani says 'valde arridet,' while all other conjecturers, in his opinion, 'multa nugantur.' Whether his 'nugae' surpass the 'nugae' of others or not, the reader will judge for himself. But it may safely be pronounced to be the idlest sort of trifling which thus attempts to fix causes from such impenetrable data, and turns the edge of a pretty trifle like this by forcing it into matter of fact. How long the child born on this memorable occasion survived its birth, or how many such the numerous mistresses of the poet (une de ses maîtresses!) bore him, we are not informed by the sagacity of Sanadon and Dacier. The dedication of trees to particular divinities was not uncommon. Fea quotes an inscription in which T. Pomponius Victor vows a thousand large trees to Silvanus: TU ME MEOSQUE REDUCES ROMAM SISTITO DAQUE ITALA RURA TE COLAMUS PRAESIDE EGO JAM DICABO MILLE MAGNAS ARBORES.

ARGUMENT.

Diana, who protectest the mountains and woods, and deliverest women in childbirth, to thee I dedicate this pine, and will offer thee the sacrifice of a boar.

Montium custos nemorumque, Virgo,
Quae laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis adimisque leto,
Diva triformis,

1. *Montium—nemorumque*] See C. i. 21. 5, and C. S. 1. Diana shared with Juno the attributes of Lucina, the divinity that brings children to the birth, as explained

Imminens villae tua pinus esto,
Quam per exactos ego laetus annos
Verris obliquum meditantis ictum
Sanguine donem.

on v. 13 of the Secular Ode. Diana was 'Diva triformis' as being Luna in Heaven, Diana on Earth, and Hecate in Hell; whence Virgil speaks of "Tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae" (Aen. iv. 511), alluding (as Horace does) to the statues of the goddess with three faces set up where three roads met, so that she could look down all three at once, from which she was called Trivia. Compare Ovid (Fast. i. 141):

"Ora vides Hecates in tres vertentia partes,
Servet ut in ternas compita secta vias."

[Puellas: see C. iii. 14. 10 n.]

6. *Quam per exactos ego laetus annos*] The antecedent to 'quam' is implied in 'tua.' [(See Sat. i. 4. 23.) It is, however, possible that 'quam' may refer to 'pinus.' 'Quam donem,' 'let the pine be thine to receive my annual offering.'] 'Per exactos annos' means 'every year.'

CARMEN XXIII.

Phidyle (from φείδεσθαι) is, according to Jani, "villica haud dubie seu procuratrix in fundo Sabino Horatii:" to whom Horace wrote this ode, says Dacier, because she complained that she was not allowed by her master to offer fine enough sacrifices. Let us rather assume that Horace, wishing to embody the principle that any offering to Heaven is acceptable according to a man's means (see note on v. 20), put it into the form of an address to the plain and pious Phidyle, a person of his own creation, bringing a humble offering to her Lares with doubts as to its acceptance, or lamenting that she could not for her poverty offer a worthier sacrifice. This explanation lies on the surface, and I do not see any other that the ode is capable of.

ARGUMENT.

My humble Phidyle, lift thy hands to heaven, and bring the Lares but incense, fresh corn, and a sucking-pig, and they shall protect thy vines and fields and lambs. Herds and flocks fed on Algidus or Alba, these are for the pontifices: do thou but crown thy gods with rosemary and myrtle, for it is the clean hand and not the costly sacrifice that comes with acceptance to the altar.

Caelo supinas si tuleris manus
Nascente Luna, rustica Phidyle,
Si ture placaris et horna
Fruge Lares avidaque porca,

1. *supinas*] The clasping of the hands in prayer does not seem to have been usual with the ancients. 'Sup-inus' and ὕπ-τιος contain the same element, and both signify 'upturned.' The 's' in the Latin word corresponds to the aspirate of the Greek, as in 'silva' and ὕλη. Compare Aesch. (P. V. 1005): γυναικομίμοις ὑπτιάσμασιν

Nec pestilentem sentiet Africum
Fecunda vitis nec sterilem seges
Robiginem aut dulces alumni
Pomifero grave tempus anno.
Nam quae nivali pascitur Algido
Devota quercus inter et ilices
Aut crescit Albanis in herbis
Victima pontificum secures
Cervice tinget: te nihil attinet
Tentare multa caede bidentium
Parvos coronantem marino
Rore deos fragilique myrto.

χερῶν. As to 'nascente Luna' see C. iii. 19. 9 n. The prose form of 'hornus' is 'hornotinus.' The epithet 'dulces' may have been copied from Lucretius (ii. 1160), "Ipsa dedit dulces fetus per pabula laeta." [Ritter maintains that the 'alumni' are newly-planted trees, named 'dulces' from the fruit. See 'alumnis' C. iii. 18. 4. Columella, iv. 27, speaks of the 'alumni,' shoots of a vine.]

[9. *nivali*] 'Snow-covered,' sometimes in winter. Comp. 'Quodsi bruma nives Albanis illinet agris' Epp. i. 7. 10.]

10. *Devota*] In the oak woods of Mount Algidus (in Latium) and the pastures of Alba were fed swine and cattle, especially for sacrifice. 'Securim' (v. 12) is the reading of some MSS. Bentley prefers the singular for euphony, and because 'victima' is the singular number. Most persons will decide in favour of 'secures,' and 'securim' would require 'pontificis' on Bentley's showing.

[14. 'Tentare—deos,' can only mean 'to attempt to gain the favour of the gods.' The 'little gods' are the little images of the Lares. (Comp. ii. 18. 27.) 'Ros marinus,' or 'rosmarinum' is the Greek λιβανωτίς, Plin. H. N. 19. 62, quoted by Ritter.]

18. *Non sumptuosa blandior hostia*] 'If the hand be innocent that touches the altar, not with sumptuous victim more welcome does it appease the angry Penates than with pious meal and crackling salt.' [But this passage may be translated without supposing that 'quam' is omitted: 'not more persuasive with sumptuous victim it appeases the angry Penates with pious meal and crackling salt.'] Bentley makes 'hostia' the nominative case, in which he follows Porphyrion. Acron saw better, and Bentley must have forgotten his note, when he says, 'uterque Scholiastes nominativi casus esse monuerunt.' The production of the final 'a' in 'sumptuosa' is not indefensible, but it is no defence to say, as Bentley says, that Martial has (v. 69. 3), "Quid gladium demens Romana stringis in ora?" for 'str' is a very different combination from 'bl,' and Horace would not have taken this licence even with those letters. The real defence has been given above (C. iii. 5. 17 n.). But we need not trouble ourselves about the matter, for 'hostia' is no doubt the ablative case. Bentley supposes 'immunis' to mean 'empty,' without an offering, in which he follows what Lambinus partly approved. [Ritter: 'quae munera non offert.'] It signifies 'pure,' and it does not occur elsewhere in this sense without a genitive. In the sense Bentley supposes it occurs twice in Horace (C. iv. 12. 23; Epp. i. 14. 33). [Perhaps Bentley's is the true meaning.] 'Mollibit,' an older form for 'molliet,' and one which Horace never uses nor any author of the Augustan age, was the received reading till Bentley adopted 'mollivit,' from many of the best MSS., which reading is noticed by Cruquius, and was contained in one of his Blandinian MSS. There can be no doubt it is right, for, besides other considerations, the aoristic perfect is wanted to correspond with 'tetigit,' and it gives the best sense. When Bentley however argues that if Horace had written 'mollibit' some at least of the grammarians would have noticed such an unusual form, he overlooks Acron, whose note is, "mollibit: placabit." [But there is MS. authority for 'mollibit,' which Ritter has.]

20. *Farre pio et saliente mica*] This is the salted meal-cake offered in sacrifice.

Immunis aram si tetigit manus,
Non sumptuosa blandior hostia
Mollivit aversos Penates
Farre pio et saliente mica.

The Roman practice and the Greek were different. The οὐλαί and οὐλοχύται were the entire grain of barley mixed with salt. The grain was not pounded by the Greeks; by the Romans it was, and the salt kneaded with it. So "Dant fruges manibus salsas" (Aen. xii. 173). The crackling of the salt was a good omen. Tibullus (iii. 4. 9):

"At natum in curas hominum genus omina noctis
Farre pio placant et saliente sale."

Socrates was the first among the ancients who took the view here given of the gods and their offerings. His opinions are related by Xenophon (Memor. i. 3. 3): θυσίας δὲ θύων μικρὰς ἀπὸ μικρῶν οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο μειοῦσθαι τῶν ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα θυόντων . . . ἀλλ' ἐνόμιζε τοὺς θεοὺς ταῖς παρὰ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων τιμαῖς μάλιστα χαίρειν. All this is confirmed by the highest authority, which tells us, that "if there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, not according to that he hath not" (2 Cor. viii. 12). Persius may have had this ode in mind (S, ii. end):

"Quin damus id superis de magna quod dare lance
Non possit magni Messalae lippa propago,
Compositum jus fasque animo, sanctosque recessus
Mentis, et incoctum generoso pectus honesto?
Haec cedo ut admoveam templis et farre litabo."

CARMEN XXIV.

About A.U.C. 728.

This ode is of the same class and was probably written about the same time as the early odes of the third book, *i. e.* about A.U.C. 728. It deals with the licentious abuses of the times, and points indirectly to Augustus as the real reformer of them, as in the second ode of the first book. Horace is never more powerful than when he handles these subjects. Whether from a wish to please his patron or from a genuine sense of the depravity of his age, he seems to put on all his strength and to use his happiest language when he is attacking it. The variety of images and illustrations in this ode is very remarkable, and they are particularly well chosen and original. There is none that exhibits Horace's peculiar style more completely than this does.

ARGUMENT.

Let a man be as rich and extravagant as he may, yet, when Fate overtakes him, fear and death will seize him. The wandering tribes of the North with their free plains and toils equally shared, where stepmothers are kind and wives are obedient and chaste, and where crime meets with its reward,—are happier than we are. He who would gain a name for future times (for merit is only recognized after death), let him put a check upon the licentiousness of the age. Of what use is it to complain if crime goes unpunished? Of what use are laws without morals? We are running every where in quest of money, urged on by the shame of poverty. If we really repent, let us give our gold to the gods or cast it into the sea, eradicate the seeds of avarice, and strengthen our minds with nobler pursuits. Our youth are idle: their fathers lay up wealth by fraud: for let riches increase as they will, they always fall short of men's desires.

INTACTIS opulentior
Thesauris Arabum et divitis Indiae
Caementis licet occupes
Tyrrhenum omne tuis et mare Apulicum,
Si figit adamantinos
Summis verticibus dira Necessitas
Clavos, non animum metu,
Non mortis laqueis expedies caput.
Campestres melius Scythae
Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos
Vivunt, et rigidi Getae
Immetata quibus jugera liberas
Fruges et Cererem ferunt,
Nec cultura placet longior annua,
Defunctumque laboribus
Aequali recreat sorte vicarius.

1. *Intactis*] Cn. Pompeius Magnus, and others had entered Arabia Petraea; but Arabia Felix which is here referred to had not yet been invaded. The expedition under Aelius Gallus was probably after the composition of this ode. See C. i. 29 Int., and compare Propertius (ii. 10. 15 sqq.):

"India quin, Auguste, tuo dat colla triumpho
Et domus intactae te tremit Arabiae."

India and Arabia are again coupled Epp. i. 6. 6: "Quid (censes) maris extremos Arabas ditantis et Indos?"

3. *Caementis licet occupes*] This is explained by C. iii. 1. 35. [It is inferred that the Scholiasts had the reading 'Terrenum' instead of 'Tyrrhenum.' Besides 'Apulicum,' there are readings 'pulicum,' 'publicum,' 'Punicum,' 'Ponticum;' the last, the reading of the best MSS. and of Acron, as Ritter says, who has 'Ponticum' in his text. Lachmann, whose corrections of Horace are generally bad, has suggested the monstrous line: 'Terrenum omne tuis et mare publicum,' which Keller has printed in his text. The objection to 'Apulicum' is explained C. iii. 3. 9. Ritter adds that 'Apulus' is both noun and adjective, and the apparent inference is that 'Apulicus' is unnecessary; but if Horace was resolved on speaking of the Apulian sea, he could use no other word here. Ritter objects to Lachmann's verse, that portions of the sea, not of the land (terrenum) are occupied by 'caementa' (C. iii. 1. 35), which is enough to dispose of 'terrenum.' The 'mare publicum' may be left for the reader's judgment.]

6. *Summis verticibus*] This has been variously explained. Bentley supposes it to mean the heads of the nails, "when Fate drives in the nails to the heads." His note on these lines is one of his worst. Some take Horace to mean that Fate, by driving her nails ('clavos trabales,' i. 35. 18) into the roof of the house, puts an end to the work and declares that the master's work is done. Such is the meaning Orelli gives, and he supposes Horace to have got the idea from some Greek poet. The Scholiasts throw no light upon it. Cruquius' Commentator takes 'verticibus' for the human head: "in vertice siquidem facilior est ictus ad mortem vicinitate cerebri." I like this interpretation the best.

[9. *Campestres—Scythae*] C. i. 35. 9.]

12. *Immetata*] This is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. Virgil assigns to the golden age this freedom from enclosures:

"Ante Jovem—
Ne signare quidem aut partiri limite campum
Fas erat." (Georg. i. 125-6.)

['Liberas,' free from decumae or tenths, such as the Romans demanded of subject states, as Ritter supposes. It means indeed that the 'fruges' are 'free,' but it is because the people are free.]

14. *Nec cultura placet*] Such were the habits of the Suevi as described by Caesar (Bell. Gall. iv. 1). "They had 100 districts (pagi)," says he, "each of which supplied annually 1000 soldiers, who served a year

Illic matre carentibus
  Privignis mulier temperat innocens,
Nec dotata regit virum
  Conjux nec nitido fidit adultero.
Dos est magna parentium
  Virtus et metuens alterius viri
Certo foedere castitas;
  Et peccare nefas aut pretium est mori.
O quisquis volet impias
  Caedes et rabiem tollere civicam,
Si quaeret PATER URBIUM
  Subscribi statuis, indomitam audeat
Refrenare licentiam,
  Clarus postgenitis; quatenus, heu nefas!
Virtutem incolumem odimus,
  Sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi.

and were then relieved by others, who in their turn served a year and were relieved. Those who stayed at home cultivated the fields. They had no enclosures and occupied the same ground only for one year." [But Horace does not allude, I think, to the usages of the Suevi; and the 'vicarius' is simply the man who takes the place of him who has done his year's work, and has then a year's rest, as Ritter correctly explains it.]

18. *temperat*] 'holds her hands from,' 'parcit.' With 'nec dotata,' &c. compare Plautus (Men. v. 2. 16.): "Ita istae solent quae viros subservire sibi postulant, doti fretae," and again (Aulul. iii. 5. 61.):

"Nam quae indotata est ea in potestate est viri:
Dotatae mactant et malo et damno viros."

Juvenal has not overlooked this evil:

"Optima sed quare Cesennia teste marito?
Bis quingenta dedit," &c. (S. vi. 136.)

The Greek comic poets had many allusions to the same subject. See in particular a fragment of Alexis in Athenaeus (Ed. Cas. 558), and Anaxandrides in Stobaeus:

πένης—τὴν γυναῖκα πλουσίαν
λαβὼν ἔχει δέσποιναν οὐ γυναῖκ' ἔτι.

'Nec fidit' means she does not trust her paramour to shield her with his influence from her husband's anger.

21. *Dos est magna parentium*] 'An ample portion for wives is their virtue and that chastity which, living in unbroken bonds, shrinks from any other man than the husband.' Plautus again supplies a like passage (Amphitr. ii. 2. 207):

"Non ego illam dotem mi esse duco quae dos dicitur,
Sed pudicitiam et pudorem et sedatum cupidinem,
Deum metum, parentum amorem, et cognatum concordiam."

25. *O quisquis*] Bentley divides this into 'O quis quis.' He gives no heed, he says, to all the MSS. and editions, and charges them with a wicked combination (prava conspiratio) in retaining 'quisquis.' The copyists he calls 'obesi,' and of his own reading he says it is "elegantissima," and adds "mirificam vim et affectum sententiae." Most readers will think it entirely destroys the dignity and simplicity of the passage. 'Pater urbium' is not a title found elsewhere, but is analogous to 'Pater patriae' which Augustus received A.U.C. 752 (C. i. 2. 50), and 'parens coloniae' which appears in an inscription in Orelli's collection (605). With 'refrenare licentiam' compare C. iv. 15. 9 sqq.:

"—— ordinem
Rectum evaganti frena licentiae
Injecit."

'Postgenitis' does not occur elsewhere.

30. *quatenus*] Forcellini gives other instances of this sense, 'quandoquidem.' See S. i. 1. 64; 3. 76. The sentiment is repeated and illustrated in Epp. ii. 1. 10 &c.

Quid tristes querimoniae,
Si non supplicio culpa reciditur?
Quid leges sine moribus
Vanae proficiunt, si neque fervidis
Pars inclusa caloribus
Mundi nec Boreae finitimum latus
Durataeque solo nives
Mercatorem abigunt, horrida callidi
Vincunt aequora navitae,
Magnum pauperies opprobrium jubet
Quidvis et facere et pati
Virtutisque viam deserit arduae?
Vel nos in Capitolium
Quo clamor vocat et turba faventium,
Vel nos in mare proximum
Gemmas et lapides aurum et inutile,
Summi materiem mali,
Mittamus scelerum si bene poenitet.
Eradenda cupidinis
Pravi sunt elementa, et tenerae nimis
Mentes asperioribus
Formandae studiis. Nescit equo rudis
Haerere ingenuus puer
Venarique timet, ludere doctior,

35. *Quid leges sine moribus*] Tacitus has echoed these words: "plus ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges." (Germ. 19.) See C. iv. 5. 22 n.

39. *Durataeque solo*] Bentley proposes 'gelu' for 'solo,' and has proved that other writers had used 'duratus' with 'gelu' and 'frigore,' which was unnecessary. On the 'mercatores' see C. i. 31. 12 n. The enterprise of these men and the effects their visits had on uncivilized people are illustrated by the passing notice they get from Caesar (B. G. i. 1). Speaking of the Belgae he says, "Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae: propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate Provinciae longissime absunt, minimeque ad eos mercatores saepe commeant, atque ea quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent important."

44. *deserit*] Again Bentley forsakes the MSS. and reads 'deserere.' He admits that 'deserit' is tolerable if the reader be not very fastidious. "Sed vide quam melius sic concipi possit, 'virtutis viam deserere arduae;'" for, says he, it is not poverty which leaves the way of virtue, but she bids men do so. But when men do so, poverty does it in their person, according to a mode of speech the readers of Horace are familiar with: see in particular C. i. 35. 21 sqq. n.

[46. *quo clamor vocat*] The words show to those who understand them the birthday of this poem, which was the sixth, seventh, and eighth of August A.U.C. 725, when Caesar Octavianus celebrated his triple triumph. (Ritter.)]

54. *Formandae*] Bentley conjectures and adopts 'firmandae,' and adds "aio affirmoque sic ab Horatii manu fuisse scriptum." Horace might have written 'firmandae' if he had pleased; but we have no reason (Bentley's are not worth discussing) for supposing that he did so, against the evidence of the MSS., Scholiasts, and editions, all which till Bentley had 'formandae.' 'Formare' occurs in the same sense, Epp. ii. 1 128.

[55. *Haerere*] 'Hold on,' 'keep his seat.' Comp. C. i. 32. 10.]

Seu Graeco jubeas trocho
Seu malis vetita legibus alea,
Cum perjura patris fides
Consortem socium fallat et hospitem,
Indignoque pecuniam
Heredi properet. Scilicet improbae
Crescunt divitiae; tamen
Curtae nescio quid semper abest reï.

57. *Seu Graeco jubeas trocho*] On the use of the trochus see Smith's Dict. Ant., where there are engravings of three gems illustrating the practice. The hoop was of metal, and it was guided by a rod with a hook at the end, such as boys commonly use now. Martial xiv. 169.

58. *vetita legibus alea*] There were laws at Rome against gaming, which practice was nevertheless very prevalent among all classes in the degenerate times of the republic and the empire (Dig. 11, tit. 5). Juvenal complains that young children learnt it from their fathers (xiv. 4):

"Si damnosa senem juvat alea, ludit et heres
Bullatus, parvoque eadem movet arma fritillo."

Martial (iv. 14. 7) has many references to this vicious habit, which had scope allowed it at the Saturnalia:

"Dum blanda vagus alea December
Incertis sonat hinc et hinc fritillis
Et ludit popa nequiore talo."

Cicero charges M. Antonius with pardoning one Licinius Lenticula, who had been condemned for gaming, and with whom Antonius, who, if we are to believe Cicero, was a great gambler, had been in the habit of playing: "Hominem omnium nequissimum qui non dubitaret vel in foro alea ludere lege quae est de alea condemnatum in integrum restituit" (Phil. ii. 23).

60. *Consortem socium*] 'Consortes' sometimes stands for 'coheirs:' "Sors et patrimonium significat, unde consortes dicimus" (Festus sub v.). He also explains 'disertiones' as "divisiones patrimoniorum inter consortes." The word bears this meaning in Cic. in Verr. ii. 3. 23: "Quum ex agris tres fratres consortes perfugissent," and in Livy, xli. 32: "Censoris frater et etiam consors." Bentley understands the word in this sense here, following Dacier, and proposes to insert 'et' between 'consortem' and 'socium.' There is no MS. authority for this reading, and the meaning of 'consors' is not confined to co-heirship. 'Consortem socium' means the partner whose capital was embarked with his own. The Romans held it to be a very serious offence for a man to cheat his partner. Cicero (pro Rosc. Am. c. 40) says "in rebus minoribus fallere socium turpissimum est." Also, in his speech for Roscius the player, he says (c. 6), "aeque enim perfidiosum et nefarium est fidem frangere quae continet vitam, et pupillum fraudare qui in tutelam pervenit, et socium fallere qui se in negotio conjunxit," which last words seem to explain 'consors.' Horace couples these two last crimes in Epp. ii. 1. 123:

"Non fraudem socio puerove incogitat ullam
Pupillo."

Cicero (Brutus, c. 1) unites in another sense Horace's two words: "Socius et consors gloriosi laboris." 'Hospites' is the reading of many good MSS., and Bentley adopts it [also Ritter and Keller].

62. *improbae*] This is one of the most difficult words to which to assign a proper meaning. Forcellini gives three or four separate heads with quotations illustrative of each, under any one of which most of the examples in the others might be classed. Orelli has quoted instances (on C. iii. 9. 22) in which it is applied to labour, a jackdaw, a man, a mountain, a tiger, winter, and the Adriatic Sea. He might have added others: see Index. It implies 'excess,' and that excess must be expressed according to the subject described. ['Rei' is the dative. Ritter following Nauckius makes it the genitive, and inappropriately compares 'nescio quid meditans nugarum,' S. i. 9. 2.]

CARMEN XXV.

A.U.C. 724 (?).

This ode reads at first like an introduction to one on a larger scale in honour of Augustus, but we need not suppose that such a sequel ever was composed. The occasion, to judge by the enthusiasm of the language, may have been the announcement of the taking of Alexandria A.U.C. 724.

ARGUMENT.

Bacchus, whither dost thou hurry me? In what woods or caves shall I sing of Caesar added to the gods, a new and noble strain unheard before? As the sleepless Euiad looks out from the heights upon the sacred hills and rivers of Thrace, so do I love to wander by the river-side and in the silent grove. O thou lord of the Nymphs, no vulgar strain will I sing. I will follow thee, for the danger of thy company is sweet.

Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui
  Plenum? quae nemora aut quos agor in specus
Velox mente nova? quibus
  Antris egregii Caesaris audiar
Aeternum meditans decus
  Stellis inserere et consilio Jovis?
Dicam insigne recens adhuc
  Indictum ore alio. Non secus in jugis
Exsomnis stupet Euias
  Hebrum prospiciens et nive candidam
Thracen ac pede barbaro
  Lustratam Rhodopen, ut mihi devio

2. *quae nemora*] Some MSS. have 'quae in nemora,' but the preposition before 'specus' governs both nouns. Dillenbr.'s distinction between 'specus' and 'antrum' is unintelligible to me: "specus dicitur de solitudine ac vastitate loci; antrum de divino poetarum deversorio." 'Spec-us' seems to contain the same root as σπέ-ος, the original meaning of which is unknown. The derivation of ἄντρον is equally uncertain.

5. *meditans*] I take 'inserere' after 'audiar.' Some may prefer its being governed by 'meditans.' This word, which is the same as μελετᾶν, signifies 'to revolve in the mind,' and often expresses the giving utterance to that which the mind has conceived (C. iv. 14. 28). Here I think it has the same meaning as Virgil's "musam meditaris avena," "meditaris arundine musam." Again Dillenbr. has an arbitrary distinction between 'recens,' 'that which has never been heard before,' and 'indictum,' 'that which has never been spoken before.'

7. *Dicam insigne*] 'Aliquid' or 'carmen' must be supplied.

9. *Exsomnis stupet Euias*] The Bacchant catches inspiration by looking out from the hill-tops upon the haunts of the god, and so the poet turns aside from his wonted path to the river-banks and groves where Bacchus is found. The picture of the Euiad looking out with silent awe through a moonlight winter's night upon the quiet plains of Thrace, and drawing inspiration from contemplating the scenes that her deity frequents, is very beau-

Ripas et vacuum nemus
  Mirari libet. O Naïadum potens
Baccharumque valentium
  Proceras manibus vertere fraxinos,
Nil parvum aut humili modo,
  Nil mortale loquar. Dulce periculum est,
O Lenaee, sequi deum
  Cingentem viridi tempora pampino.

tiful. Bentley, with a want of taste for which he appears to me pre-eminent among critics, objects to 'exsomnis,' for why should Bacchants be sleepless? Do they not sometimes sleep? See what Euripides says (Bacch. 682), εὗδον δὲ πᾶσαι σώμασιν παρειμέναι: therefore 'Edonis,' not 'exsomnis,' is what Horace wrote. But if they sometimes sleep they probably sometimes are kept awake, and so Horace represents one of them here. And 'exsomnis' is not the mere ornamental epithet Bentley would make it appear, but highly descriptive, which 'Edonis' is not, nor is it wanted at all.—For 'ut mihi' Bentley reads 'ac,' which has some little MS. authority. Horace has 'aeque ut' (C. i. 16. 7—9), and other writers have 'pariter ut,' 'non minus ut' (Prop. i. 15. 7), 'perinde ut,' which are not the same certainly as 'non secus ut.' Of this there seems to be no other instance, but I believe 'ut' to be the reading here and to be used in preference to 'ac,' because that word occurs in the line before. Some would put a full stop before 'ut,' and make it a particle of exclamation [and this is certainly the more intelligible punctuation . . . 'Ut—libet' will then be like 'ut melius' &c., C. i. 11. 3]. But the Scholiasts did not understand it so.

11. *pede barbaro*] Orelli interprets this of the 'wild' troops of Maenads celebrating the orgies of Bacchus. For 'ripas,' which has the best authority, and that of all his own MSS. (a few others have 'rupes,' which Lambinus adopts, but it seems to have come from C. ii. 19. 1: "Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus") Bentley reads 'rivos,' which has no authority at all, both here and at iv. 2. 31, saying that 'ripas' cannot stand alone without the name of a river, which assertion is not correct. See, for instance, C. iii. 1. 23: "Fastidit umbrosamque ripam."

14. *Naïadum potens Baccharumque*] These are the Nymphs mentioned C. ii. 19. 3. Horace, in his description of the strength of the Nymphs (Dryads), had perhaps in his mind Euripides' description (Bacch. 1109):—

αἳ δὲ μυρίαν χέρα
προσέθεσαν ἐλάτῃ κἀξανέσπασαν χθονός.

For 'O Lenaee, sequi deum,' Bentley proposes 'Te, Lenaee, sequi ducem,' saying there is ambiguity in the sentence as it stands, as to whether 'cingentem' applies to the follower or the god. But the ambiguity is not removed by his emendation, and Horace sufficiently explains his own meaning in C. iv. 8. 33: "Ornatus viridi tempora pampino Liber."

CARMEN XXVI.

This ode represents a successful gallant's first refusal, and his mortification and wrath at his defeat. To apply it to Horace, or to assume from the opening, as Franke does (following the Scholiasts) that he was getting into years, and about to abandon lyric poetry, or that Chloë is "illa haud dubie de qua i. 23; iii. 9. 9," or any other Chloë whatever, is to mistake the character and scope of the ode, in my opinion. If any of Horace's compositions are purely fanciful, this may be pronounced to be so.

ARGUMENT.

Till now I have fought and won. Now I hang up my arms to Venus. Here, here hang my torches, my bars, and my bow. O thou queen of Cyprus and of Memphis, do but once lay thy rod upon the proud Chloë.

VIXI puellis nuper idoneus
Et militavi non sine gloria;
Nunc arma defunctumque bello
Barbiton hic paries habebit,
Laevum marinae qui Veneris latus
Custodit. Hic hic ponite lucida
Funalia et vectes et arcus
Oppositis foribus minaces.
O quae beatam diva tenes Cyprum et
Memphin carentem Sithonia nive,
Regina, sublimi flagello
Tange Chloën semel arrogantem.

1. *idoneus*] Orelli's interpretation, 'when I was of an age to love,' quite alters the true meaning, I think. The words would be suitable to a youthful lover under the chagrin of a first disappointment. Ovid says love is a warfare, "Militiae species amor est, discedite segnes" (A. A. ii. 233). "Militat omnis amans et habet sua castra Cupido" (Am. i. 9. 1). The arms this lover proposes to hang up in the temple of marine Venus (C. iv. 11. 15) on the left wall, as being most propitious (Cic. Divin. ii. 39: "Nobis sinistra videntur, Graiis et barbaris dextra, meliora,"—but see also next ode, v. 15, n.), are the torches (funalia) that lighted him to his mistress, the crowbar that broke open her door, and the bow and arrows which, I suppose, he carried as emblems of his passion. The last two words, 'et arcus,' Bentley would change into 'securesque,' because we hear that young rakes carried hatchets to break down their mistresses' doors if necessary, but we have no authority for their carrying bows and arrows, and probably they did not; but Horace makes his hero hang up his bow, and that is all we know about it. All the MSS. agree, and the old commentators take no notice of the word. Orelli quotes a gloss in the MS. of Queen's College, Oxford, on 'arcus:' "quibus janitores terrerent." [Keller writes 'et ascias,' a miserable emendation.]

10. *Memphin*] Herodotus (ii. 112) speaks of a temple at Memphis to Ξείνη Ἀφροδίτη, built by Proteus on the occasion of Paris and Helen being driven upon the coast of Egypt, according to a local legend, which makes him think that Helen herself was the Ἀφροδίτη in question. Where Horace got his notion it is not easy to say.

[11. *sublimi*] 'Upraised.' Compare Terence, Andria v. 2. 20, 'sublimem hunc intro rape.']

CARMEN XXVII.

The length of this ode is more imposing than the subject, which appears to be a journey to Greece (v. 19) proposed to be taken by a lady of Horace's acquaintance, whom he pretends to deter from her purpose, by reciting the dangers she will have to encounter and the fate that waits upon female obstinacy, as illustrated by the story of Europa, which story occupies two-thirds of the ode, and thrusts Galatea and her journey from the scene altogether. I do not see the difficulty of the ode that has arrested most of the editors. The length of the digression is simply a way with Horace (as in the story of Regulus, C. iii. 5, and of Hypermnestra, iii. 11), and Pindar took the same liberty with greater freedom. It is a peculiarity which imitators of Horace will do well to note, for if skilfully managed it would relieve the tameness of many an ode which, professing to be an imitation of this author, has little but his rhythm and a few of his phrases to sustain the resemblance. [Ritter's remark on the lady is a good specimen of his manner of interpretation. If it does not instruct, it may amuse. "Galatea a lacteis brachiis cerviceque candida nominata, olim Horatio cara, jam virum divitem in itinere comitari voluit. Iter illud aut in Cretam insulam dirigebatur, aut a viro e familia Taurorum orto suscipiebatur. Alterum ut conjiciam faciunt verba (v. 25): 'sic et Europe niveum doloso credidit tauro latus' (ut tu Taurum sequi animum induxisti)."]

By similar arguments Propertius (i. 8) deters Cynthia from going to sea, and Ovid Corinna (Am. ii. 11). The Scholiast on Homer (Il. xii. 307) says the story of Europa was treated by Bacchylides, whose poem has not come down to us, nor any part of it, but was probably, as Orelli says, in Horace's hands. The Scholiast's account of the story is just that of the present ode. It would be difficult to find a more touching picture than Horace has drawn of a young girl suddenly torn from her childish amusements, transported far from the security of her home, and left forlorn among strangers, knowing no tie but that of her father's love, to which she instinctively turns with longing and self-reproach: her fault had been in giving way to a foolish impulse, but she sees her crime through her fears, which magnify it greatly by pointing to the probable issue, so that she looks upon her idle curiosity as nothing less than madness (v. 36). There is also great skill in the last stanzas, in which we have, first, the derisive laughter with which Venus and her son (whose bow is now unstrung because it has done its work, the Scholiast says) break in upon the unhappy girl; then the ironical prophecy in which her own words are used against her; and, lastly, the serious consolation and congratulation with which they announce her good fortune, and bid her rise to it. The pain arising from her complaint is thus relieved, and we are left with the conviction that she is reconciled to her destiny and proud of it.

ARGUMENT.

Let the wicked go on their way with evil omens. I do but pray for thee that the storm may be averted. Be happy go where thou wilt, and remember me, Galatea. Fear not those idle omens: but see the rising storm: I know the dangers it portends. May they fall upon my enemy rather than on thee. It was thus Europa left her girlish task and crossed the sea by night, but feared not till she stood on the shore of Crete. Then she cried out in anguish, "Alas! my father, a daughter's name I have abandoned; love is swallowed up in madness. What an exchange is here! Many deaths do I deserve to die. Am I awake, or is it a dream? Was it better to cross the sea than to gather young flowers at home? O that I might avenge myself on that monster once too dearly loved. Shame on me that I left my home; shame that I delay to die. Let me go naked among lions and perish by tigers, rather than waste away in a lingering death. Vile girl, thy father taunts thee: why dost thou not die?

Here thou mayest hang by thy girdle, or dash thee on the rocks, or into the stormy waves, unless thou wouldest yield thyself a barbarian's slave."—Then came Venus and her son, and laughed mischievously, and said, "Cease thy wrath when the monster shall come back to give thee thy revenge. What, knowest thou not that thou art the spouse of Jove? Away with sighs. Bear thy noble destiny, for one half the world shall take its name from thee."

Impios parrae recinentis omen
Ducat et praegnans canis aut ab agro
Rava decurrens lupa Lanuvino
  Fetaque vulpes:
Rumpat et serpens iter institutum
Si per obliquum similis sagittae
Terruit mannos: ego cui timebo
  Providus auspex,
Antequam stantes repetat paludes
Imbrium divina avis imminentum,
Oscinem corvum prece suscitabo
  Solis ab ortu.
Sis licet felix ubicunque mavis,
Et memor nostri, Galatea, vivas,
Teque nec laevus vetet ire picus
  Nec vaga cornix.

1. *parrae*] What this bird was, or whether it is known in these islands, is not, I believe determined. 'Ravus,' if it is akin to χαροπὸς, as Forcellini and others say, belongs properly to the colour or appearance of the eyes. Horace applies it to a wolf or a lion (Epod. xvi. 33), in the latter case imitating perhaps Homer's χαροποὶ λέοντες (Odyss. xi. 611). But what does Homer mean? Etymology does not help us, for χαροπὸς, except in a derived sense, can only mean glad-eyed, and there is nothing in the colour of a wolf or a lion corresponding to that notion. The wolf is represented as running down from the hills of Lanuvium, because that town was near the Appia Via leading to Brundusium, where Galatea would embark. 'Rumpat,' not 'rumpit,' as Bentley reads, is I believe the reading which the sense requires. Bentley appears to have mistaken the meaning of the passage. [Keller has 'rumpit.'] The image of the snake shooting across the road recalls Jacob's prophecy in respect to his son Dan: "Dan shall be a serpent by the way; an adder in the path that biteth the horse's heels, so that his rider shall fall backwards" (Gen. xlix. 17).

[7. *mannos*] Epod. iv. 14. Epp. i. 7. 77.]

— *ego cui timebo*] 'For my part, on behalf of her for whom I am anxious, like a far-seeing augur, before that bird (the crow) which tells of the coming storm shall go back to his stagnant pool, the croaking raven with my prayers I will call up from the East,' which would be an omen of good weather, and the crow flying to the marsh of bad. Lucretius speaks of these birds as those which

"—— aquam dicuntur et imbris
Poscere et interdum ventos aurasque vocare." (v. 1084.)

'Oscines aves' were birds whose omens were taken from their note, as 'praepetes' from their flight.

[10. *Imbrium divina*] 'Which gives notice of showers.']

13. *Sis licet felix*] There is a tenderness apart from familiarity in these two stanzas which gives much reality to the ode: but to speak of it as addressed to "one of his mistresses" destroys that reality at once. [Ritter does the work completely: 'Galatea hoc uno loco memorata est. Per occasionem neque longius eam amasse videtur.'] There is nothing of passion in this or any other part of the ode, such as we

Sed vides quanto trepidet tumultu
Pronus Orion. Ego quid sit ater
Hadriae novi sinus et quid albus
Peccet Iapyx.
Hostium uxores puerique caecos
Sentiant motus orientis Austri et
Aequoris nigri fremitum et trementes
Verbere ripas.
Sic et Europe niveum doloso
Credidit tauro latus et scatentem
Beluis pontum mediasque fraudes
Palluit audax.
Nuper in pratis studiosa florum et
Debitae Nymphis opifex coronae
Nocte sublustri nihil astra praeter
Vidit et undas.
Quae simul centum tetigit potentem
Oppidis Creten: Pater, o relictum
Filiae nomen pietasque, dixit,
Victa furore!

find in the elegies of Ovid and Propertius, noticed in the introduction. 'Vetat' is the reading of Lambinus and Bentley after one of the Vatican MSS. But 'vetet' is required by the sense and is the reading of nearly every MS. besides. [Ritter has 'vetat.'] The woodpecker was a bird of ill omen. But why should 'laevus' convey that meaning? and why should 'dexter' signify 'propitious,' when Cicero says just the reverse? (See last ode, v. 5 n.) The confusion may have arisen from the different practice of the Greeks and Romans in taking note of birds, the former facing the north and the latter the south, as is commonly supposed. But what is confusion to us was none to a Roman.

18. *Pronus Orion*] C. i. 28. 21. On 'albus Iapyx,' see C. i. 3. 4 and 7. 15.

21. *Hostium uxores*] So in C. i. 21. 13, he prays Apollo to turn away war, famine, and pestilence from his country to her enemies the Parthians and Britons. Such diversion is common with the poets, as Virgil (Georg. iii. 513), 'Dî meliora piis erroremque hostibus illum;" and Propertius (iii. 8. 20), "Hostibus eveniat lenta puella meis:" and Ovid (A. A. iii. 247), "Hostibus eveniat tam foedi causa pudoris." The Romans used 'pueri' for children of each sex. 'Oriens' is not usually applied to a wind, but Horace so applies it, and there is no necessity to substitute 'Haedi' or 'astri' for 'Austri.' 'Astri' appears in the Zürich MS., but probably only from an error of the pen. Bentley suggests, 'facili mutatione,' 'gementes' for 'trementes,' because, though the shore may be said to shake with the lashing of the waves, this could only be perceptible to those who were on it, not to those at sea. ['Ripis:' see C. ii. 18. 22.]

28. *Palluit*] So 'expalluit' (Epp. i. 3. 10) and 'contremuit' (C. ii. 12. 8) are used transitively. So Pers. (S. i. 124), "Iratum Eupolidem praegrandi cum sene palles." Id. v. 184, "recutitaque sabbata palles." In v. 26 Bentley changes 'et' into 'at,' saying there is opposition between the two members of the sentence; but there is not: 'palluit' is a consequence of 'credidit.' ['Fraudes:' C. ii. 19. 20.]

33. *centum—Oppidis*] See Epod. ix. 29. The description is from Homer's Κρήτην ἑκατόμπολιν (Il. ii. 649). Europa's speech is that of one just awake to her real position after the terror of her voyage, and the departure of her companion; left alone in a strange land with the consciousness of her folly first coming upon her. She begins distractedly, 'Father, alas! I have forfeited a daughter's name, and love hath given place to madness.' 'Filiae' is the dative of the agent, [as Porphyrion ex-

Unde quo veni? Levis una mors est
Virginum culpae. Vigilansne ploro
Turpe commissum, an vitiis carentem
Ludit imago
Vana quae porta fugiens eburna
Somnium ducit? Meliusne fluctus
Ire per longos fuit an recentes
Carpere flores?
Si quis infamem mihi nunc juvencum
Dedat iratae lacerare ferro et
Frangere enitar modo multum amati
Cornua monstri.
Impudens liqui patrios Penates,
Impudens Orcum moror. O deorum
Si quis haec audis, utinam inter errem
Nuda leones!
Antequam turpis macies decentes
Occupet malas teneraeque sucus
Defluat praedae, speciosa quaero
Pascere tigres.

plains it]; but 'filiae nomen' come too close together for this interpretation. The Scholiasts separate 'victa' from 'pietas,' as if it were 'dixit victa furore;' but see Introd. 'Unde' implies, not that she was so distracted that she had forgotten from whence she had come, but 'What an exchange have I made! So dear a home for this strange place!' It is all very natural and beautiful. 'Una mors' is perhaps an imitation of Sophocles' (Antig. 308) οὐχ ὕμιν Ἅιδης μοῦνος ἀρκέσει. Propertius repeats the words (iv. 4. 17): "Et satis una malae potuit mors esse puellae." For 'virginum' Markland, for 'vitiis' Bentley proposes the singular number.

41. *porta fugiens eburna*] This is the image of Homer (Odyss. xix. 562):—

δοιαὶ γάρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσὶν ὀνείρων·
αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχαται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι·
τῶν οἳ μέν κ' ἔλθωσι διὰ πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος,
οἵ ῥ' ἐλεφαίρονται ἔπε' ἀκράαντα φέροντες·
οἳ δὲ διὰ ξεστῶν κεράων ἔλθωσι θύραζε,
οἵ ῥ' ἔτυμα κραίνουσι βροτῶν· ὅτι κέν τις ἴδηται.

Virgil's imitation is Aen. vi. 894 sqq.: "Sunt geminae Somni portae," &c.

48. *Cornua monstri*] 'Tauri' is the reading of nearly all the earliest editions. But Bentley adopts 'monstri,' which is supported by all the Blandinian MSS., and the oldest Berne, and many others of the best repute. [Keller and Ritter have 'monstri.'] The Zürich has 'tauri.'

49. *Impudens liqui*] 'I had no shame when I left my father's house. I have no shame or I should not hesitate to die,' either because she deserved to die, or because her chastity was in danger. 'Orcum moror' is equivalent to 'dubito mori,' like Ovid (Heroid. ix. 146): "Impia quid dubitas Deïanira mori:" but it is an unusual form. Seeing nothing but death before her, she prays to be killed at once rather than die a lingering death by hunger, and go down to Hades robbed of her beauty. I find by Orelli's and Dillenbr.'s notes that this stanza has been abused, and its omission proposed, because it is said to be unnatural, which appears to me very much opposed to the fact. The language is natural, whether viewed with reference to the horrors of a lingering death, or to the pride of a young girl in her good looks. It is probably imitated from the Greek, Soph. Ant. 817 sqq.:—

οὐκοῦν κλεινὴ καὶ ἔπαινον ἔχουσ'
ἐς τόδ' ἀπέρχει κεῦθος νεκύων,

Vilis Europe, pater urget absens:
Quid mori cessas? Potes hac ab orno
Pendulum zona bene te secuta
  Laedere collum.
Sive te rupes et acuta leto
Saxa delectant age te procellae
Crede veloci, nisi herile mavis
  Carpere pensum
Regius sanguis dominaeque tradi
Barbarae pellex.—Aderat querenti
Perfidum ridens Venus et remisso
  Filius arcu.
Mox ubi lusit satis: Abstineto,
Dixit, irarum calidaeque rixae
Cum tibi invisus laceranda reddet
  Cornua taurus.
Uxor invicti Jovis esse nescis?
Mitte singultus; bene ferre magnam

οὔτε φθινάσι πληγεῖσα νόσοις
οὔτε ξιφέων ἐπίχειρα λαχοῦσ᾽,
ἀλλ᾽ αὐτόνομος ζῶσα μόνη δὴ
θνατῶν ᾽Αΐδαν καταβήσει.

60. *Laedere collum*] 'Laedere' corresponds to λωβᾶσθαι in Soph. Ant. 54, *πλεκταῖσιν ἀρτάναισι λωβᾶται βίον.* Lambinus says he finds in some of his MSS. 'secuta e-lidere collum,' and Bentley adopts that reading, "sed frustra, ut fere omnia quae in Horatio conatus est vir caetera ingeniosus et doctus," as he himself says somewhere of Dan. Heinsius. Several heroines, as the commentators show, ended their lives in this unromantic way,—Antigone, Jocasta, Phaedra, Amata; and the tragedians have no stronger expression for suffering than that it is enough to make one hang one's self. The chorus, for instance, in Euripides' Alcestis (229) says—

ἆρ᾽ ἄξια καὶ σφαγᾶς τάδε,
καὶ πλέον ἢ βρόχῳ δέραν οὐρανίῳ πελάσσαι;

61. *Sive te rupes*] As to 'sive,' see C. i. 6. 19 n. 'Acuta leto,' sharp to kill, whose sharp edges are fatal. It is not quite clear whether we are to suppose Agenor (Europa's father) to propose the choice of all these forms of death, or to speak any of these words or all of them. The editions are generally pointed so as to lead to the conclusion that 'vilis Europe' are the words of the girl addressing herself, and her father's imaginary invective to end with 'quid mori cessas.' Orelli thinks that the rest cannot 'ullo modo' be assigned to Agenor. As a matter of taste I prefer supposing the whole to be the language of Europa addressing herself, as I have taken it in the Argument. Europa either puts the words into her father's mouth, or she uses them against herself, because she thinks he will reproach and reject her, so that it comes to the same thing either way.

66. *Aderat querenti*] See Introduction.

69. *Abstineto,—irarum*] This is a Greek form noticed before (C. ii. 9. 17). 'Esse nescis' is also a Greek construction [correctly translated in the Introduction]. Not admitting the irony in 'invisus,' which he thinks would be 'illepida,' 'Venusino nostro indigna,' Bentley proposes to change 'cum tibi invisus' into 'jam tibi injussus,' quoting Virgil,

"—— injussa virescunt
Gramina" (Georg. i. 55),

and Epod. xvi. 49,—

"—injussae veniunt ad mulctra capellae,'

which prove that Horace and Virgil use this word 'injussus' and that is all.

76. *Nomina*] The plural is thus used in C. iv. 2. 4, and Ovid (Tr. i. 1. 90):

Disce fortunam; tua sectus orbis
  Nomina ducet.

"Icarus Icariis nomina fecit aquis." "Sectus divisus: eo quod una pars orbis Europae nomen accepit, altera Asia dicta est" (Acron). Varro (de Ling. Lat. v. 31) says "Divisa est caeli regionibus terra in Asiam et Europam." Horace seems to give Europe half the world and the other parts the rest. He is not speaking with exactness. So the chorus in Soph. Trach. 98, asks,

πόθι μοι πόθι παῖς
ναίει ποτ'—
ἢ ποντίους αὐλῶνας ἢ
δισσαῖς ἀπείροις κλιθείς;

CARMEN XXVIII.

Who was Lyde? A gentlewoman, noble, honest, and learned, also very grave and severe, but a friend (in an honourable sense) of Horace, says one; Horace's 'villica,' says another; his mistress, says a third; a musician, a dancer, a prostitute; and so the commentators differ, as well they may, when they try to fix the character and position of one who may be any body or nobody at all. This ode must have been written some years after the eleventh of this book, because then Lyde was but a young thing and chaste; now it is clear that she had been in the habit of entertaining Horace her lover, and had given him a supper at more of these annual festivals of Neptune than the present. So says Dacier. Lyde was the same person as Pyrrha (C. i. 5), says Grotefend; as Lydia, says another German of less note. But did Horace dine with Lyde or Lyde with Horace on this memorable 23rd July? The critics are as little agreed upon that point as on the other, and we may therefore assume that Horace, "qui n'aimoit pas la presse," stayed at home, ate a quiet dinner, wrote an ode, calling on an imaginary Lyde to drink his health in a poetical cup of Caecuban wine, and to join him in a song, that was never sung, to the divinity of the day and the other gods usually honoured on such occasions. The Neptunalia were celebrated on the 23rd of July.

ARGUMENT.

Lyde, bring out the best Caecuban, and take wisdom by storm, for what can I do better on Neptune's holiday? The noon is past, make haste. Let us sing in turns; I of Neptune and the Nereids, you of Latona and Diana; both of us together of Venus, and we will not forget a song for Night.

FESTO quid potius die
  Neptuni faciam? Prome reconditum
Lyde strenua Caecubum
  Munitaeque adhibe vim sapientiae.

2. *faciam*] Bentley reads 'facias,' because Horace is not advising himself but Lyde, and dining with her; on which grounds, "vel centum codicibus invitis," he will have 'facias.' 'Reconditum' is explained by (C. ii. 3. 8) "Interiore nota Falerni." 'Strenua' is put instead of the adverb. "Strenua: cita" (Acron).

Inclinare meridiem
  Sentis ac, veluti stet volucris dies,
Parcis deripere horreo
  Cessantem Bibuli consulis amphoram.
Nos cantabimus in vicem
  Neptunum et virides Nereïdum comas;
Tu curva recines lyra
  Latonam et celeris spicula Cynthiae;
Summo carmine quae Cnidon
  Fulgentesque tenet Cycladas et Paphon
Junctis visit oloribus;
  Dicetur merita Nox quoque nenia.

4. *Munitaeque adhibe vim sapientiae*] This has something of the heroic in it: 'lay siege to wisdom in her stronghold.' "Tu lene tormentum ingenio admoves" (C. iii. 21. 14) is quoted, but there is not much resemblance; the metaphors are different and the objects are different. It might be supposed 'munitae' was an ornamental epithet, and an adaptation of καλλίπυργον σοφίαν (Aristoph. Nub. 1024), but it corresponds more to Cicero's "Is sapientia munitum pectus egregium gerat" (Divin. i. 22).

[5. *Inclinare*] 'Sol inclinat,' Juv. Sat. iii. 316. 'Parcis deripere,' 'you delay to hurry down.' Virgil uses 'parcere' with an infinitive (Aen. iii. 42).]

8. *Bibuli consulis*] M. Calpurnius Bibulus was Consul with C. Julius Caesar A.U.C. 695. See C. iii. 8. 12 n.

14. *Fulgentes*] See C. i. 14. 19. For 'Paphon' Bentley reads 'Paphum,' to avoid the rhyme with 'Cnidon.' But Horace rather studies this figure, ὁμοιοτέλευτον, and he is not likely to have written one name in the Greek fashion and the other differently. On 'oloribus' compare Ovid (Met x. 717):

"Vecta levi curru medias Cytheraea per auras
Cypron olorinis nondum pervenerat alis."

[But 'Paphum' is the reading of some of the best MSS. 'Summo carmine,' in the third or last song, in honour of Venus and Nox.]

16. *Dicetur merita Nox*] See C. iii. 19. 10. 'Nenia' is here a sort of lullaby. See Epod. xvii. 29.

CARMEN XXIX.

That this ode was written A.U.C. 729 has been confidently assumed by Franke from the allusions in vv. 25—28. It would be hard to show that the same names might not have been introduced in the same way at other times, and I have not sufficient confidence in this date to adopt it. It is not clear, as stated before (C. iii. 8, Introduction), that Maecenas had charge of the city or any specific responsibilities during Augustus' absence in Spain, and there is nothing in the language of this ode to lead necessarily to such a conclusion. There is a great deal of tenderness towards Maecenas in this as in other private odes that are addressed to him. It is clear that he appreciated the sound sense of Horace, and allowed him full scope for expressing it; which he has done in this ode, in a manly and at the same time feeling way, with great poetical taste and an admirable selection of words, of which there is not one thrown away or out of place. It is an invitation from the poet to his patron, pressing him to pay him a visit at his farm.

ARGUMENT.

Come, Maecenas; the wine, and oil, and the flowers are ready. Stay not for ever gazing from a distance at the pleasant fields of Tibur, buried in the magnificence and the

uproar, the wealth and smoke of the city. The rich man often likes to sup at the poor man's table. The days of drought are come back; the shepherd seeks the shade, the flock seeks the stream, not a breath is on the river-banks: but thou art distracting thyself with imaginary dangers. Heaven has wisely hidden the future from man, and does but smile at his fears. Live for the present; all else is like the stream that now flows in peace, now is swollen to a flood and sweeps all with it to the sea. He lives happy who lives to-day and leaves to-morrow to Heaven, seeing that Jove himself cannot undo what is done. As to Fortune she is fickle, and changes from day to day. If she stays with me I am glad, if she flies I am resigned. If the storm rages I have no merchandize to fear for, and can put out into any sea with safety in my little bark.

Tyrrhena regum progenies, tibi
Non ante verso lene merum cado
Cum flore, Maecenas, rosarum et
Pressa tuis balanus capillis
Jamdudum apud me est. Eripe te morae;
Ne semper udum Tibur et Aesulae
Declive contempleris arvum et
Telegoni juga parricidae.
Fastidiosam desere copiam et
Molem propinquam nubibus arduis;
Omitte mirari beatae
Fumum et opes strepitumque Romae.
Plerumque gratae divitibus vices,
Mundaeque parvo sub lare pauperum
Coenae sine aulaeis et ostro
Sollicitam explicuere frontem.

1. *Tyrrhena regum progenies*] Compare C. i. 1. 1. 'Verso' is equivalent to 'moveri' in "moveri digna bono die" (C. iii. 21. 6) [or it means 'opened']. The 'balanus' was an oleaginous nut of some kind, and is here put for the oil expressed from it. [Ritter refers to Pliny H. N. xii. c. 21.]

5. *Eripe te morae*] On this use of the dative see Key's L. G. 980.

6. *Ne semper udum*] The MSS. vary between 'ne,' 'nec,' 'and 'non.' Orelli prefers the abrupt form, which Dillenbr. says is 'ingratum.' I rather agree with Orelli, though 'nec' would do very well. [Ritter has 'nec.'] Horace uses 'nec' in prohibitions (C. i. 9. 15; 11. 2; iii. 7. 29). It appears that Maecenas was sighing for the country all the time he was detained at Rome. Telegonus, son of Ulysses and Circe, was the reputed founder of Tusculum and Praeneste. One of the legends of Ulysses' death attributes it to this son. Aesula was probably a town between Praeneste and Tibur, but no traces of the site remain, and Pliny said that it no longer existed in his time (H. N. iii. c. 5). ['Semper udum Tibur:' see C. i. 7. 14. Perhaps 'semper' goes with 'udum.']

10. *Molem*] This signifies Maecenas' palace on the Esquiliae at Rome, [from which he could see Tibur and Tusculum, Strabo, p. 238.] It is mentioned in Epod. ix. 3.

11. *Omitte*] This is the only instance in this book of an iambus at the beginning of the third verse of the Alcaic. It occurs four times in the first book and twice in the second. It does not occur in the fourth.

15. *aulaeis et ostro*] The meaning of 'aulaeis' is explained in Sat. ii. 8. 54: "Interea suspensa graves aulaea ruinas fecere," where Porphyrion tells us it was usual to spread tapestry to catch any dust that might fall from the ceiling. 'Aulaeis et ostro' may form one subject, or 'ostro' may mean the coverings of the couches.

16. *Sollicitam explicuere frontem*] Sat. ii. 2. 125: "Explicuit vino contractae seria frontis."

Jam clarus occultum Andromedae pater
Ostendit ignem, jam Procyon furit
Et stella vesani Leonis,
Sole dies referente siccos:
Jam pastor umbras cum grege languido
Rivumque fessus quaerit et horridi
Dumeta Silvani, caretque
Ripa vagis taciturna ventis.
Tu civitatem quis deceat status
Curas, et Urbi sollicitus times
Quid Seres et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent Tanaisque discors.
Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosa nocte premit deus,
Ridetque si mortalis ultra
Fas trepidat. Quod adest memento
Componere aequus; cetera fluminis
Ritu feruntur, nunc medio aequore
Cum pace delabentis Etruscum
In mare, nunc lapides adesos
Stirpesque raptas et pecus et domus
Volventis una non sine montium
Clamore vicinaeque silvae,
Cum fera diluvies quietos

17. *Andromedae pater*] Cepheus, a northern star below Ursa Minor, rises in the beginning of July. Procyon, a star of the first magnitude, in the constellation Canis Minor, and called 'Ante Canem' by Cicero (de N. D. ii. 44), rises about the same time, and the Sun enters Leo: see C. iii. 13. 8 n. 'Stella' is not commonly put for 'sidus,' the constellation. ['Occultum,' 'hidden' till it rises and shows itself in the evening of the seventh of the Ides of July.]

25. *Tu civitatem*] See Introduction. As to 'regnata,' see C. ii. 6. 11. The Seres represent indefinitely the farthest Eastern nations known to the Romans (C. i. 12. 56). The Bactrians were formerly part of the Persian empire, and were at this time partly subject to the Parthians and partly to a Scythian race, the Tochari. Bactra was the capital. The meaning of Horace is, that Maecenas should not trouble himself about improbable dangers. Bentley's proposed emendation, 'dissors' for 'discors,' has justly been disregarded by all editors. ['Prudens:' see C. i. 3. 22.]

34. *aequore*] Orelli and Cunningham are the only editors, as far as I have seen, who have taken 'aequore' into the text. The common reading is 'alveo,' which has MS. authority. Fea pronounces 'aequore' absurd. I cannot see why. If one of the words is an invention, as it must be, the transcribers are more likely to have put in the commoner word 'alveo' from a marginal gloss than the reverse. Virgil has "viridesque secant placido aequore silvas" (Aen. viii. 96). The next line describes well, to my ear, the quiet flow of a river. [Keller and Ritter have 'alveo.' Ritter supposes that the Tiber is alluded to.]

37. *Stirpesque raptas*] This passage alone disproves the statement of Servius (on Aen. xii. 208) that 'stirps' is used in the feminine gender only with reference to human beings. He says Horace employs it here 'usurpative.' I do not know what he means.

Irritat amnes. Ille potens sui
Laetusque deget, cui licet in diem
Dixisse Vixi: cras vel atra
Nube polum Pater occupato
Vel sole puro; non tamen irritum
Quodcunque retro est efficiet, neque
Diffinget infectumque reddet
Quod fugiens semel hora vexit.
Fortuna saevo laeta negotio et
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax
Transmutat incertos honores,
Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.
Laudo manentem; si celeres quatit
Pennas resigno quae dedit, et mea
Virtute me involvo probamque
Pauperiem sine dote quaero.
Non est meum si mugiat Africis
Malus procellis ad miseras preces
Decurrere, et votis pacisci
Ne Cypriae Tyriaeque merces
Addant avaro divitias mari:
Tunc me biremis praesidio scaphae
Tutum per Aegaeos tumultus
Aura feret geminusque Pollux.

[41. *potens sui*] See Index: 'in diem:' S. ii. 6. 47.]

43. *cras vel atra*] Compare C. ii. 10. 15:

"—— Informes hiemes reducit
Juppiter, idem
Summovet."

On 'diffinget' see C. i. 35. 39. 'Vexit' is employed unusually for 'avexit.' [But it may mean simply 'has brought' or 'brings.']

49. *Fortuna saevo*] The caprice of Fortune, represented as a coquette transferring her favours from one favourite to another, and delighting to trifle with the happiness of men, is the lowest Epicurean view of life and the world's government. But Horace writes conventionally. He has just assigned to the Father of all the ordering of men's lives. Orelli mentions a coin of Commodus in which a woman is represented sitting, holding with her right hand a horse by a halter, and in her left bearing a 'cornu copiae,' the inscription being FORTVNAE MANENTI. Compare C. i. 34. 15. Horace uses 'si' where other writers would use 'sin;' as Bentley observes on Epod. i. 6.

54. *resigno*] This word is here equivalent to 'rescribo' in a money sense, 'to pay back.' See Forcell. on both words. [Comp. Epp. i. 7. 34.] 'Mea virtute me involvo' is not well explained by "certum praesidium ea mihi paro" (Orelli, after the Scholiasts). It is rather a picture of self-satisfaction than of a man taking shelter in his virtue. He wraps his cloak of virtue complacently about him, and sits down in contented indifference to the proceedings of Fortune, as if she had nothing to do with him, and unites himself to poverty as to a bride without a portion.

62. *biremis—scaphae*] A two-oared boat, ἐλάτης δικώπου. 'Biremis' is used elsewhere for two banks of oars.

64. *feret*] Bentley has 'ferat.' There is little authority for the subjunctive; I prefer the future. See C. iii. 9. 12 n. 'Geminusque Pollux' is an elliptical way of expressing 'Pollux cum gemino fratre.' See C. i. 3. 2, and i. 12. 27.

CARMEN XXX.

Whether this ode was written as the Epilogue of the third book, or of the three first published together, must be determined by the data discussed in the general introduction prefixed to the odes. It expresses a conviction, which time has ratified, that through his odes Horace had achieved an immortal name. The same just pride had been shown by poets before him; as by Sappho, in a poem of which the first line only has been preserved, *μνάσασθαι τινά φαμι καὶ ὕστερον ἀμμέων* (36 Bergk); and by Ennius, in the well-known lines—

> "Nemo me lacrumis decoret nec funera fletu
> Faxit. Cur? volito vivu' per ora virum,"

which words Virgil has made his own (Georg. iii. 9). Propertius (iii. 1), Ovid (Met. xv. 871, 'Jamque opus exegi &c.'), and Martial (x. 2. 7 sqq.), have all imitated Horace very closely. There is no extravagance but much dignity in the language of Horace, and I see no real resemblance between the tone of this ode and C. ii. 20, with which it is compared (see Introduction).

ARGUMENT.

I have built myself a monument which storms shall not destroy, nor Time himself. I shall not die but live in freshness of fame so long as the world endures. It will be said on the banks of my native river that I, a humble man made great, was the first to fit the Graecian strain to the lyre of Italy. Put on the bay that thou hast earned, my Muse.

Exegi monumentum aere perennius
Regalique situ pyramidum altius,
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere aut innumerabilis
Annorum series et fuga temporum.
Non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei
Vitabit Libitinam: usque ego postera
Crescam laude recens dum Capitolium
Scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex.
Dicar, qua violens obstrepit Aufidus
Et qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium
Regnavit populorum, ex humili potens,

2. *situ*] This word is nowhere else used in this sense that I can find. It here signifies the building and not the site of it. What follows seems to be imitated from Pindar (Pyth. vi. 7 sqq.)—

ἑτοῖμος ὕμνων
θησαυρὸς ἐν πολυχρύσῳ
Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τετείχισται νάπᾳ·
τὸν οὔτε χειμέριος ὄμβρος ἐπακτὸς ἐλθών,
ἐριβρόμου νεφέλας
στρατὸς ἀμείλιχος, οὔτ' ἄνεμος μυχοὺς
ἁλὸς ἄξοισι παμφόρῳ χεράδι
τυπτόμενον.

3. *impotens*] This word is equivalent to 'impotens sui,' not 'valde potens' as the Scholiast says; [that is, it means 'violent.']

7. [*Libitinam*] See S. ii. 6. 19; Epp. ii. 1. 49.]

— *usque*] In this sense of 'conti-

Princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
Deduxisse modos. Sume superbiam
Quaesitam meritis et mihi Delphica
Lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam.

nually' 'usque' only occurs in poetry, and is always joined to a verb. What follows means while the Pontifex Maximus ('Vestae sacerdos,' Ov. Fast. iii. 699) shall, on the Ides of every month, go up to the Capitol to offer sacrifice to Vesta, her virgins walking silently in the procession, as they did, while the boys sang hymns in honour of the goddess. With a Roman this was equivalent to saying for ever.

10. *Dicar, qua violens obstrepit Aufidus*] 'Violens' is not a common form of 'violentus.' It occurs again Epp. i. 10. 37, and in Persius (Sat. v. 171), "nunc ferus et violens." The editors try to get from these words a meaning I do not see how they will bear, as if Horace meant to say, as he says (C. iv. 9. 2), "Longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum dicar." The words of Acron which Orelli quotes are ambiguous, "Dicar princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos modos deduxisse, ubi Aufidus obstrepit," which seems to mean, not 'ibi natus ubi,' as Orelli says, but 'ad modos Italiae ubi,' and that may be Horace's meaning. But the order of the words rather favours that I have given in the Argument. Horace says, in the former verses, that he has wrought a work for all time, and here he seems, according to the plain interpretation of the words, to take pleasure in the thought that he shall be remembered in connexion with his native place. But if this interpretation be objected to on the ground that Horace never appeared to take any great interest in his birth-place (though the references in C. iii. 4. 9; iv. 9. 2, and his address to the fountain of Bandusia show he had not forgotten it), either we must suppose him to mean Italy in general (for which Daunia stands in C. iv. 6. 27), or the words must be translated thus: 'It shall be said that I who in that place where the Aufidus roars, and where Daunus, poor in streams, ruled over his rustic people, from a man of low degree became great, was the first to adapt the Aeolian verse to Italian measures.' 'Obstrepere' is used absolutely again Epod. ii. 27. Apulia was not well watered.

12. *Regnavit*] This word, though it is used in the passive voice (see last ode, v. 27), here only has a noun after it. Horace gives it the genitive in imitation of ἄρχειν [or βασιλεύειν]. He wrote with his mind full of Greek constructions and words, and took the liberty of using them very freely. Forcellini does not notice this passage, and therefore it may be presumed he only knew of the reading 'regnator.' Porphyrion (who says there was a river Daunus, which there was not) writes expressly "adnotanda elocutio per genitivum figurata est." All Lambinus' MSS., several of Bentley's and Cruquius' (but not the Blandinians), and many others, including two of Orelli's later Berne, and nearly all the editions till Lambinus, had 'regnator.' But 'regnavit' is in the oldest Berne and Blandinian, and several more mentioned by Jani; a verb also is wanted, and 'regnavit' is not likely to have been invented by the transcribers in so unusual a construction. 'Pauper' takes a genitive in S. i. 1. 79; ii. 3. 142.

— *ex humili potens*] Bentley and some others (Sivry, Meineke) apply these words to Daunus, because he was a private person, and from that condition became king of Apulia. But this makes the words a mere incumbrance without meaning. Bentley never can believe that so humble a man would boast so largely. I do not know what the meaning of the ode is, if a proud and legitimate self-complacency be not seen in every part of it. Horace uses the expression 'potentium vatum' in the eighth ode of the next book (v. 26), [but not in the same sense as he uses 'potens' here, which signifies his elevation in the world. Comp. Epp. i. 20. 20.] Alcaeus and Sappho were his chief models in lyric poetry, which he sums up in the formula 'Aeolium carmen' here and in C. iv. 3. 12. 'Delphica lauro' is the 'laurea Apollinari' of C. iv. 2. 9.

Q. HORATII FLACCI

CARMINUM

LIBER QUARTUS.

CARMEN I.

A.U.C. 739.

It is clear that Horace, after the publication of the first three books of his odes, laid aside that style, or wrote in it only occasionally. So far as his lyrical compositions expressed, if in his case they ever did, any real passion, growing years and bodily infirmity would naturally turn him from writing odes. So far as his poems were mere imitations of the Greek, we can understand his getting tired of that style as he grew older, and turning to the more original and serious task which employed him in the Epistles. Of the lighter sort, therefore, we find but few in this book, and those probably inserted to make up a sufficient volume. But his severer style he had not lost, and none of his earlier compositions surpass the moral and historical odes of this book. Why he should have written the first it is not easy to say. It was composed apparently 'invita Minerva,' and except the smoothness of its rhythm it has little to commend it. Nobody will read it and believe that the man was in love who wrote it, still less that he was influenced by a drivelling affection for the boy Ligurinus mentioned at the end, and in C. 10 of this book. Perhaps he found a Greek ode that took his fancy and imitated it, and then published it to fill his book, not as a prologue to it, as many of the chronologists say,—for what is there in the ode that bears that character? The sixth verse says it was written when he was about fifty (circa lustra decem), which age he attained on the 8th December, A.U.C. 739. A fragment of Alcman (20 Bergk)—

ἔρος με δ' αὖτε Κύπριδος ἕκατι
γλυκὺς κατείβων καρδίαν ἰαίνει—

seems to be part of an ode which this of Horace might be imitated from. So likewise one of Ibycus (2 Bergk)—

ἔρος αὖτέ με κυανέοισιν ὑπὸ βλεφάροις τακέρ' ὄμμασι δερκόμενος
κηλήμασι παντοδαποῖς ἐς ἄπειρα δίκτυα Κύπριδι βάλλει·
ἦ μὰν τρομέω νιν ἐπερχομέναν, κ.τ.λ.

I do not associate the ode with C. iii. 26 for the reasons there stated. But there is so much resemblance between this and C. i. 19 as to confirm me in the opinion that they are both imitations.

ARGUMENT.

Art thou at war with me again, Venus? spare me, for I am old. Go to the young. Go to Paullus, for he is noble, handsome, clever. Give him the victory, and he will give thee in return a marble statue in a shrine of citron, with incense, music, and dancing in his home by the Alban lake. I have no longer a heart for love and wine, and yet, Ligurinus, why do I weep and dream of thee?

INTERMISSA, Venus, diu
 Rursus bella moves? Parce, precor, precor.
Non sum qualis eram bonae
 Sub regno Cinarae. Desine, dulcium
Mater saeva Cupidinum,
 Circa lustra decem flectere mollibus
Jam durum imperiis: abi
 Quo blandae juvenum te revocant preces.
Tempestivius in domum
 Paulli purpureis ales oloribus
Comissabere Maximi,
 Si torrere jecur quaeris idoneum:
Namque et nobilis et decens
 Et pro sollicitis non tacitus reis
Et centum puer artium
 Late signa feret militiae tuae,

2. *Rursus bella moves*] The Scholiast Acron says this ode is an allegorical address to Venus praying her not to compel him to write any more love poetry, which notion is generally adopted. I think it is a mistake.

3. *Non sum qualis eram*] Epp. i. 1. 4. He here calls Cinara good, because she is dead; elsewhere he calls her 'rapax' (Epp. i. 14. 33). It seems likely that this name represents a real person, whether she appears under another name elsewhere or not, and that Horace had an affection for her. In the thirteenth ode of this book (v. 22) her death is mentioned with feeling, and there is a reality in the references to her in all the places where she is alluded to, which cannot be connected with fiction. She was associated in all probability with Horace's early days.

5. *Mater saeva Cupidinum*] Repeated from C. i. 19. 1. Horace here does not copy himself I believe, but some Greek original. 'Flectere' is a metaphor taken from the breaking in of a horse.

9. *in domum*] So Livy (xl. 7), "Quin comissatum ad fratrem imus?" Here 'comissabere' is equivalent to 'comissatum ibis,' and therefore the reading 'in domum' is correct. But 'in domo' has the authority of the two oldest Berne and other MSS., and is the reading of Lambinus and most of the older editors. [Ritter has 'in domo.'] 'In domum,' however, is less likely to have been invented than 'in domo,' and in the whole of the passage the idea of motion is contained, as in 'abi,' 'ales,' 'quaeris.' 'Purpureis' (which Acron rightly interprets 'nitidis, pulchris') savours of the Greek, and *κωμάσδω ποτὶ τὰν* Ἀμαρύλλιδα (Theoc. iii. 1) shows that Horace has here adopted a Greek idiom. *Κώμῳ χρέεσθαι ἐς ἀλλήλους* occurs in Herodotus (i. 21). The Paullus Maximus here mentioned is called by the Scholiasts "nobilis et disertus adolescens et voluptuosus," which is plainly a mere notion of their own derived from the ode itself, and shows that they at least knew nothing about him. Paullus Fabius Maximus was a favourite with Augustus, and consul A.U.C. 743. If therefore he be the person meant, he is called 'a boy' in joke, though it does not follow that he was of the full consular age in 743: that rule fell into disuse after the civil wars, and was never strictly observed again. But he had a son who was a great friend of Ovid's, and who was about twenty at this time, and some editors (Torrentius, Jani, Orelli, and others) think he is the youth Horace alludes to (Ovid, ex Ponto, i. 2. 1). He could only have been beginning his advocate's career, if this be the person, which I am inclined to doubt. 'Torrere jecur' is like Theocritus' *ὀπτεύμενος ἐξ Ἀφροδίτας* (vii. 55).

14. *sollicitis non tacitus reis*] C. ii. 1. 13, "Insigne moestis praesidium reis."

16. *Late signa feret*] This is what the Scholiasts mean when they say (v. 2 n.) "*ἀλληγορικῶς* ad Venerem scribit," with which expression Jani need not therefore quarrel. He mistakes the meaning. The

Et quandoque potentior
  Largi muneribus riserit aemuli,
Albanos prope te lacus
  Ponet marmoream sub trabe citrea.
Illic plurima naribus
  Duces tura, lyraeque et Berecyntiae
Delectabere tibiae
  Mixtis carminibus non sine fistula;
Illic bis pueri die
  Numen cum teneris virginibus tuum
Laudantes pede candido
  In morem Salium ter quatient humum.
Me nec femina nec puer
  Jam nec spes animi credula mutui,
Nec certare juvat mero
  Nec vincire novis tempora floribus.
Sed cur heu, Ligurine, cur
  Manat rara meas lacruma per genas?
Cur facunda parum decoro
  Inter verba cadit lingua silentio?
Nocturnis ego somniis
  Jam captum teneo, jam volucrem sequor
Te per gramina Martii
  Campi, te per aquas, dure, volubiles.

idea corresponds to "militavi non sine gloria" (C. iii. 26. 2).

17. *Et quandoque*] i. e. 'whenever with your aid his charms shall beat the presents of his rich rival, he shall set you up in marble under a citron roof by the shore of one of the Alban lakes,' of which there were two close together, the Albanus (Albano) and Nemorensis (Nemi), and on one of these it appears Fabius had a house. The reading 'Cypria' must have arisen from 'trabe Cypria' (C. i. 1. 13). It has no place here, though Gesner adopts it. 'Largi' is a better reading than 'largis.' Horace does not usually put the epithet next to its noun. As to 'Berecyntiae,' compare C. iii. 19. 20. 'Lyrae' and 'tibiae' are in the dative case after 'mixtis.' Bentley after Cruquius adopts the ablative, which appears in some MSS., and among others the oldest Blandinian. [Ritter has 'lyraque et Berecyntia . . . tibia.']

28. *ter quatient humum*] See C. iii. 18. 16. On the first few days of March, during the festival of Mars, the Salii, his priests, went in procession through the city singing and dancing, from whence they are said to have derived their name, "Jam dederat Saliis (a saltu nomina ducunt)" (Ovid, Fasti, iii. 387). The practice, according to Livy, was instituted by Numa (i. 20), "per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis sollennique saltatione jussi sunt." See Epp. ii. 1. 86. ['Salium:' see C. i. 36. 12.]

[30. *credula*] Comp. C. i. 11. 8, 'credula postero.' Here the genitive depends on 'credula.']

[33. *Sed cur*] Here the poet affects to be seized with a sudden passion after affirming that he had ceased to love; but he only affects, though Ritter thinks that Ligurinus came from Liguria or the maritime Alps, and was the cause of this violent outbreak.]

35.] The last syllable in this line is cut off.

CARMEN II.

A.U.C. 738.

The fortunes of Iulus Antonius, son of the triumvir M. Antonius by his wife Fulvia, his rise and tragical end, do not concern this ode. He was a man of letters and a pupil of L. Crassitius, a grammarian who kept a school at Rome, to which many sons of the noble families were sent. He received therefore a good education, and we have it on the authority of the Scholiasts that he wrote an heroic poem on the fortunes of Diomedes in twelve books, besides some prose works. Acron says that his poem was excellent; but, as it is not likely he ever saw it, his testimony is not worth much. (See Heyne, Exc. Aen. x. 243.) Horace pays him the compliment of saying that he could celebrate Augustus' victories much better than himself, but this he said to Maecenas (C. ii. 12. 11); and, though from that passage and this we may believe that Maecenas wrote prose and Antonius poetry, the quality of either and the subjects cannot be inferred from any data Horace has given us. Because we know nothing of Antonius' poetical powers except from this ode, and because of the distance between the two names, 'Iule' (v. 2) and 'Antoni' (v. 26), some critics have changed 'Iule' into 'Ille' (Peerlkamp. in loco Eichstadt. Paradox. Horat. i. p. 9), and supposed 'Antoni' to mean Antonius Rufus, who is mentioned by Acron (on A. P. 289) and Comm. Cruq. as one who wrote comedy; but the existence of such a person is very doubtful, though Suetonius mentions a grammarian of that name, and Ovid speaks of one Rufus who wrote lyric poetry after the manner of Pindar (Ex Pont. iv. 16. 27 sqq.):

"Et qui Maeoniam Phaeacida vertit; et una
Pindaricae fidicen tu quoque, Rufe, lyrae."

But there is no reason to suppose his name was Antonius. In A.U.C. 738 the Sigambri, with two other German tribes, crossed the Rhine and laid waste part of the Roman territory in Gaul. They defeated the legate Lollius, and this disaster was sufficient to induce Augustus (Dion Cass., 54. c. 19, intimates that he had other reasons, especially his personal unpopularity at Rome and his intrigues with Terentia, which is mere gossip) to go in person to Gaul, which he did, and at his approach the Germans withdrew into their own territories, and giving hostages obtained peace. The defeat of Lollius had caused great consternation at Rome, and the news of the barbarians' subjection was hailed with proportionate joy. Augustus did not return for two years to Rome, having meanwhile restored order in Germany, Gaul, and Spain; but it is probable this ode was written in the expectation of his return, and while the news respecting the Sigambri was still fresh, that is to say, about the end of A.U.C. 738. Augustus' return to Rome was expected long before it took place (see C. 5 of this book). The general impression derived from the ode is that Antonius had pressed Horace to write a poem in honour of Augustus' victory in the style of Pindar's *ἐπινίκια*, and that he very wisely declined, though his friend Titius (Epp. i. 3. 10) was more bold, and Rufus above mentioned was so too.

ARGUMENT.

Whoso would rival Pindar must expect Icarus' fate. His numbers roll like a swollen river. His is the bay, whether he tune the dithyramb or sing of gods and heroes, of victors or of women bereaved. The swan of Dirce soars to the clouds: I am but as a bee sipping the flowers of Tibur. Thou, Antonius, shalt sing of the triumphs of Caesar, greatest and best, and of the holiday rejoicings that hail his return: and I will add my small voice to thine: and we will all sing songs of triumph and will sacrifice, thou with bulls and cows, I with a young heifer.

Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari,
Iule, ceratis ope Daedalea
Nititur pennis vitreo daturus
  Nomina ponto.
Monte decurrens velut amnis imbres
Quem super notas aluere ripas
Fervet immensusque ruit profundo
  Pindarus ore,
Laurea donandus Apollinari,
Seu per audaces nova dithyrambos
Verba devolvit numerisque fertur
  Lege solutis;
Seu deos regesve canit deorum
Sanguinem per quos cecidere justa
Morte Centauri, cecidit tremendae
  Flamma Chimaerae;
Sive quos Elea domum reducit
Palma caelestes pugilemve equumve
Dicit et centum potiore signis
  Munere donat;
Flebili sponsae juvenemve raptum
Plorat et vires animumque moresque
Aureos educit in astra nigroque
  Invidet Orco.
Multa Dircaeum levat aura cycnum
Tendit, Antoni, quotiens in altos
Nubium tractus. Ego apis Matinae
  More modoque

2. *Iule*] Virgil makes this name trisyllabic after the Greek. Gesner allows Baxter's text to stand—

aemulari, I-
-ule, ceratis——

and adds this note, "utrum in duo versiculos distrahi nomen voluerit Horatius N.L. nisi quod Graecissat." Antonius' grandmother on his father's side was Julia, one of the Caesars, though how related to the dictator is not known. As to the plural 'nomina' see C. iii. 27. 76.

10. *nova—verba*] These are what Aristotle calls *διπλᾶ ὀνόματα* (Poet. c. 37), and which he says are best suited to the dithyrambic measure. [In the third, fourth, and fifth stanzas, Horace enumerates the subjects of Pindar's poetry. See the four books and the fragments by Bergk.]

13. *regesve*] The editions before Bentley had 'regesque,' but there is opposition between 'deos' and 'reges.' [Ritter has 'regesque.']

[— *deorum sanguinem*] Heroes, 'sons of gods.' Comp. C. S. 50, 'clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis.']

19. *centum potiore signis munere*] Compare Pind. Nem. v. 1: *οὐκ ἀνδριαντόποιός εἰμ', ὥστ' ἐλινύσοντά μ' ἐργάζεσθαι ἀγάλματ' ἐπ' αὐτᾶς βαθμίδος Ἑσταότα.* 'Equum' is put for the rider as in A. P. 84, notwithstanding what Bentley says to the contrary.

27. *apis Matinae*] See C. ii. 6. 18 n., and C. i. 28. 3. See Plat. Ion. p. 534, A. Arist. Av. 737 sqq. The passage in Plato is very like this: *οἱ ποιηταὶ ἀπὸ κρηνῶν μελιρρύτων ἐκ Μουσῶν κήπων τινῶν καὶ*

Grata carpentis thyma per laborem
Plurimum circa nemus uvidique
Tiburis ripas operosa parvus
  Carmina fingo.
Concines majore poëta plectro
Caesarem quandoque trahet feroces
Per sacrum clivum merita decorus
  Fronde Sigambros,
Quo nihil majus meliusve terris
Fata donavere bonique divi,
Nec dabunt quamvis redeant in aurum
  Tempora priscum.
Concines laetosque dies et Urbis
Publicum ludum super impetrato
Fortis Augusti reditu forumque
  Litibus orbum.

ναπῶν δρεπόμενοι τὰ μέλη ἡμῖν φέρουσιν ὥσπερ μέλιτται. 'Ripas' signifies the banks of the Anio. Bentley changes it to 'rivos.' (See C. iii. 25. 13 n.) 'Operosa' describes, I should think, the process by which nearly all Horace's odes were produced. No great poet is more artificial, and few more skilled in concealing their art and giving it the appearance of nature. 'Fingo' corresponds to πλάττω, which word the Greeks used especially with reference to the making of honey. 'Plurimum' belongs to 'laborem.' [Ritter remarks that Horace had a house at Tibur, as Suetonius says (Vit. Horat.): 'vixit plurimum in secessu ruris sui Sabini aut Tiburtini, domusque ejus ostenditur circa Tiburni luculum.']

33. *Concines*] The pronoun though emphatic is omitted, which is not uncommon. (See C. iii. 17. 5.) 'Concines' sounds better than 'tu canes,' and it has particular force in expressing a chant in which many voices are joined. ['Con' in many compounds only gives force to the word. Caesar, B. G. i. 47, 'Ariovistus conclamavit.']

[34. *quandoque*] C. iv. 1. 17.]

35. *sacrum clivum*] Martial mentions this ascent (i. 71. 5):

"Inde sacro veneranda petes Pallatia clivo."

Becker, on the walls of ancient Rome, says it was a slope in the Sacra Via from the Forum to the arch of Titus. He is quoted by Orelli, who also refers to the statement of Bunsen on the Roman Forum (Annali dell' Inst. viii. 238): "Le 'clivus sacer' selon Martial montait au Palatin longeant à l'extrémité du Forum le flanc droit du sanctuaire de Vesta." Fea, who appears to have given great attention to the subject, has the following note on Epod. vii. 8: "As one entered the Sacra Via opposite the amphitheatre of Flavius between the temples of Pax and Venus, where now stands the church of New St. Mary, he descended gradually to the temple of Antonine and Faustina, and then ascended gradually to the arch of Septimius Severus. (This road, he says, he saw in 1809 when an excavation was being dug in front of Antoninus' temple, about nine feet deep and laid with flint.) Passing from the Gate of Triumph over the Campus Martius, the Velabrum, Circus Maximus, and the spot where now stands the arch of Constantinus, the victors went in procession down this 'via,' with the prisoners before their chariots, to the site of Severus' arch, and thence the prisoners were dismissed to the prison hard by called Tullianus, while the victors ascended the Capitoline hill, bending to the left, till they arrived at the Capitol." He then refers to Cic. in Verr. ii. 5. 30.

37. *Quo nihil majus*] This flattery is repeated Epp. ii. 1. 17. Augustus' kindness to Horace, which, according to Suetonius' life, was unbounded, merited the word 'melius;' in 'majus' he was not far wrong. 'Divis bonis' is repeated below (C. iv. 5. 1).

43. *Fortis Augusti reditu*] Orelli mentions that there are coins of the year

Tum meae si quid loquar audiendum
Vocis accedet bona pars et, O Sol
Pulcher! o laudande! canam, recepto
  Caesare felix.
Teque dum procedis, io Triumphe!
Non semel dicemus, io Triumphe!
Civitas omnis dabimusque divis
  Tura benignis.
Te decem tauri totidemque vaccae,
Me tener solvet vitulus relicta
Matre qui largis juvenescit herbis
  In mea vota,
Fronte curvatos imitatus ignes
Tertium lunae referentis ortum,
Qua notam duxit niveus videri,
  Cetera fulvus.

A.U.C. 738 with the inscription S.P.Q.R.V.S. PRO S. ET RED. AVG (V.S. vota suscepta). 'Orbum' appears to be an adaptation of ὀρφανός as it is used for instance by Pindar (Isth. iii. 26), ὀρφανοὶ ὕβριος.

45. *loquar*] Bentley reads with several MSS. 'loquor.' Either will do.

[46. *bona pars*] Sat. i. 1. 61.

"At bona pars hominum decepta cupidine falso."]

48. *felix*] Whether 'felix' refers to Horace himself or the Sun is doubtful. The reader's taste must determine.

49. *Teque dum procedis*] Bentley has raised difficulties about this reading, which is that of the greater part of the MSS. and editions. 'Triumphus' is addressed as a divinity, as in Epod. ix. 21, and Horace says, 'As thou marchest, we will shout thus thy name, Io Triumphe! and again, Io Triumphe!' I see no reason for adopting 'procedit' from the conjecture of Heinsius, though it be supported by the MS. B, and though Orelli takes it into the text; nor 'Duxque' from the conjecture of the same person; nor 'Isque' from Bentley's. 'Tuque' has some little authority. Gesner and Jahn adopt it and apply it to Antonius. [Ritter supposes that this ode was written A.U.C. 741, a little before the return of Augustus, and in this year Iulus Antonius was praetor. 'Io Triumphe' is like 'Io Bacche, Io Paean,' usual shouts of joy. 'Io, Io Triump' occurs on the face of a medal, in the centre of which is a branch of bay, and on the other side are two serpents united by the tails, forming a torques which surrounds two armillae. A. Agostini, Dialoghi intorno alle Medaglie, p. 3. Ritter has 'Tuque dum procedis,' on which he says, 'Antonius Augusto carus et tunc praetor cum triumphante principe procedit.' This reading makes Antonius the principal personage in the triumph. But 'teque' is difficult to explain.]

54. *Me tener solvet vitulus*] So "nos humilem feriemus agnam" (C. ii. 17. 32).

58. *Tertium—ortum*] 'Its young horns just bent to the form of the moon's crescent when she is three days old.' Several MSS. have 'orbem,' but that would signify, as Bentley says, the third month, which would have no meaning here. 'Traxit' is the reading of one good MS., and it would do very well, as in Ovid (Fast. i. 596), "Ille Numantina traxit ab urbe notam." But 'duxit' has most authority, and is equally good Latin. ['Niveus videri,' a Greek idiom.]

CARMEN III.

A.U.C. 737 (?).

The impression produced by the publication of his three books of odes, which had previously been known only to a few, was such as no doubt to silence envy, and to

establish Horace in the high position he here asserts as "Romanae fidicen lyrae;" and when, after several years' silence, he produced the Carmen Seculare in A.U.C. 737, it was received probably with so much favour as to draw forth this ode. That is at any rate a reasonable way of determining its date, which otherwise must remain wholly unknown. The ode has all the appearance of genuine feeling, and shows how much Horace had suffered from the vexatious detractions that at one time he was subject to. Sanadon declares it is "perfectly beautiful," and Dacier says "rien de plus achevé," nothing more finished, is to be found in the Greek or Latin language. Julius Scaliger would rather have written it than have been king "totius Tarraconensis." I confess there is no ode that strikes me as more terse or more elegantly written than this. It is much less artificial than the first ode of the first book, with which it is usually compared.

ARGUMENT.

He on whom thou lookest at his birth, Melpomene, derives his fame, not from the games, or from triumphs, but from the streams and woods of Tibur inspiring him with Aeolian song. They have named me the tuner of the Roman lyre, and envy assaults me no longer as it did; and to thee I owe this gift of pleasing, O Muse, who rulest the shell, and art able to give the music of the swan to the voiceless fish if thou wilt.

Quem tu, Melpomene, semel
  Nascentem placido lumine videris,
Illum non labor Isthmius
  Clarabit pugilem, non equus impiger
Curru ducet Achaico
  Victorem, neque res bellica Deliis
Ornatum foliis ducem,
  Quod regum tumidas contuderit minas,
Ostendet Capitolio:
  Sed quae Tibur aquae fertile praefluunt
Et spissae nemorum comae
  Fingent Aeolio carmine nobilem.
Romae principis urbium
  Dignatur suboles inter amabiles
Vatum ponere me choros,
  Et jam dente minus mordeor invido.
O, testudinis aureae
  Dulcem quae strepitum, Pieri, temperas,
O mutis quoque piscibus
  Donatura cycni, si libeat, sonum,

[1.] See C. iii. 30. 16.]

4. *Clarabit*] This word occurs nowhere else in this sense I believe. 'Deliis foliis' is another way of expressing 'laurea Apollinari,' 'Delphica lauro.' As to 'Aeolio carmine,' see C. iii. 30. 13 n. 'Testudinis aureae' is Pindar's χρυσέα φόρμιγξ (Pyth. 1. 1).

18. *Pieri*] This singular is not common. Ovid uses it (Fast. iv. 222): "Pieris orsa loqui."

19. *mutis—piscibus*] The Greek ἔλλοπας ἰχθῦς is thus explained by some, but the meaning of that word is doubtful.

22. *monstror digito*] Pers. (1. 28), "At pulchrum est digito monstrari et dicier hic est." In Epp. i. 19. 32, he calls himself "Latinus fidicen." 'Quod spiro' means

Totum muneris hoc tui est:
Quod monstror digito praetereuntium
Romanae fidicen lyrae,
Quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est.

that I breathe the breath, not of life, but of poetry. Compare C. iv. 6. 29: "Spiritum Phoebus mihi—dedit." Ovid. (Trist. iv. 10. 115) says, it is true,

"Ergo quod vivo durisque laboribus obsto
Gratia, Musa, tibi;"

but 'vivo' does not represent 'spiro.'

21. *tui est*] I have departed a little from the usual punctuation here, making 'hoc' refer to the preceding verses, and joining 'quod monstror' with 'quod spiro,' &c.

CARMEN IV.

A.U.C. 739.

The history of this ode is easily made out. The Vindelici were a tribe whose territories lay between the Danube and the lake of Constance, comprising the greater part of modern Bavaria and Suabia, and some part of the Tyrol. The Raeti lay to the south of the Vindelici, and reached to Lake Como on the south. These tribes, whom the historians describe as very fierce and warlike, commenced a system of predatory incursions into Cisalpine Gaul, in which they appear to have practised the greatest atrocities (Dion Cass. liv. 22; Strabo, p. 206). Augustus was at this time (A.U.C. 738—39) in Transalpine Gaul, and Tiberius was with him. Drusus, his step-son, and younger brother of Tiberius, was Quaestor at Rome, and in his twenty-third year. He was required by Augustus to take the field against the offending tribes, whom he met under the Tridentine Alps and defeated signally. But though driven from Italy they continued their attacks upon Gaul, and Tiberius was accordingly sent by Augustus with more troops to his brother's assistance, and between them they effectually humbled the tribes, whose territories were constituted a Roman province, afterwards named the Raetiae, Raetia Prima or Proper, and Secunda, which embraced the possessions of the Vindelici: these also comprised several other tribes, of whom Horace particularly mentions the Genauni and Breuni. The whole of this war took place in the spring and summer of the year A.U.C. 739, and we are led to suppose from C. iv. 14. 34—38, that it was brought to a conclusion in the month of August, on the anniversary of the capture of Alexandria by Augustus in the year 724 (C. i. 37, Introduction). In honour of these victories Horace composed this ode and the fourteenth of this book, the one more expressly to celebrate the name of Drusus, the other of Tiberius. The two odes therefore must historically be viewed together. Whether they were written while the wars were yet fresh, or on the return of Augustus to Rome in the year A.U.C. 741, is doubted; but I incline to think they were written at different times, and should rather, from the character of the odes themselves, infer that the first was written immediately on the tidings of Drusus' victory before his brother joined him; and that the second, which has much less spirit in it, was composed on Augustus' return and by his desire, as a supplement to the first. The popularity of Drusus and the hopes that were entertained of him would create much enthusiasm at Rome on the occasion of his success in his first campaign, and there is a hearty and vigorous tone about the fourth ode which does not appear so conspicuously in the fourteenth. Here the praises of Drusus are uppermost in the poet's mind, there Augustus is the real theme, and Tiberius can hardly be said to bear more than the second part. Nevertheless I agree with Franke in thinking it improbable that Horace would have written the fourth ode without an allusion to Tiberius, if his victories in conjunction with his brother had taken place, or been known at Rome when he composed it. There is indeed tacit reference to Tiberius in v. 28;

but not more than was unavoidable in alluding to Augustus as the fountain of those virtues which appeared in Drusus. Not to have alluded to Tiberius would have been as unnatural as to have omitted a more specific mention of his part in the war had he joined it when the ode was written. Bentley's notion that Drusus only attacked and defeated the Vindelici and Tiberius the Raeti is ridiculous. He is led to it by v. 18 of this ode and 10 sqq. of C. 14, and by the statement of Velleius (ii. 95), "Uterque divisis partibus Raetos Vindelicosque aggressi," which merely means that they divided their forces, and attacked the tribes in different quarters, as Livy (xliv. 11) says of the taking of Cassandrea, "Divisis partibus oppugnare adorti praetor et Eumenes." The two tribes and the minor tribes connected with them were united in one league, and the idea of the Vindelici being attacked in or near the territories of the Raeti ("Raetis sub Alpibus"), while the Raeti themselves looked on and waited, as Jani says, for Tiberius' arrival, is absurd. I am surprised that Franke adopts this notion on a literal interpretation of Horace's words.

ARGUMENT.

Like the young eagle just darting on its prey, or the young lion fresh from its dam, was Drusus when he met the rude Vindelici, and made them feel what hearts could do trained under the eye of Augustus. The brave give birth to the brave. The steer and the horse have the blood of their sires, and the eagle gives not birth to the dove. But education brings out the seeds of virtue. What Rome owes to the Nerones let the Metaurus witness, and the day which saw Hasdrubal defeated and drove the clouds and the fierce African from Latium. Our strength has grown and our gods have returned from that day, and Hannibal was forced to cry, "As the deer might pursue the wolf, we are pursuing those we should fly. Like the shorn oak they gain strength with every blow, as the Hydra or the monsters of Thebes. Sink them in the deep, they rise more glorious than ever, and overthrow their victor in his strength. No more shall I send messengers of victory to Carthage; fallen, fallen are our hopes, and our fortune, for Hasdrubal is gone!" The hand of a Claudius will prosper, for Jove and sagacity deliver him from danger.

QUALEM ministrum fulminis alitem,
Cui rex deorum regnum in aves vagas
  Permisit expertus fidelem
    Juppiter in Ganymede flavo,
Olim juventas et patrius vigor
Nido laborum propulit inscium,
  Vernique jam nimbis remotis
    Insolitos docuere nisus

1. *Qualem*] The apodosis of this long opening (which however gains power as it proceeds) is in the seventeenth verse. The best way to render it will be by changing the cases in 'ministrum' and 'juventas:' 'as that bird, the minister of the thunderbolt, by the impulse of youth from its nest is driven, and by the breezes of spring is taught,' &c. Virgil calls the eagle "Jovis armiger" (Aen. v. 255), which Pliny (N. H. x. 3, 4) says is his conventional title. Pindar calls him *ἀρχὸς οἰωνῶν* (Pyth. i. 7), *βασιλεὺς οἰωνῶν* (Ol. 13. 21). 'Vaga' as an epithet applied to birds corresponds to the Greek *ἠερόφοιτος*. ['Regnum in aves:' comp. C. iii. 1. 5.] Horace follows a legend later than Homer in the story of Ganymede (C. iii. 20. 16). In illustration of 'expertus in,' Dobree (Adv. p. 40) quotes Herod. (vii. 211), *ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι.* Also Soph. Aj. 366, 557, 1090, 1315. Thucyd. iv. 80. Plat. Alc. i. p. 56. 1.

5. *Olim*] See C. ii. 10. 17 n. and Index. For 'verni' some MSS. have 'vernis.' Scaliger quarrelled with Horace for assigning to the early spring the first flight of the eagle, which is not fledged till the begin-

Venti paventem, mox in ovilia
Demisit hostem vividus impetus,
Nunc in reluctantes dracones
Egit amor dapis atque pugnae:
Qualemve laetis caprea pascuis
Intenta fulvae matris ab ubere
Jam lacte depulsum leonem
Dente novo peritura vidit:
Videre Raetis bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vindelici;—quibus
Mos unde deductus per omne
Tempus Amazonia securi
Dextras obarmet quaerere distuli,
Nec scire fas est omnia;—sed diu

ning of autumn, and Bentley does not see how this critic is to be answered. Nevertheless he does not take 'vernis' into the text, though he thinks it the proper reading. Horace does not require to be put on his defence for such an error, if it be so. 'Propulit,' 'docuere,' 'demisit,' 'egit,' are used in an aoristic sense. ['Patrius vigor,' 'his native strength,' 'that which he derives from his sire.' Ritter says that 'propulit' is against this explanation, and that the sire pushes the son out of the nest before he can fly in order that he may learn to fly. The eagle is wiser than the commentator.]

14. *matris ab ubere*] 'Ab' like ἀπό, is used absolutely: 'fresh from the dugs of his dam, yea just weaned from the milk of his mother.' There is no more tautology in this than may reasonably be allowed, and I see no defect in it. 'Lacte depulsum' and 'ubere depulsum' are both common phrases, of which Bentley has given a sufficient number of instances; but he proposes to substitute 'mane' or 'sponte' for 'lacte,' and, though he will not contend that Horace wrote either one or the other, he is satisfied that 'sponte' is much better than 'lacte,' in which I am not aware that any editor has agreed with him. Gesner, Jahn, &c, have taken 'ubere' for an adjective, and even Dillenbr. takes 'jam' with 'ubere,' and interprets thus: 'driven (by the strong instincts within him) from his mother's milk, though it be still abundant, that is, prematurely weaning itself from the mother. [Ritter thinks that 'fulvae matris' is the mother of the 'caprea.' A calf is 'fulvus,' he says, C. iv. 2. 60; but so is a lioness.]

17. *Raetis*] The reading of all but a very few MSS., and those of no great weight, that of Acron and Porphyrion [of Servius, Aeneid. i. 247], and every edition till Bentley's, is 'Raeti' ('Rhaeti' or 'Reti,' but 'Raeti' is the form which is supported by inscriptions). The Scholiasts take the two names together, as if the name of the combined people was 'Raeti Vindelici. Other MSS. have 'et Vindelici,' but these are all modern. Dillenbr. retains 'Raeti' without inserting 'et,' and supposes an anacoluthon to arise out of the digression (18—22). Cunningham, who adopts 'Raetis,' will not allow Bentley the merit of an original conjecture, and he acknowledges that N. Heinsius had hit upon the same before him. The reading appears to me to be the true one (see Introduction). [The evidence however is decidedly for the reading 'Raeti,' and if we accept the 'et' before 'Vindelici,' we get rid of the difficulty created by 'Raeti Vindelici,' who were different peoples. Ritter has 'Raeti' —Vindelici.] Several editors cast out the words 'quibus—omnia' as totally unmeaning, and Franke rejects them as 'ineptum glossema.' He would have been a bold scribe that would thrust such lines into the text. They are quoted by Servius on Aen. i. 247, and, whatever may be thought of their beauty or aptitude, they must be looked upon as genuine. The Scholiasts, pretending to interpret the lines, only infer from them that the Vindelici derived their race from the Amazons. All we can gather from these verses is, that the Vindelici carried some species of battle-axe, that the Romans had felt the weight and edge of it, and that the Vindelici were counted a

Lateque victrices catervae
Consiliis juvenis revictae
Sensere quid mens rite, quid indoles
Nutrita faustis sub penetralibus
Posset, quid Augusti paternus
In pueros animus Nerones.
Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis;
Est in juvencis, est in equis patrum
Virtus, neque imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilae columbam;
Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam,
Rectique cultus pectora roborant;
Utcunque defecere mores
Indecorant bene nata culpae.
Quid debeas, o Roma, Neronibus
Testis Metaurum flumen et Hasdrubal
Devictus et pulcher fugatis
Ille dies Latio tenebris
Qui primus alma risit adorea,
Dirus per urbes Afer ut Italas
Ceu flamma per taedas vel Eurus
Per Siculas equitavit undas.

strange wild race whose origin and history the Romans professed to know nothing about. I have already drawn attention to the proneness of some editors, who do not understand their legitimate province, to throw upon the dishonesty of copyists the defects they profess to find in their author (C. iii. 11. 17; iii. 17, Introduction). 'Sed' is commonly used after digressions to recover the thread of the subject.

24. *revictae*] The various reading of a few corrected MSS. 'repressae,' which Bentley has admitted into the text, is not nearly so well supported by authority as 'revictae,' and has not its weight. Lucretius has (v. 410), "Inde cadunt vires aliqua ratione revictae," and Cicero pro Sulla (c. 1), "perditi cives redomiti atque victi." 'Revictae' is the true reading, and nobody will think it necessary to follow Bentley in changing 'faustis' into 'sanctis' without any better authority than his taste in epithets. That 're' is added to some verbs without materially changing their meaning has been shown C. i. 31. 12 n. [but 'revictae' implies conquered after resistance]. The difference between 'mens' and 'indoles' is, that one refers to the head, the other to what we should call the heart, the disposition.

29. *Fortes creantur*] Horace may have had in his mind Euripides (Fr. Alcm. 7),—

ἐσθλῶν ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ἐσθλὰ γίγνεσθαι τέκνα,
κακῶν δ' ὅμοια τῇ φύσει τῇ τοῦ πατρός.

'Fortibus et bonis' corresponds to the common Greek expression which it is so difficult to render, καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς. Those words are in the ablative case. Orelli has quoted several instances of their use by Cicero. Among others, see Cic. in Verr. ii. 3. 69, "Quem ego, judices, quamvis bonum fortemque facile paterer evadere," &c., where he says he shall be glad to see Verres' son turn out a better man than his father, which he thinks is possible, though (on Horace's principle) not probable. Those whom Horace is referring to are the worthies of the Claudian family, not, as Orelli rightly observes, the unworthy father of the two youths whom Augustus had adopted, and one of whom (Drusus) was believed, not without reason, to be his own son. 'Indecorant' and 'dedecorant' (v. 36) are both supported by good MSS. The less likely form to have

Post hoc secundis usque laboribus
Romana pubes crevit et impio
  Vastata Poenorum tumultu
    Fana deos habuere rectos;
Dixitque tandem perfidus Hannibal:
Cervi luporum praeda rapacium
  Sectamur ultro quos opimus
    Fallere et effugere est triumphus.
Gens quae cremato fortis ab Ilio
Jactata Tuscis aequoribus sacra
  Natosque maturosque patres
    Pertulit Ausonias ad urbes,
Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus
Nigrae feraci frondis in Algido,
  Per damna, per caedes, ab ipso
    Ducit opes animumque ferro.
Non hydra secto corpore firmior
Vinci dolentem crevit in Herculem,
  Monstrumve submisere Colchi
    Maius Echioniaeve Thebae.
Merses profundo, pulchrior evenit:
Luctere, multa proruet integrum

been invented is 'indecorant,' and (as it is consistent with analogy) I have on that account adopted it. Bentley prefers, but does not adopt it.

38. *Metaurum*] See A. P. 18: "Aut flumen Rhenum." Hasdrubal was defeated on the Metaurus (Livy, xxvii. 43). How 'adorea' came to signify 'glory' is explained by Forcell. and the passage of Pliny (N. H. xviii. 3) which he quotes.

42. *Dirus*] C. ii. 12. 2 n. This is the third time this epithet is applied to Hannibal, whom with reason the Romans held in greater respect than any enemy they ever had, though 'perfidia plus quam Punica' was freely attributed to him. 'Ut,' 'ever since' (Epod. vii. 19). 'Taedas' is a pine forest, a conflagration in which is one of the most terrific sights that the eye can witness. 'Equitavit' seems to be taken from Eurip. (Phoen. 216),—

περιῤῥύτων
ὑπὲρ ἀκαρπίστων πεδίων Σικελίας
Ζεφύρου πνοαῖς
ἱππεύσαντος ἐν οὐρανῷ
κάλλιστον κελάδημα.

51. *Sectamur ultro*] 'We are pushing on and pursuing those whom to evade and to escape is the noblest triumph we can know.' There is some difficulty in translating 'ultro.' 'Uls' is an old preposition involving the same root as 'ille,' and signifying 'on the other side of,' opposed to 'cis' (Key's L. G. 1389. 788). 'Ultro' signifies to a place beyond, as 'ultra' at a place beyond. If 'ultro' ever means voluntarily, it is not as involving the root 'vol' of 'volo,' but as implying the forwardness of the agent to do what he is not obliged or asked. (Cic. in Verr. ii. 2. 2, Long's note.) Compare with this speech of Hannibal the words Livy puts into his mouth (xxvii. 51).

59. *Per damna*] Livy (xxix. 3), "Illis Romanam plebem, illis Latium juventutem praebuisse majorem semper frequentioremque pro tot caesis adolescentibus subolescentem."

62. *Vinci dolentem*] 'Indignant at the thought of being beaten;' or 'refusing to be beaten,' as "penna metuente solvi" (C. ii. 2. 7), a wing that will not melt. "Culpari metuit fides" (C. iv. 5. 20). ['Sub-

Cum laude victorem geretque
Proelia conjugibus loquenda.
Karthagini jam non ego nuntios
Mittam superbos: occidit, occidit
Spes omnis et fortuna nostri
Nominis Hasdrubale interempto.
Nil Claudiae non perficient manus,
Quas et benigno numine Juppiter
Defendit et curae sagaces
Expediunt per acuta belli.

misere:' sent up from the earth; which is explained by the legend of Jason in Colchis, and of Cadmus at Thebes.]

65. *evenit*] I am surprised that such careful editors as Orelli and Jahn should on the slenderest authority adopt the barbarous word 'exiet' in this place, merely to correspond to the futures 'proruet' and 'geret.' Bentley reads 'proruit' and 'gerit,' but the best MSS. have the future. [Comp. C. i. 36. 14, 'proruas.'] Napoleon's declaration that the English were too dull to know when they were beaten was only a repetition of Hannibal's complaint. ['Caesorum conjugibus,' says Ritter, not the 'conjuges' of the Romans, as some suppose. But it may be the 'conjuges' on all sides.]

73. *perficient*] There is more authority for the future tense than the present which Bentley adopts, and as a prophecy in the mouth of an enemy it would have more weight, and be more in accordance with the preceding constructions. [But in the last stanza, as Acron and Porphyrion remark, the poet is speaking; and therefore the 'curae sagaces' must be the wisdom of Augustus, as Acron and Ritter say.] 'Acuta belli' corresponds, as Turnebus observes, to Hom. (iv. 352), ὀξὺν Ἄρηα. Comp. C. iv. 12. 19, "amara curarum" [and C. ii. 1. 23 and 13. 27].

CARMEN V.

A.U.C. 740.

This ode was written after the German victories celebrated in the last ode and C. 14, and perhaps sent to Augustus in Gaul A.U.C. 740. What were the reasons for the Emperor's protracted absence we cannot tell, but we need not on that account give credit to the conjectures mentioned before (C. iv. 2, Introduction). It was perhaps the policy of Augustus to make his absence felt, and we may believe that the language of Horace, which bears much more the impression of real feeling than of flattery, represented the sentiments of great numbers at Rome, who felt the want of that presiding genius which had brought the city through its long troubles and given it comparative peace. There could not be a more comprehensive picture of security and rest obtained through the influence of one mind than is represented in this ode, if we except that with which no merely mortal language can compare (Isaiah xi. and lxv. Micah iv.). The Carmen Saeculare contains much that is repeated here. Virgil's description in his fourth Eclogue will naturally occur to the reader.

ARGUMENT.

Too long hast thou left us, our guardian; fulfil thy promise and return as the spring to gladden our hearts. As the mother for her absent son, so does Rome sigh for her Caesar. Our fields are at peace, the very sea is at rest, our morals are pure, our women are chaste, the law is strong, our enemies are silenced, each man lives in quiet and blesses thy name as Greece that of Castor or Hercules. Long mayst thou be spared to bless us, is our prayer both morning and evening.

Divis orte bonis, optime Romulae
Custos gentis, abes jam nimium diu;
Maturum reditum pollicitus patrum
  Sancto concilio redi.
Lucem redde tuae, dux bone, patriae,
Instar veris enim vultus ubi tuus
Affulsit populo, gratior it dies
  Et soles melius nitent.
Ut mater juvenem, quem Notus invido
Flatu Carpathii trans maris aequora
Cunctantem spatio longius annuo
  Dulci distinet a domo,
Votis ominibusque et precibus vocat,
Curvo nec faciem litore demovet:
Sic desideriis icta fidelibus
  Quaerit patria Caesarem.
Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat,
Nutrit rura Ceres almaque Faustitas,
Pacatum volitant per mare navitae,
  Culpari metuit Fides,
Nullis polluitur casta domus stupris,
Mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas,
Laudantur simili prole puerperae,
  Culpam poena premit comes.

1. *Divis orte bonis*] Compare C. iv. 2. 38. 'Custos' is repeated in "custode rerum Caesare" (C. iv. 15. 17). 'Romulus' or 'Romuleus,' 'Dardanus' or 'Dardanius,' are used as the metre requires by the poets.

7. *it dies*] C. ii. 14. 5, "Quotquot eunt dies."

10. *Carpathii*] C. i. 35. 8. 'Distinet' (v. 12) is a better reading than 'detinet,' and was that of Acron, since he explains it 'separat.' 'Demovet' I prefer to 'dimovet' (v. 14), for the reason stated C. i. 1. 13 n. Lambinus first proposed 'demovet' here. As usual the MSS. vary, but most have 'di.' [Ritter and Keller have 'dimovet.']

[14. *curvo — litore*] Epod. x. 21. The 'curvo litore' is the shore hollowed out by the action of the waves. In C. i. 33. 16, 'curvantis' is correctly rendered 'scoops' by Newman. 'If the Calabrian feluccas do not appear at the usual term of their annual voyage, the mothers and wives of the sailors offer up incessant vows and prayers, call upon the beloved person by name, and remain at their windows with eyes fixed on the cape which the vessel is to double.' Swinburne, Two Sicilies, i. 337. Those who are curious about old usages may compare Swinburne's explanation (p. 335) of C. i. 4. 13, 'Mors aequo pulsat pede,' &c., with Ritter's unmeaning note.]

18. *Nutrit rura*] Bentley introduces 'farra,' and Tan. Faber substitutes 'prata' in the former line to avoid the repetition of 'rura.' Cunningham proposes 'culta;' but the repetition is plainly designed. 'The ox wanders in security over the fields, to the fields Ceres gives fertility. Nothing could be less probable than Bentley's conjecture, and his reasoning is worse than his correction. The difficulty only lies in this restless corrector's own want of simplicity. Silius (xii. 375) speaks of "Arva Cereris nutrita favore." 'Faustitas' is a new name not elsewhere met with for 'Felicitas' (Acron). Velleius (ii. 89) thus describes the blessings secured by Augustus: "Rediit cultus agris, sacris honos, securitas homi-

Quis Parthum paveat, quis gelidum Scythen,
Quis Germania quos horrida parturit
Fetus, incolumi Caesare? quis ferae
  Bellum curet Hiberiae?
Condit quisque diem collibus in suis
Et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores;
Hinc ad vina redit laetus et alteris
  Te mensis adhibet deum;
Te multa prece, te prosequitur mero
Defuso pateris et Laribus tuum
Miscet numen, uti Graecia Castoris
  Et magni memor Herculis.
Longas o utinam, dux bone, ferias
Praestes Hesperiae! dicimus integro
Sicci mane die, dicimus uvidi
  Cum Sol Oceano subest.

nibus, certa cuique rerum suarum possessio." 'Pacatum' means delivered from pirates. The commentators quote Suet. (Oct. 98), "Vectores nautaeque de navi Alexandrina Augusto acclamarunt per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui." 'Mos et lex' is the combination required in C. iii. 24. 35: "Quid leges sine moribus." On the distinction between 'mos' and 'lex,' see article 'Jus' in Smith's Dict. Ant. 'Laudantur simili prole puerperae' is a way of expressing chastity derived from the Greeks, as—

τίκτουσιν δὲ γυναῖκες ἐοικότα τέκνα γονεῦσιν. (Hesiod, Op. et Di. 235.)

μὴ προαγωγεύσῃς ἄλοχον σέο τέκνα μιαίνων,
οὐ τίκτει γὰρ παῖδας ὁμοίους μοιχικὰ λέκτρα. (Pseudo-Phocylides Gnom. 177. Bergk, 352.)

Horace is referring in these verses to the Lex Julia de Adulteriis passed in the time of Augustus A.U.C. 736.

25. *Quis Parthum*] This stanza shows that the enemies mentioned were still objects of uneasiness; but the Parthians were at this time quiet; the most troublesome of the German tribes had been humbled by Augustus or his stepsons, and he was employed in quelling disturbances in Spain.

29. *Condit*] For other examples of this use of 'condere,' which signifies to bring to an end, and as it were to lay up in store, see Forcellini. "Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, from Dan even to Beer-sheba, all the days of Solomon" (1 Kings iv. 25). For 'redit' (v. 31), Bentley, Cunningham, and Sanadon prefer 'venit.' The alliteration is sufficient objection to that reading, which is supported by very little authority. "A man does not return to his wine except when he has been drinking before," says Bentley. But a man may be said 'ad vina redire' when he returns home from his day's work to his evening meal. "Quid non critica cogis pectora, novitatis amor!" rightly exclaims Jani. At the second course it was usual to offer libations and prayers to the Lares. Dion Cass. (li. 19) says that after the battle of Actium the senate decreed that all men should offer libations to Octavian at private tables as well as in the public feasts, and that his name should be inserted in the hymns of praise as the name of the Gods. The reading 'diffuso' for 'defuso' is that of a large number of MSS., but 'diffuso' only applies to the drawing off wine from the dolium into the amphora, i.e. what we should call bottling it. Here a libation is meant, to which 'defuso' is appropriate. Bentley's defence of the reading of some MSS. 'Rex bone' for 'dux bone' is inadmissible. It does not follow because Horace in a familiar way calls Maecenas 'rex' (Epp. i. 7. 37), therefore he would apply the word seriously or familiarly, which would be impertinent, to Augustus, whose policy it was to avoid the title.

[30. *viduas*] The trees are 'viduae,' 'solitary,' until they are married to the vine. See Epod. ii. 9: 'adulta vitium propagine Altas maritat populos.']

CARMEN VI.

A.U.C. 737.

The appointment of Horace to compose the principal ode at the Secular Games A.U.C. 737 seems to have given him much pleasure, and to have given his mind a new stimulus in favour of ode-writing. To the honour thus conferred upon him we owe, perhaps as much as to Augustus' bidding, this fourth book, of which the third, sixth, eighth, and ninth all bear marks of the legitimate pride that circumstance awakened. This sixth ode is a kind of preface to the Secular Ode, and dwells chiefly on the praises of Apollo as having been the slayer of Achilles, and thereby having preserved Aeneas to be the founder of the Roman family: and having prayed for and obtained the help of that god for the task he is going to perform, Horace turns, as choragus, to the members of his chorus, and instructs them in their duty.

ARGUMENT.

O thou, the punisher of Niobe and Tityos, and the slayer of Achilles; he who shook the walls of Troy was no match for thee, but fell under thy strength as the pine-tree laid low by the axe, or the cypress by the east wind. He would have taken Troy, not by guile but by cruel force, but that Jove had granted Aeneas to thy prayers and those of his dear Venus. O Apollo, support the honour of the Roman muse. His spirit is upon me: ye virgins and boys, keep time to my song and sing of Apollo and Diana. O damsel, when a bride thou shalt look back and say, "When the age brought back its festival, I sang the pleasant song that the poet Horace made."

DIVE, quem proles Niobea magnae
Vindicem linguae Tityosque raptor
Sensit et Trojae prope victor altae
  Phthius Achilles,
Ceteris major, tibi miles impar,
Filius quamvis Thetidis marinae
Dardanas turres quateret tremenda
  Cuspide pugnax.

1. *Dive*] The purpose of the ode being to invoke the assistance of Apollo for the composition of the Secular Ode, the invocation is suspended here, and not taken up again till the praises of the god have been sung, as the avenger of crime and the destroyer of Achilles (C. iii. 4. 77). The story of Niobe, the proud mother, and the lustful Tityos, will be found in the Dict. Myth. The Greek form being Νιοβείη, the Latin is Niobea, not Niobaea, which is the common reading. 'Magnae linguae' is a close copy of Ζεὺς γὰρ μεγάλης γλώσσης κόμπους Ὑπερεχθαίρει (Soph. Antig. 127). 'Altae' is an Homeric epithet for Troy, Ἴλιος αἰπεινή. The death of Achilles by the hand of Apollo was foretold by Hector (Il. xxii. 358 sqq.) and is stated by Sophocles (Philoct. 334),—

τέθνηκεν ἀνδρὸς οὐδενὸς θεοῦ δ' ὕπο,
τοξευτός, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἐκ Φοίβου δαμείς.

The common legend assigns it to Paris, but not without Apollo's help.

6. *quamvis*] All Orelli's MSS. have 'quamvis,' and the old editors and most of the modern. Gesner and Doering, following the "better MSS." of Torrentius, have 'quamquam,' and so Jani and Fea. See C. i. 28. 11 n.

Ille, mordaci velut icta ferro
Pinus aut impulsa cupressus Euro,
Procidit late posuitque collum in
  Pulvere Teucro.
Ille non inclusus equo Minervae
Sacra mentito male feriatos
Troas et laetam Priami choreis
  Falleret aulam;
Sed palam *captis* gravis, heu nefas heu,
Nescios fari pueros Achivis
Ureret flammis, etiam latentem
  Matris in alvo,
Ni tuis victus Venerisque gratae
Vocibus divom pater annuisset
Rebus Aeneae potiore ductos
  Alite muros.
Doctor argutae fidicen Thaliae,
Phoebe, qui Xantho lavis amne crines,
Dauniae defende decus Camenae,
  Levis Agyieu.
Spiritum Phoebus mihi, Phoebus artem
Carminis nomenque dedit poëtae.

17. *captis*] From the variation of the oldest MSS. in this word it has been generally given up as a genuine reading, while, in the absence of a better word, it has been usually received into the text. I do not think it would be profitable to repeat all that has been said on the subject, and have no means of suggesting a better reading. A similar instance, in which the oldest known MSS. are supposed to be at fault, is found in Epp. ii. 2. 199. The Scholiasts give little help in the matter. 'Victis' and 'victor' are various readings for 'captis;' and, as these cannot be mere errors of transcription, it may be assumed that the real word is lost. For this reason the word 'captis' is usually printed in a different type from the rest.

[19. *latentem*] There is a reading 'latentes.' It would be strange if the correctors had not proposed it: but some of them have done so.]

21. *Ni tuis victus*] 'Flexus,' which Bentley adopts on little authority for 'victus,' is an evident gloss.

23. *ductos*] Aen. i. 423: "Pars ducere muros." The Greeks would say τεῖχος ἐλαύνειν. To follow all the senses to which this word 'ducere' is applied, and to trace them to their radical sense, is not easy. There are ample examples in Forcellini's Lexicon.

25. *Doctor argutae*] Some MSS. have 'ductor' (corresponding to μουσαγέτης), others 'Argivae,' some both 'ductor' and 'Argivae.' Bentley thinks 'Argivae' the best reading (as "Graiae Camenae," C. ii. 16. 38), supposing Horace meant to oppose the Greek to the Roman muse, but he does not sufficiently trust his own arguments to admit that word into the text. Jani says 'Argivae' is "haud dubie unice vera lectio." I have no doubt 'argutae' is right. [Compare 'argutae,' C. iii. 14. 21.] The river Xanthus here mentioned was in Lycia.

27. *Dauniae*] See C. iii. 30. 10 n. [The 'Daunia Camena' is the muse of Horace, as Ritter observes.] The Greeks gave this name (ἀγυιεύς) to Apollo as worshipped in and protecting the streets of cities.

Virginum primae puerique claris
  Patribus orti,
Deliae tutela deae fugaces
Lyncas et cervos cohibentis arcu,
Lesbium servate pedem meique
  Pollicis ictum,
Rite Latonae puerum canentes,
Rite crescentem face Noctilucam,
Prosperam frugum celeremque pronos
  Volvere menses.
Nupta jam dices: Ego dis amicum,
Seculo festas referente luces,
Reddidi carmen docilis modorum
  Vatis Horati.

31. *Virginum primae*] The chorus on this great occasion was chosen from noble families, as the passage shows. The Lesbian foot was the Sapphic. There is no example of this use of 'tutela' earlier than Horace, as far as I know.

36. *Pollicis ictum*] The beating of time by the motion of the thumb, not the striking of the lyre, as Stephens explains it, "quod dicit quasi lyram ipsam percutit."

38. *Noctilucam*] 'Noctiluca' is the reading of some MSS.

39. *Prosperam frugum*] This and 'docilis modorum' (v. 43) are Greek constructions.

[— *celerem—volvere*] Compare C. i. 1. 18.]

42. *festas—luces*] The Secular games lasted three days and nights. Some editors separate this ode into two parts at v. 29, an arbitrary proceeding which substitutes two unmeaning fragments for an entire composition full of spirit, and complete in design. [The speaker was taught, and then repeated (reddidit) or sung the measures of Horace.]

CARMEN VII.

That this ode is addressed to the same person as the fifth epistle of the first book is pretty certain. That person was an advocate (v. 9), and this is commended for his eloquence (v. 23); that person was busy in making money, and so was this. But who this Torquatus was we have no means of deciding. Estré (Prosop. Hor. p. 497) suggests that it may have been Aulus Torquatus, mentioned by Nepos in his life of Atticus (c. 11) as having been with the army of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi. This would give him an acquaintance with Horace, which may have ripened into friendship. In Smith's Dict. Biog. Weichert's supposition that C. Nonius Asprenas Torquatus is the subject of these invitations has, I think, too hastily been adopted. But it is all very uncertain, and not less so the date of the ode, which may have been written after the epistle, or, which I think much more probable, long before. It bears the strongest likeness to C. i. 4 (which, it may be observed, was nominally addressed to one of Horace's companions at Philippi, and therefore, if Estré's conjecture is right, to a friend of Torquatus); and supposing it to have been written, which I think not at all unlikely, about the same time as that, its not having been inserted in the first publication would be accounted for by that resemblance, and its being inserted in this was probably for the purpose of making up a fasciculus to publish according to Augustus'

command. I do not know why one should go into this and such-like minute points except as it helps us to trace the progress of Horace's mind and style, which it is plain went through a great change after the publication of the three first books of the odes. I very much doubt whether he could have copied himself so exactly as he has done in these two odes if any great interval had elapsed between them. I therefore am inclined to set down this among Horace's earlier odes which he brought out of his desk for the purpose above mentioned. But others will have their own opinion, and I am not wedded to mine. It will at any rate be observed that the introduction of Torquatus' name or the omission of it would be equally immaterial to the character and scope of the ode, and that what has been said of other odes, and among them that above referred to, is equally applicable to this, namely, that the name of a friend is only introduced to give life and individuality to the poem.

ARGUMENT.

The winter is gone and the spring is returning with its green leaves, its gentler streams, and its Graces. The seasons change and remind us of our end: but the revolving year repairs its losses, while we go to the dust for ever, and we know not when it will be. What thou dost enjoy thyself is so much taken from thy greedy heir. When thou art dead, Torquatus, thy family, thine eloquence, and thy piety will not restore thee to life any more than the love of Diana could bring back Hippolytus or the friendship of Theseus Peirithous.

Diffugere nives, redeunt jam gramina campis
 Arboribusque comae;
Mutat terra vices et decrescentia ripas
 Flumina praetereunt;
Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet
 Ducere nuda choros.
Immortalia ne speres monet annus et almum
 Quae rapit hora diem.
Frigora mitescunt Zephyris, ver proterit aestas
 Interitura simul
Pomifer Auctumnus fruges effuderit, et mox
 Bruma recurrit iners.
Damna tamen celeres reparant caelestia lunae:
 Nos ubi decidimus
Quo pius Aeneas quo dives Tullus et Ancus
 Pulvis et umbra sumus.

3. *Mutat—vices*] This is no more than 'subit vices.' 'Vices' is what is termed a cognate accusative. I do not know why Forcell. should have supposed 'decrescentia' meant 'valde crescentia:' I find the same interpretation in a note in Bond's variorum edition, but whose it is does not appear. The meaning is perfectly clear,—that the streams lately swollen by the winter rains or by the first melting of the snow, had subsided and no longer overflowed their banks but flowed quietly between them. See C. iv. 12. 3. Respecting the Graces, see C. i. 4. 6; 30. 5 n.

[7. *almum—diem*] 'Alme Sol,' C. S. v. 9, and the note.—'proterit:' comp. C iii. 5. 34.—'iners:' C. ii. 9. 5.]

13. *Damna — caelestia*] I do not agree with Orelli in referring these words

Quis scit an adjiciant hodiernae crastina summae
  Tempora di superi?
Cuncta manus avidas fugient heredis amico
  Quae dederis animo.
Cum semel occideris et de te splendida Minos
  Fecerit arbitria,
Non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te
  Restituet pietas;
Infernis neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum
  Liberat Hippolytum,
Nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro
  Vincula Pirithoo.

to the changes of the moon. 'Tamen' shows that the changes and deteriorations of the weather and seasons are intended, and 'celeres lunae' are the quick-revolving months. So Lucan (viii. 468):

"—— noctique rependit
Lux minor hibernae verni solatia damni."

15. *pius Aeneas*] Here Orelli again deserts his Berne MS., which reads with many others 'pius.' All the editors till Bentley had that word. His reasons for adopting 'pater' are, first the authority of better MSS., especially the oldest Blandinian, and, secondly, that 'pietas' occurs below (v. 24), an argument that is not worth much, and would rather tell the other way, if any thing. Neither do I think Orelli's notion, that 'pius' and 'dives' would sound too much like opposition, as if Aeneas were poor and Tullus rich, of any weight. Bentley proposes to change 'dives' into 'pauper,' because the kings of old were poor. But he has no authority, and Horace's purpose is to show that no means are sufficient to bring back the dead, not piety, nor wealth, nor power. I have on this assumption adopted 'pius' as having more meaning here than 'pater.' [Ritter has 'pater.' He also has 'Tullus, dives et Ancus,' and he refers to Cicero, de R. P. ii. 18, in proof of Ancus being rich.] There is a similar verse in Epp. i. 6. 27:—

"Ire tamen restat Numa quo devenit et Ancus."

17. *Quis scit*] This may or may not be imitated from Euripides (Alc. 783):—

οὐκ ἔστι θνητῶν ὅστις ἐξεπίσταται
τὴν αὔριον μέλλουσαν εἰ βιώσεται.

For 'summae' there are MSS., and among others the Blandinian above mentioned, which read 'vitae,' which also appears in Ven. 1483, but it is only a gloss. No copyist would have invented 'summae.' 'Amico animo dare' seems to be a literal version of *φίλῃ ψυχῇ χαρίζεσθαι*. Simonides says,—

—— βιότου ποτὶ τέρμα
ψυχῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τλῆθι χαριζόμενος.
(85 Bergk, sub fin.)

21. *splendida*] This is an unusual word for such a meaning. Forcell. interprets it "praeclaram et aequam sententiam et probatam omnibus," and I do not know that there is any further meaning in the word. It may have reference to the august character of the tribunal, as Orelli says.

25.] Horace follows the Greek legend respecting Diana and Hippolytus. Ovid (Met. xv. 543 sqq.) makes him return from the dead, being brought to life by the skill of Aesculapius. See also Aen. vii. 765 sqq. The common story of Theseus and his friend is, that both having been consigned to their punishment together, Hercules went down and delivered Theseus, leaving Peirithous to his fate. I do not see why this should not be the legend Horace follows: it may be understood that Theseus pleaded for Peirithous when he was himself returning, but failed to obtain his release. Dillenbr. supposes Horace to have followed some different legend or to have altered the common one himself.

CARMEN VIII.

All that is known of C. Marcius Censorinus, the person to whom this ode is addressed, may be found in Smith's Dict. Biog. (Censorinus, 6). He was a man of birth and education, and much beloved, according to Velleius (ii. 102), who says of his death, "Graviter tulit civitas." Horace pays him the compliment of believing that he would esteem an ode of his more highly than any costly gifts he could offer in accordance with the common practice among friends of making each other presents (strenae) on new-year's day and other festivals. We have no means of determining when the ode was written. But see C. iv. 6, Introduction.

ARGUMENT.

If I were rich in statues and pictures, I would give such to my friends, and the best to thee, Censorinus. But I have none, and thou desirest not these. What I have I offer,—verses in which thou delightest. No monuments of marble, not their own mighty deeds could ennoble the Scipiones like Ennius' verses. Thine own virtues must remain obscure but for the muse. What would Aeacus or Romulus have been without her? She raises men to the skies, as she did Hercules, the Tyndaridae, and Liber.

DONAREM pateras grataque commodus,
Censorine, meis aera sodalibus,
Donarem tripodas, praemia fortium
Graiorum, neque tu pessima munerum
Ferres, divite me scilicet artium
Quas aut Parrhasius protulit aut Scopas,
Hic saxo, liquidis ille coloribus
Sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc deum.
Sed non haec mihi vis, non tibi talium
Res est aut animus deliciarum egens.
Gaudes carminibus; carmina possumus
Donare et pretium dicere muneri.

1. *commodus*] Liberally. "Miscentur cyathis pocula commodis" (C. iii. 19. 12).

5. *artium*] 'Artes' as 'works of art' occurs in the same sense Epp. i. 6. 17: "Marmor vetus aeraque et artes Suspice." Also in Cic. (de Legg. ii. 2), "antiquorum artibus;" and in Virg. (Aen. v. 359), "clipeum — Didymaonis artes." This sense of 'proferre,' to produce as we say a work of art, is not given by Forcell. 'Ponere' is a more common word. Persius uses it (i. 70):—

"Ecce modo heroas sensus afferre videmus
Nugari solitos Graece, nec ponere lucum
Artifices, nec rus saturum laudare."

Ovid (A. A. iii. 401): "Si Venerem Cous nusquam posuisset Apelles." See A. P. 34: "Quia ponere totum Nesciet." ['Sollers ponere:' see C. i. 1. 18 n.]

[6. *Parrhasius — Scopas*] All the passages about Parrhasius, a painter and contemporary of Zeuxis, and Scopas, a sculptor and contemporary of Praxiteles, are collected by Sillig, Catalogus Artificum.]

[9. *vis*] This means either I have not 'this power,' 'the power of giving,' or I have not 'these means,' 'these things,' like 'hederae vis,' &c.—'Res:' Censorinus is rich enough to buy them, if he wants them.]

Non incisa notis marmora publicis,
Per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis
Post mortem ducibus, non celeres fugae
Rejectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae,
Non incendia Karthaginis impiae
Ejus qui domita nomen ab Africa
Lucratus rediit clarius indicant
Laudes quam Calabrae Pierides: neque

13. *Non incisa*] There is a little confusion (which however is easily seen through by those who avoid the commentators and judge for themselves) in the lines that follow. Horace means to say that the monuments raised to heroes by their country and their deeds do not shed so much honour upon them as the poet's verses do. He illustrates the deeds of heroes by the exploits of the Scipiones, and the poet's verses by the poem Ennius wrote in praise of the Elder. It is true that, if we knew nothing of the destruction of Carthage but what is here mentioned, we might suppose that the person who destroyed it was celebrated by Ennius, and confusion would arise. But as we do not suppose that Horace was ignorant that Carthage was burnt by Scipio Africanus Minor, and that Ennius died many years before that event, so neither would Horace assume such ignorance in his readers. When he says that the defeat of Hannibal by the elder Scipio and the destruction of Carthage by the younger, do not hold up their name more nobly than the muse of Calabria, who does not supply in his own mind "which was employed in doing honour to the elder"? If, as Bentley says, every boy of ten years old knows as much as this, so much the less obscurity is there in the sentence. He proposes to mend it by omitting altogether the seventeenth verse, which, he says, halts in the metre and confuses the author's meaning. The remedy is simple; but the MSS. we possess or have any record of all contain that verse. The other remedies proposed are to change 'incendia' into some word which shall not be inapplicable to the conquests of the elder Scipio, and Cunningham has supposed 'impendia' to be the word, Doering 'stipendia,' Hermann 'dispendia,' none of which are satisfactory. That no word short of destruction (implying therefore that the younger Scipio is meant) existed in the copies of one of the Scholiasts (Comm. Cruq.) may be inferred from his note, "quia contra foedus juramento violato Romanis rebellarunt." Others suppose that 'incendia' does not necessarily mean the burning of Carthage, but is only another way of expressing the overthrow of its power by the elder Scipio, or his burning of the fleet, or of the camp of Syphax. But, considering the notoriety of the final destruction of that city by fire, this would only be charging Horace with wantonly confusing his readers. And yet it would seem that the Scholiasts and the older commentators all understand only one Scipio to be referred to, and they must have understood the line therefore in some way consistent with such an interpretation. It must not be overlooked that the verse "Ejus, qui," &c., applies to either of the Scipiones. Another remedy which is proposed is to suppose that two verses have been lost after the seventeenth, which would have explained its meaning; the ground of which hypothesis is, that odes in this measure, of which however there are but two others (C. i. 1, and iii. 30), are so written as to be capable of division into stanzas of four lines each, and this ode wants two verses to make it meet that rule. But the rule is arbitrary, and a precarious foundation for such an assumption as the loss of two verses, of which no traces are found in the oldest MSS. and commentators. On the whole I see no sufficient objection to the verse to require its being omitted or branded with asterisks, even though Buttmann thinks it spurious (Mythologus, vol. ii. append. Horaz und nicht-Horaz). But his objection is founded on the rhythm, which I hardly think can be admitted as sufficient. Baxter's note is more sensible than his notes usually are: "Nollem Bentleius ita se turbaret quod Horatius Scipionum acta in unum fere coegerit poetici compendii studiosus. Certe vel summis poetis ejusmodi ἀνιστορησία leve admodum est crimen."

15. *fugae*] Hannibal's hasty departure from Italy at the summons of the Carthaginian senate.

18. *nomen ab Africa lucratus*] If the disputed verse preceding this is allowed to

Si chartae sileant quod bene feceris
Mercedem tuleris. Quid foret Iliae
Mavortisque puer si taciturnitas
Obstaret meritis invida Romuli?
Ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Aeacum
Virtus et favor et lingua potentium
Vatum divitibus consecrat insulis.
Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori:
Caelo Musa beat. Sic Jovis interest
Optatis epulis impiger Hercules,
Clarum Tyndaridae sidus ab infimis
Quassas eripiunt aequoribus rates,
Ornatus viridi tempora pampino
Liber vota bonos ducit ad exitus.

stand, these words refer to Scipio Africanus Minor; and that they do so may be inferred from S. ii. 1. 65, where he is mentioned in the same way as the man

"—— qui
Duxit ab oppressa meritum Carthagine nomen."

20. *Calabrae Pierides*] The muse of Calabria, i. e. of Ennius, who was born at Rudiae, a Calabrian town. He wrote, as observed above, a poem on the elder Scipio.

25. *Aeacum*] The praises of Aeacus and his family are frequent in Pindar, particularly in connexion with the island of Aegina (Pyth. viii. 21 sqq. Nem. iii. 28. Isthm. vii. 23, &c.). 'Virtus et favor' are generally taken like 'lingua' as belonging to 'potentium vatum' so that 'virtus' is 'vis ingenii, facultas poetica.' I rather think the meaning is that, though Aeacus was virtuous (and he was much celebrated for his justice), his virtue would not have raised him to the skies but for the applause won him by the poets; the causes therefore are his virtue and the public esteem (favor), and the poet's praise that made his virtue known. The other heroes are those mentioned in a former ode (iii. 3). Concerning the 'divites insulae,' see Epod. xvi. 42. The last line is only a way of expressing the apotheosis of Liber.—Hermann has reconstructed this ode with more even than his usual boldness. (See Orelli's Excursus.)

CARMEN IX.

A.U.C. 737 (?).

It is singular that the ode which of all others dwells most on the moral virtues of the person addressed should be written to one whose moral character has been so much blackened as that of M. Lollius. The integrity which Horace so highly commends is that particular virtue in which, according to the testimony of the historian Velleius (ii. 97. 102), and of Pliny (N. H. ix. c. 35), and of the emperor Tiberius (Tac. Ann. iii. 48), he was most wanting. But he was a personal enemy of the emperor, and Velleius was Tiberius' worst flatterer. Pliny wrote what he heard, and this would come down through

the medium of statements made at a time when every one was ready to abuse the most virtuous who were out of court favour. Lollius, as we have seen (C. iv. 2, Int.), was defeated A.U.C. 738 by the Sigambri, but he retained his great influence with Augustus, whom it was not easy, we may believe, to impose upon. At any rate, if he was hypocrite enough to deceive Augustus, Horace may be excused for assigning to him excellencies he did not possess. The date of the ode is not at all certain. The defeat of Lollius, which caused a great deal of alarm at Rome, very probably raised many voices against him, and gave an advantage to his enemies; and it is not improbable that Horace wrote this ode to meet their attacks, and to console him under his defeat. The confident tone that runs through it brings the ode under the remark made in the introduction to Ode 6 of this book.

ARGUMENT.

Think not that my verses will die: though Homer stands first among poets, Pindar, Simonides, Alcaeus, Stesichorus, Anacreon, Sappho,—these all survive. Helen was not the first woman that loved; nor Ilium the only city that has been sacked; nor the heroes of the Iliad all that have fought; but the rest have been forgotten, because they have no poet to sing of them. Buried virtue is little better than buried dulness. I will not therefore let thy labours pass unsung, Lollius, thy sagacity and uprightness, thy mind free from avarice and secure from corruption. It is not the possessor of riches that is wealthy, but the man who knows how to use the gifts of Heaven and to endure poverty, who hates corruption, and is ready to lay down his life for his country or his friends.

NE forte credas interitura quae
Longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum
Non ante vulgatas per artes
Verba loquor socianda chordis,
Non si priores Maeonius tenet
Sedes Hòmerus Pindaricae latent
Ceaeque et Alcaei minaces
Stesichorique graves Camenae;
Nec si quid olim lusit Anacreon
Delevit aetas; spirat adhuc amor
Vivuntque commissi calores
Aeoliae fidibus puellae.

1. *Ne forte*] "Ne circumflexe pronuntiandum est, *i. e.* ne credideris." This note of the Scholiast is, I believe, incorrect (though Jani says it is "simplicior et probabilior ratio"), and so at any rate is Baxter's conclusion, "Forte igitur πλεονάζει." The sentence I think is: "Lest perchance you should suppose—remember that even if Homer stands first Pindar is not forgotten." So Lamb., Cruquius, Heins., Bentley, and most modern editors. If, as Orelli truly says, Horace feels a pride in referring to his native stream, why does he object to the explanation I have given as the most obvious of C. iii. 30. 10? Though Horace says he was born near the Aufidus, Venusia, his native town, was fifteen miles south of that river, on that branch of the Via Appia which leads from Beneventum to Tarentum. As to 'ne,' see S. ii. 1. 80 n.

[7. *Ceaeque*] The poems of Simonides of Ceos. The poems of the Aeolian girl, Sappho, were still extant.]

8. *Stesichorique graves Camenae*] The muse of Stesichorus is called 'gravis' as he chose for his subjects principally those which belonged to Epic poetry, as wars and heroes and so forth. "Magnae, profundae; nam et ipse bellorum scriptor," is the Scholiast's explanation of the word. ['Stesichorive,' Ritter.]

Non sola comptos arsit adulteri
Crines et aurum vestibus illitum
  Mirata regalesque cultus
    Et comites Helene Lacaena,
Primusve Teucer tela Cydonio
Direxit arcu; non semel Ilios
  Vexata; non pugnavit ingens
    Idomeneus Sthenelusve solus
Dicenda Musis proelia; non ferox
Hector vel acer Deiphobus graves
  Excepit ictus pro pudicis
    Conjugibus puerisque primus.
Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; sed omnes illacrumabiles
  Urgentur ignotique longa
    Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.
Paullum sepultae distat inertiae
Celata virtus. Non ego te meis
  Chartis inornatum silebo,
    Totve tuos patiar labores

13. *arsit*] This governs 'crines' as 'mirata' governs the other accusatives. See C. ii. 4. 7 n. ['Illitum,' 'intextum,' Ritter.] Laodamia writes thus to her husband of the charms by which Helen was won:—

"Venerat (Paris) ut fama est multo spectabilis auro,
  Quique suo Phrygias corpore ferret opes:—
His ego te victam, consors Ledaea gemellis,
  Suspicor; haec Danais posse nocere puto (Ov. Her. 13. 37 sqq.);

and Hecuba upbraids Helen with the same weakness (Eur. Tro. 987):—

ἦν οὑμὸς υἱὸς κάλλος ἐκπρεπέστατος,
ὁ σὸς δ' ἰδών νιν νοῦς ἐποιήθη Κύπρις·—
ὃν γ' εἰσιδοῦσα βαρβάροις ἐσθήμασι
χρυσῷ τε λαμπρὸν ἐξεμαργώθης φρένας.

17. *tela Cydonio*] Teucer is described by Homer as *ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν τοξοσύνῃ* (Il. xiii. 313). Cydonia was a town of Crete, and the Cretans were famous archers. (Virg. Ecl. x. 59.)

[18. *Ilios vexata*] This feminine form occurs also in Homer, *Ἴλιος ἱρή*, Il. vi. 448.]

27. *Urgentur*] So C. i. 24. 5: "Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor Urget?" 'Illacrumabilis' is used in an active sense C. ii. 14. 6. See C. i. 3. 22 n. The idea comes from Pindar (Nem. vii. 12 sqq.):—

——αἱ μεγάλαι γὰρ ἀλκαὶ
σκότον πολὺν ὕμνων ἔχοντι δεόμεναι.

29. *Paullum sepultae*] Virtue if it be left in obscurity is in no better position than dulness (which signifies generally a gross unspiritual nature) when that too is buried; one is on a par with the other as far as influence is concerned, for neither exercises any influence at all; and as far as his reputation goes, a man may as well be buried in stupidity as have his virtues buried in oblivion. "A man that hideth his foolishness is better than a man that hideth his wisdom." These words of the son of Sirach (Eccl. xli. 15) have some resemblance to Horace's, and I have seen them quoted together, though I do not remember where. But the sentiment is not the same. Any English reader will remember Gray's lines in his Church-yard Elegy that correspond most closely to Horace's. Bentley has furnished work for the critics by objecting to the common reading and proposing 'inertia' (the ablative), as if Horace meant

Impune, Lolli, carpere lividas
Obliviones. Est animus tibi
Rerumque prudens et secundis
Temporibus dubiisque rectus,
Vindex avarae fraudis, et abstinens
Ducentis ad se cuncta pecuniae,
Consulque non unius anni
Sed quoties bonus atque fidus
Judex honestum praetulit utili,
Rejecit alto dona nocentium
Vultu, per obstantes catervas
Explicuit sua victor arma.

'inertia celata,' hidden through the neglect of the poets. But the text is much better as it stands on the authority of all the MSS.

31. *silebo*] Many MSS. and editors have 'sileri,' but 'silebo' is equally well supported and is better I think. So C. i. 12. 21: "Neque te silebo, Liber." [Keller has 'sileri.'] Bentley takes more credit than he is entitled to for restoring 'silebo,' since Lambinus and most of the earlier editors have it. His arguments in support of it have no weight, and he is wrong in supposing 'sileri' to have been a late interpolation, for Cruquius' commentator, whoever he may have been, had that word before him when he wrote thus: "*Non ego te:* non patiar tuam virtutem silentio obscurari."

32. *Totve tuos patiar labores*] These lines seem to have reference to the unpopularity of Lollius in connexion with his defeat, which appears to be alluded to in the word 'dubiis' below. He may also have been the object of slander in respect to his personal character, which Horace here warmly defends. There seems to be no other way of accounting for the earnestness with which he declares his innocence of the vice of avarice, for instance, than to suppose that fault had been laid to his charge, as it was so freely after his death.

34. *Est animus tibi*] 'Rerum prudentia' is a knowledge of the world. The Scholiasts call it 'philosophia,' and so it is, of the rarest sort, the philosophy of common sense and observation. "Cato multarum rerum usum habebat" (Cic. de Am. c. 2) expresses the same kind of experience. 'Rectus' means 'erect,' not stooping or bowed down, as "Fana deos habuere rectos" (C. iv. 4. 48). Fea quotes Boethius (de Cons. i. 4):—

"Quisquis composito serenus aevo
Fatum sub pedibus dedit superbum;
Fortunamque tuens utramque rectus
Invictum potuit tenere vultum."

See also Ennius, quoted by Cicero (de Senect. c. 6): "Quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant Antehac, dementes sese flexere viai?"

37. *abstinens—pecuniae*] For similar Graecisms see C. ii. 9. 17 n.

39. *Consulque non unius anni*] Compare C. iii. 2. 19. Lollius was consul A.U.C. 733, but Horace says that an upright judex is always on a level with the highest magistrates, and such ever was Lollius, besieged like others with temptations to corruption, but resisting them all, and so overcoming the enemies who encompassed him, and delivering himself by his virtue from their calumnies. This I take to be the meaning of 'obstantes catervas,' &c., though these two stanzas are not free from obscurity. Doering thinks Lollius was consul when this was written. Objections have been raised to the construction of the sentence, by which 'consul' is referred back to 'animus,' which is mere trifling. His heart was the heart of a consul, which could hardly have been expressed more plainly than it is here. Lambinus, Cruquius, Bentley, and others, adopt 'et' after 'utili' and 'vultu.' Orelli says that all the existing MSS. except one omit the conjunction, and he does so. 'Explicuit' is not easy to render so as at once to satisfy the etymology and the sense. 'Exprompsit,' 'expedivit,' are the equivalents supplied by the commentators. "Per medios hostes victor evasit" (Landinus). That it should be a matter of great merit and difficulty to maintain the character of an uncorrupt

Non possidentem multa vocaveris
Recte beatum: rectius occupat
Nomen beati qui deorum
Muneribus sapienter uti
Duramque callet pauperiem pati,
Pejusque leto flagitium timet,
Non ille pro caris amicis
Aut patria timidus perire.

judex does not say much for the honesty of those who exercised the functions of jurors. [If the words 'explicuit,' &c., refer to Lollius as a general, their place in the stanza is not well chosen. If they signify the successful resistance of Lollius, both to foreign enemies and domestic corruption, as I believe they do, Horace may be blamed for using an expression, which literally applies only to war. But as I do not think that these words signify only his freedom from corruption as one of the Judices Selecti, so I think they may express his resistance to the assaults of bribery as well as to the enemies of Rome.—'Beatum,' 'rich.']

51. *Non ille—timidus*] He fears disgrace worse than death,—not fearful he to die for his country, *i. e.* but he is not fearful. No difficulty need have been raised on the substitution of 'timidus' for 'timebit,' but some MSS. have 'peribit.' See C. iii. 19. 2: "Codrus pro patria non timidus mori;" and C. iii. 2. 13 n.

CARMEN X.

That this Ligurinus is a merely poetical personage I have not the remotest doubt, no more than that Horace composed the ode with a Greek original before him or in his mind. The absurdities which any other view of the case involves are numberless. The ode may have been written at any time. There is nothing to fix the date of its composition, for the fact of the same name occurring in the first ode of this book, merely for the purpose of poetical ornament, proves nothing at all. It reads more like an early composition than a late one.

ARGUMENT.

Cruel and lovely boy; when the down shall have passed upon thy cheek, and thy flowing locks have fallen, and thy soft complexion vanished, thou shalt look in the glass, and say, "Why did I not, as a boy, feel as I do now, or why with these feelings have I not the beauty I had then?"

O crudelis adhuc et Veneris muneribus potens,
Insperata tuae cum veniet pluma superbiae,
Et quae nunc humeris involitant deciderint comae,
Nunc et qui color est puniceae flore prior rosae

2. *pluma*] This word corresponds so exactly to the Greek πτίλον, used in the sense of the early down upon a boy's cheek, that it stamps the ode as an imitation, in my opinion. The word is nowhere else used in this sense, which led Bentley into substituting 'bruma,' and Markland (Orell. V. L.) 'ruga,' and some one else 'poena,'

Mutatus Ligurinum in faciem verterit hispidam,
Dices heu quotiens te speculo videris alterum:
Quae mens est hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit?
Vel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genae?

'umbra,' &c. Ἄττιλος was a name given by the Greeks to beardless boys. Boys' hair was allowed to grow till they assumed the 'toga virilis,' when it was cut off, as observed on C. ii. 5 24. The feathers of a bird are as good a likeness to the down on a young cheek as wool, from which 'lanugo' is derived. ['Superbiae' is the dative case.] Bentley also changes Ligurinum into Ligurine, after two of Torrentius' MSS., so that 'verterit' would be equivalent to 'verterit se.' But the other reading is more forcible and reproachful, though Bentley cannot see that it is Latin. 'In speculo' is the reading of some MSS. and editions. But 'in' is not wanted and injures the rhythm. 'Speculo, without 'in' is the ablative of the instrument. There is clearly no analogy between this expression and "nuper me in littore vidi," 'I saw myself when I was on the shore' (Virg. Ecl. ii. 25), which Bentley quotes, Jani says 'apte.' 'Alterum' is nowhere else used exactly in this sense, 'mutatum,' and, though the word admits of that use, it is so like the Greek ἕτερον, which is frequently so used, that I think it is a translation of that word. 'Heu' is an exclamation of the poet, not of Ligurinus. What follows is so like two lines in Terence (Hec. i. 1. 17), that Cruquius' Scholiast says it is taken from them:—

"Eheu me miseram! cur non aut istaec mihi
Aetas et forma est aut tibi haec sententia?"

Respecting the mirrors of the Romans, which at this time were only of metal, glass mirrors having been introduced later, and then of an inferior quality, see Dict. Ant. art. 'Speculum.'

CARMEN XI.

There will be found in this and in the only other two Sapphic odes contained in this book more deviations, in the proportion of nearly four to one, from the caesural arrangement observed in the first three books than in all the odes of those books put together. From this and other internal evidence it has been argued that this ode is a late one, but I think the arguments are inconclusive. It is true that Horace addresses Phyllis as his last love, but not, so far as I can see, in the tone of a person now grown old, as Buttmann says. Most men wishing to please a woman vow constancy to her, and one who was obliged to confess that he had been inconstant to others would only be the more vehement in professing stedfastness to her whom he desired for the occasion to win. But I do not mean to express any decided opinion one way or the other. It is only important to bear in mind that this book was published, not to revive Horace's reputation as a writer of amatory verses, but at the desire of the emperor, who wished the praises of his stepsons to be sent forth to the world, and his own with them. The ode to Lyde, on the day of the Neptunalia (C. iii. 28), is like this and has more spirit. It is not impossible Horace may have written this as early as the other, but thought the other better, and that one of the kind was enough for publication. The form 'spargier,' which occurs nowhere else in the odes, gives this the appearance of a different style of composition from others; but whether this is due to design or carelessness, or to its being an early or late production, cannot be determined. It is not at all unlikely, as some commentator has supposed, that the ode was sent to Maecenas on his birthday, and was only thrown into the form of an address to Phyllis for poetical convenience.

ARGUMENT.

I have a good old amphora of Alban with parsley and ivy to make thee a crown, Phyllis; silver on my board, and an altar that waits for the sacrifice; the slaves are busy, the fire is burning, come and celebrate the Ides of April, for it is Maecenas' birthday, more sacred to me than my own. Telephus is matched already, and is no match for thee. The fates of Phaëthon and Bellerophon teach thee to beware of ambition. Come, my last love, with thy sweet voice sing the song I shall teach thee; song shall drive care away.

EST mihi nonum superantis annum
Plenus Albani cadus; est in horto,
Phylli, nectendis apium coronis;
  Est hederae vis
Multa, qua crines religata fulges;
Ridet argento domus; ara castis
Vincta verbenis avet immolato
  Spargier agno;
Cuncta festinat manus, huc et illuc
Cursitant mixtae pueris puellae;
Sordidum flammae trepidant rotantes
  Vertice fumum.

2. *Albani cadus*] The wine of the Alban hills was of the better kind; and at Nasidienus' supper it was offered to the chief guest with Falernian (Sat. ii. 8. 16). Pliny (N. H. xiv. c. 6) places it third among the wines of Italy. Juvenal (v. 33) speaks of Alban wine, and classes it with Setian, both of great age:—

"Cras bibet Albanis aliquid de montibus aut de
Setinis, cujus patriam titulumque senectus
Delevit multa veteris fuligine testae."

The rich glutton drank it, he says, as a corrective of yesterday's debauch.

5. *qua crines religata fulges*] 'With which, when you bind your hair, you look beautiful.' The commentators look for the future tense, but Baxter, uncorrected by Gesner, says it is "enallage temporis; fulges pro fulgebis," and some derive 'fulges' from the form 'fulgo.' It is obviously the present tense, and Horace merely says that a wreath of ivy becomes Phyllis, whenever she binds her brows with it.

8. *Spargier agno*] See Introduction, sub fin. Rutgersius (Ven. Lect. c. ii.) has discussed the question whether it was usual to offer sacrifice on birthdays. Varro, in a passage quoted by Censorinus (de die natali, c. 2), says that the ancient Romans (majores nostri) observed the custom of abstaining from blood when they brought offerings to their genius on their birthday. But it is clear from this passage of Horace that, whatever was the custom in earlier times, victims were in his day offered on birthdays as well as any other days. Juvenal (xi. 84):—

"Et natalitium cognatis ponere lardum
Accedente nova si quam dabat hostia carne;"

and Plutarch (Life of Romulus, c. 12) speaking of the Palilia, which was the feast of the birthday of Rome, says, *ἐν ἀρχῇ δέ, ὥς φασιν, οὐδὲν ἔμψυχον ἔθυον ἀλλὰ καθαρὰν καὶ ἀναίμακτον ᾤοντο δεῖν τῇ πατρίδι τὴν ἐπώνυμον τῆς γενέσεως ἑορτὴν φυλάττειν*, which shows that even at the Palilia the practice was no longer observed in the time of Plutarch. There is no further authority wanted than this passage of Horace to establish the fact as regards private birthday festivals: nor will Orelli's remark be admitted, that, though the passage from Varro might establish the opposite fact if Horace were keeping his own birthday, it does not follow that he might not shed blood in celebrating that of Maecenas. As to 'Verbenis,' see C. i. 19. 14 n.

Ut tamen noris quibus advoceris
Gaudiis, Idus tibi sunt agendae,
Qui dies mensem Veneris marinae
  Findit Aprilem;
Jure sollemnis mihi sanctiorque
Paene natali proprio, quod ex hac
Luce Maecenas meus adfluentes
  Ordinat annos.
Telephum, quem tu petis, occupavit
Non tuae sortis juvenem puella
Dives et lasciva, tenetque grata
  Compede vinctum.
Terret ambustus Phaëthon avaras
Spes, et exemplum grave praebet ales
Pegasus terrenum equitem gravatus
  Bellerophontem,
Semper ut te digna sequare et ultra
Quam licet sperare nefas putando
Disparem vites. Age jam, meorum
  Finis amorum—

10. *Cursitant mixtae pueris puellae*] As Orelli says, 'puellae' is most rarely used for female slaves. The word in use was 'ancillae.' 'Vertice' is the top of the flame which 'flickers as it whirls the dark smoke on its crest:' a spiral flame, terminating in a column of smoke. It seems as if Horace were writing with a fire burning before him, and caught the idea as he wrote. Bentley dislikes 'trepidant,' and proposes 'crepitant,' which destroys the unity of the image altogether: moreover there is no respectable authority for the change. Some commentators make 'vertice' the roof of the house.

15. *marinae*] C. i. 3. 1, and C. iii. 26. 5. Venus was said to have risen from the sea in the month of April, which was therefore her month, the name of which Macrobius derives from ἀφρος: Varro more probably from 'aperio,' 'quod ver aperit omnia.' See C. i. 4, Introduction. [Macrobius (Sat. i. 15) after giving various absurd etymologies of 'Idus,' concludes "ut idus vocemus diem qui dividit mensem; 'iduare' enim Etrusca lingua 'dividere' est." But the Latin 'dividere' obviously contains the same element as 'idus.']

19. *adfluentes ordinat annos*] 'Reckons each year as it succeeds.' "Ordinatur quicquid numero et successione constat" (Gesner).

21.] Telephus is a favourite name with Horace. For what reason he chooses this name for youths whom maidens vainly love, does not appear; but such is the fact. 'Occupavit' 'has pre-occupied' (C. ii. 12. 28). [Ritter remarks that this Telephus cannot be the same as the Telephus (Heliodorus) of C. iii. 19, for he travelled with Horace in A.U.C. 717 (S. i. 5. 2); and this Telephus is a young man even after A.U.C. 737, for Ritter places the date of this ode between A.U.C. 737 and 742. He conjectures that this Telephus is Maximus (C. iv. 1), for the words agree syllable for syllable. See iii. 19, Introd.]

22. *Non tuae sortis*] This belongs to 'juvenem,' not to 'puella.' "Si qua voles apte nubere, nube pari" (Ovid, Heroid. ix. 32).

23. *grata compede*] See C. i. 33. 14.

32. *Finis*] See Introduction, and compare Propert. i. 12. 19:—

"Mi neque amare aliam neque ab hac discedere fas est;
Cynthia prima fuit, Cynthia finis erit."

Whether 'condisce modos' means 'practise some of your songs before you come,'

Non enim posthac alia calebo
Femina—condisce modos amanda
Voce quos reddas; minuentur atrae
Carmine curae.

or, 'come and learn a song that I will teach you,' has been disputed, and is not easily decided. But the latter is the more pleasing notion, and the words correspond very closely to those of C. iv. 6. 43:

"Reddidi carmen docilis modorum
Vatis Horati,"

which cannot be mistaken. Doering understands it as I do.

CARMEN XII.

Before A.U.C. 735.

The commentators are much divided in their opinions as to the person to whom this ode is addressed. The old inscriptions vary, but in such a manner as to show that none of them have any weight or authority. Torrentius mentions three MSS. which are headed "Ad Virgilium Unguentarium urbis discriptio (the common blunder for 'descriptio') Paraenetice," and he himself adopts this absurdity, derived from v. 17. The Scholiast Acron says, "Ad Virgilium negociatorem scribit," which is a mere assumption from the opening lines and v. 25, and when he interprets "juvenum nobilium" (v. 15) as Augustus, *or* Maecenas, *or* the step-sons of Augustus, he shows he knew nothing of what he was writing about. If the question were to be decided by numbers, it would on the whole be given in favour of Virgil the poet, and the presumption is so much in favour of that notion that the proof of the contrary lies I think with those who deny it. Gesner says there is nothing in the ode to indicate so warm a friendship as subsisted between Horace and the poet Virgil. But the ode is at best a trifle, and an invitation to dinner is not the most inspiring subject. When Virgil was going to sea, perhaps for his health, Horace's feeling for him was shown strongly enough, which would be natural. Orelli and others object to the expression "juvenum nobilium cliens," as applied to Virgilius Maro. But if the Scholiasts are agreed that 'juvenum' may mean Augustus and Maecenas, they at least concede the point that 'cliens' may mean Virgil the poet. Augustus is represented as a 'juvenis' in the second ode of the first book, v. 41 n. The difficulty that arises out of v. 25, 'pone—studium lucri,' Orelli himself disposes of, in his note on that verse, when he says that it is evidently a joke; for, though he also says in the Introduction that such a joke, if it be a joke, levelled at such a man would be very flat, this can hardly be determined till we know the point of it. We need not assume with Stephens (Diatr. iv. p. 76) that Horace means by 'studium lucri,' 'mercaturam bonarum artium' (Cic. de Off. iii. 2), or the expectation of payment for his verses. If there be a joke, Virgil understood it, whoever Virgil was; but be he who he may we do not understand it, so that nothing is gained by this argument. I have not seen all that has been said upon the subject, which has been discussed in separate treatises and in all commentaries, and which must always remain matter of opinion founded upon very slender data; but my own judgment is in favour of supposing the ode to be an early one addressed to P. Virgilius Maro, the poet, not to "some relation or client of his," nor to "the grandson of C. Vergilius, the praetor and friend of Cicero," nor to a "physician of the Nerones," nor to a trader, nor to a perfumer. The pastoral images and description in the three first stanzas have always appeared to me particularly suited to an ode addressed to Virgil the author of the Bucolics, and I observe Doering makes that remark. Taking the two

odes in honour of Drusus and Tiberius as the leading feature of this book, and their publication as the chief object of its publication, I can easily understand old compositions and new ones comparatively indifferent being inserted to make up what after all would be but a small volume. I neither assent to nor differ from the dates given by those who assign an early period to the composition of the ode; but I differ, as every one must, from Bentley, who assigns all the odes of this book to a period long subsequent to Virgil's death, but yet supposes him to be here addressed. As Gesner says of the great critic, "sua vineta caedit." [Ritter also affirms that all the odes of this book were written after Virgil's death, and he consistently denies that the ode is addressed to the poet Virgil.] If any body were to affirm that no Virgil or invitation is really to be found in the ode, and that it is a mere composition from the imagination or the Greek, I should not quarrel with him, only I should still believe that it was composed before the death of the poet, A.U.C. 735, with Virgil's name added to give it a real character.

ARGUMENT.

The spring is come, the frost is fled, the stream flows gently, the swallow builds her nest, the shepherds are piping to Pan in the fields, and the days of drought have returned, Virgil. Bring me a box of nard and I will bring thee in return some generous Calenian from Sulpicius' cellar. If my bargain please thee make haste, lay aside business and, remembering that thou must die, relax while thou mayst into folly for a time.

Jam veris comites quae mare temperant
Impellunt animae lintea Thraciae;
Jam nec prata rigent nec fluvii strepunt
  Hiberna nive turgidi.
Nidum ponit, Ityn flebiliter gemens,
Infelix avis et Cecropiae domus

1. *temperant*] This is explained by C. i. 3. 15 n. The Thracian winds are here the north-east winds of spring. Their effect is very differently described by Sophocles (Ant. 586), but the effect of a north-east wind on the east coast of Greece would be very different from the effect of the same wind blowing on the west coast of Italy. Columella (xi. 2. 21), quoted by most of the commentators, speaks of northerly winds called Ornithiae, which blew for about thirty days from the 20th February. But northerly winds prevailed throughout the spring, and continued into the middle of summer, their quality changing as the season advanced. Lucretius speaks of them in the height of summer:—

"Inde loci sequitur Calor aridus, et comes una
Pulverulenta Ceres, et Etesia flabra Aquilonum" (v. 740 sq.);

where he calls them "Etesia flabra," because that name was given to all kinds of periodical winds. These were the winds which, according to one of the theories Herodotus contradicts (ii. 20), caused the overflowing of the Nile: *ἡ ἑτέρη μὲν λέγει τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀνέμους εἶναι αἰτίους πληθύειν τὸν ποταμόν, κωλύοντας ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκρέειν τὸν Νεῖλον.*

3. *nec fluvii strepunt*] This explains C. iv. 7. 3. The time is not quite the beginning of spring when the snows melt and the rivers are swollen, but after they have subsided, which soon takes place.

5. *Nidum ponit*] He alludes to Procne, daughter of Pandion, king of Attica (Cecropia), turned into a swallow. It is gracefully introduced here to give ornament to a common fact and sign of spring. Horace elsewhere introduces the swallow with the west wind (Epp. i. 7. 13). The swallow and not the nightingale is probably here meant, though Doering and Dillenbr., on account of 'flebiliter gemens,' suppose Philomela to be intended. It is not easy to decide. One version of the story changes Philomela into the swallow, and Procne, the mother of Itys, into the nightingale. A third version makes Philomela the mother of Itys. See Hom.

Aeternum opprobrium, quod male barbaras
  Regum est ulta libidines.
Dicunt in tenero gramine pinguium
Custodes ovium carmina fistula,
Delectantque deum cui pecus et nigri
  Colles Arcadiae placent.
Adduxere sitim tempora, Virgili;
Sed pressum Calibus ducere Liberum
Si gestis, juvenum nobilium cliens,
  Nardo vina merebere.
Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum
Qui nunc Sulpiciis accubat horreis,
Spes donare novas largus amaraque
  Curarum eluere efficax.

(Odyss. xix. 518): ἀηδὼν . . παῖδ' ὀλοφυρομένη Ἴτυλον φίλον, which version Ovid seems to follow (Am. ii. 6. 7 sqq.):—

"Quid scelus Ismarii quereris, Philomela, tyranni?
  Expleta est annis ista querela suis.
Alitis in rarae miserum divertite funus.
  Magna sed antiqua est causa doloris Itys."

So Mart. (x. 51), Soph. Elect. (148), Catull. (lxv. 14). Virgil makes Philomela the slayer of Itys (Ecl. vi. 79):—

"Quas illi Philomela dapes, quae dona pararit,
Quo cursu deserta petiverit, et quibus ante
Infelix sua tecta supervolitaverit alis?"

In short the legend is more varied than almost any other. I have already had occasion to observe how little accuracy was studied by the poets in such matters (C. iii. 4. 50 n.). Fea quotes a sepulchral inscription which represents no doubt the grief of the nightingale (Fabretti, p. 233, n. 612):—

"SURGE. REFER. MATRI. NE. ME. NOCTESQUE. DIESQUE.
  DEFLEAT. UT. MAERENS. ATTICA. MATER. ITYN."

8. *Regum*] The lust of kings as exemplified in one of them, Tereus. Some might be disposed to take 'male' with 'barbaras,' as "rauci male" (S. i. 4. 66), and other places (see Index); and I am not so confident as other editors that it belongs to 'ulta.'

9. *Dicunt*] C. iii. 4. 1. 'Delectante' (v. 11) is a various reading adopted by Gesner without much authority, and Bentley reads 'nigrae' with little authority.

15. *juvenum nobilium cliens*] Any attempt to determine who these were, until it is settled whom the ode is addressed to, is useless. (Introduction.) Catullus, inviting a friend to his house, says, if he will bring the supper, good and plentiful, with a fair damsel, wine, and good spirits, he will give him a box of ointment so delicious that when he smells it he will pray the gods to make him all nose. Respecting the ointment expressed from the 'nardus,' whether that name belonged to a shrub or a root, the reader may consult Schleusner's Lexicon and the commentators on John xii. 3. Mark xiv. 3. There we learn that a pound was worth upwards of 300 denarii, which sum was equivalent to more than 10*l.* sterling. The 'onyx' was another name for alabaster (Forcell. 'alabastrites,' and Plin. H. N. 36. c. 8), of which, as we find in the New Testament as well as here and elsewhere, boxes were made for perfumes. 'Sulpicia horrea' were famous wine-cellars which originally belonged to one of the Sulpician family, and, according to the Scholiasts, continued to bear the name of Galba, the cognomen of a branch of that gens, in their day. There are inscriptions extant in which mention is made of the 'horrea Galbiana.' Horace, professing to have no good wine of his own, says he will buy a cadus of Calenian (C. i. 20. 9). 'Amara curarum' is a Greek construction, not uncommon in Horace, as "acuta belli" (C. iv. 4. 76); "corruptus vanis rerum"

Ad quae si properas gaudia, cum tua
Velox merce veni: non ego te meis
Immunem meditor tingere poculis,
Plena dives ut in domo.
Verum pone moras et studium lucri,
Nigrorumque memor, dum licet, ignium
Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem:
Dulce est desipere in loco.

(S. ii. 2. 25); "abdita rerum" (A. P. 49). As to 'merce,' see C. i. 31. 12.

23. *Immunem*] Ter. (Phorm. ii. 2. 25): "Ten' asymbolum venire!" The drone is represented as "immunis sedens aliena ad pabula" (Virg. Georg. iv. 244), and Horace says of himself, "quem scis immunem Cinarae placuisse rapaci" (Ep. i. 14. 33).

25. *studium lucri*] See Introduction.

26. *Nigrorum—ignium*] This epithet is commonly applied to the funeral fires, as (Aen. xi. 186) "subjectis ignibus atris." Ov. Fast. ii. 561:—

"Conde tuas, Hymenaee, faces et ab ignibus atris
Aufer."

CARMEN XIII.

All that need be said on this ode has been said in the Introductions to C. iii. 10. and 15.

ARGUMENT.

My prayers are answered, Lyce. Thou'rt old and wouldst captivate still; but love abides only on the fresh cheek, and runs away from the withered trunk, and from thee, with thy black teeth, and wrinkles, and grey hairs. Try and hide thy years with purple and jewels, but the tell-tale records betray thee. Where is the girl that I loved only next to Cinara? whom fate carried off too soon, while it left Lyce to grow old, that her lovers might laugh at her decline.

Audivere, Lyce, di mea vota, di
Audivere, Lyce: fis anus, et tamen
Vis formosa videri
Ludisque et bibis impudens
Et cantu tremulo pota Cupidinem
Lentum sollicitas. Ille virentis et

1. *Audivere, Lyce*] Whether there is so much bitterness and derision expressed in the mere verbal composition of this ode as Dillenbr. has discovered, or whether, for instance, the cacophony of the first stanza in particular is not rather the fruit of carelessness than design, may be doubted. The tone however is sufficiently taunting, and it may easily be believed that more than one person may have been stung by it. Chia is a proper name. Baxter's note therefore, "tacetur Chiae puellae nomen," should have been corrected by his editor Gesner. 'Delia' and 'Lesbia' are formed in the same way.

[3. *Vis*] 'You try,' not 'you wish:' 'struggle to look fair;' Conington. This helps to explain 'importunus' (v. 9). Cupido cares not for her attempts and solicitations. Conington translates 'importunus,' 'rude;' Newman, 'vexatious.' Contemptuous' is the idea.]

Doctae psallere Chiae
Pulchris excubat in genis.
Importunus enim transvolat aridas
Quercus, et refugit te quia luridi
Dentes, te quia rugae
Turpant et capitis nives.
Nec Coae referunt jam tibi purpurae
Nec clari lapides tempora, quae semel
Notis condita fastis
Inclusit volucris dies.
Quo fugit venus, heu, quove color? decens
Quo motus? quid habes illius, illius,
Quae spirabat amores,
Quae me surpuerat mihi,
Felix post Cinaram, notaque et artium
Gratarum facies? Sed Cinarae breves
Annos fata dederunt,
Servatura diu parem

8. *excubat in genis*] This is a close imitation of Sophocles (Antig. 728),—

Ἔρως ὃς ἐν κτήμασι πίπτεις
ὃς ἐν μαλακαῖς παρειαῖς
νεάνιδος ἐννυχεύεις.

9. *aridas quercus*] This corresponds to C. i. 25. 19, 'aridas frondes;' as to 'luridi,' see C. iii. 4. 74 n. 'Te' is dependent on 'refugit' and 'turpant' in both instances. 'Capitis nives' Quintilian (viii. 6. 17) quotes as an instance of far-fetched metaphor (translatio); which has found its way into most languages. But Quintilian is only referring to the rhetorical style.

13. *Coae*] The transparency of the Coan vestments is noticed S. i. 2. 101 n.

14. *clari*] This, not 'cari,' is the reading of the greater number of MSS. and of the Scholiasts. Bentley, I think with bad taste, prefers 'cari.' [Ritter and Keller have 'cari.'] The precious stones of the costlier sort most in use by Roman women were pearls (margaritae) and emeralds (smaragdi). They were chiefly worn in necklaces, and as ear-drops and rings; and libertinae distinguished for their beauty could make a great display of jewels received as presents from their admirers.

15. *Notis condita fastis*] The days she has seen are all buried, as it were, in the grave of the public annals (as Acron says), and there any one may find them, but she cannot get them back. It is a graphic way of identifying the years and their departure, to point to the record in which each is distinguished by the consuls and the leading events. 'Notis' expresses the publicity and notoriety of the record by which the lapse of time is marked.

18. *illius, illius*] This word is very emphatic, as in "quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore" (Aen. ii. 274). On 'surpuerat' compare "unum me surpite morti" (Sat. ii. 3. 283) C. i. 36. 8 n.; S. i. 5. 79 n. Regarding Cinara, see C. iv. 1. 3 n.; and for the form 'nota artium gratarum' compare "notus in fratres animi paterni" (C. ii. 2. 6). [But the sense is 'facies et nota et artium gratarum,' 'a face of pleasing charms.' Compare C. iv. 1. 15.] 'Parem temporibus' is not well explained by Orelli, "donec effecta sit par." It means rather that Lyce and the crow go on together getting old and never dying. 'Vetulae' is a contemptuous form of 'annosa' used elsewhere (C. iii. 17. 13). Martial speaks of an old woman who had survived all the crows (x. 67). She was the daughter (he says) of Pyrrha, and Nestor's stepmother, an old woman when Niobe was a girl, grandmother of Laertes, nurse of Priam, and mother-in-law of Thyestes.

28. *Dilapsam*] 'Delapsam' is in many MSS. but few editors have adopted it, and 'dilapsam' is plainly the word which ex-

Cornicis vetulae temporibus Lycen,
Possent ut juvenes visere fervidi
Multo non sine risu
Dilapsam in cineres facem.

presses the crumbling of a burnt-out torch. The idea is very original. The contrast in 'fervidi' is obviously intended. [Ritter has 'delapsam.']

CARMEN XIV.

A.U.C. 741.

The circumstances under which this ode was written, and its probable date, are given in the Introduction to C. 4 of this book, to which the reader is referred. The common inscriptions which made it an address in honour of Augustus sufficiently describe the spirit of it, though the professed purpose is to celebrate the part that Tiberius took with Drusus in the victories over the German tribes.

ARGUMENT.

With what honours shall we perpetuate thy virtues, O mightiest of princes, whose strength the insolent Vindelici have felt? With great slaughter Drusus cast them down from their heights, and Tiberius drove them before him, as the south wind drives the waves, or the swollen Aufidus lays waste the corn,—a scatheless victory; and thou didst lend thine armies thy counsels and thine auspices. 'Twas fifteen years from that day when Alexandria opened her gates to thee, that Fortune brought this glory to thine arms. All nations bow down to thee, from the east to the west, from the north to the south, O thou guardian of Italy and Rome!

Quae cura patrum quaeve Quiritium
Plenis honorum muneribus tuas,
Auguste, virtutes in aevum
Per titulos memoresque fastos
Aeternet, o qua sol habitabiles
Illustrat oras maxime principum?
Quem legis expertes Latinae
Vindelici didicere nuper

2. *Plenis honorum muneribus*] Orelli and others make 'plenis' absolute, signifying 'sufficient;' 'honorum' being dependent on 'muneribus.' I prefer taking the words as they stand. 'Aeternare' is a word which had probably become almost obsolete in Horace's time. It is not found in any other author, except in a fragment of Varro. Many words that Horace uses, and no other extant writer, were probably common enough before the age of Cicero. 'Habitabiles oras,' like ἡ οἰκουμένη so commonly used by Plutarch and the writers of the New Testament, signifies the Roman world. [Ritter and Keller have 'fastus.']

7. *Quem — didicere — quid Marte posses*] This construction is not uncommon in Terence and in Plautus (Asin. i. 1. 45), "verum meam uxorem, Libane, scis qualis siet;" and (Eun. iv. 3. 15), "Ego illum nescio qui fuerit," and other places. With the Greek poets nothing is more common, as in Sophocles (Trachin. 429):—

πρὸς θεῶν φράσον, φίλη
δέσποινα, τόνδε τίς ποτ' ἐστὶν ὁ ξένος;

Quid Marte posses. Milite nam tuo
Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus,
Breunosque veloces, et arces
Alpibus impositas tremendis
Dejecit acer plus vice simplici;
Major Neronum mox grave proelium
Commisit immanesque Raetos
Auspiciis pepulit secundis,
Spectandus in certamine Martio
Devota morti pectora liberae
Quantis fatigaret ruinis;
Indomitas prope qualis undas

10.] The Genauni were one of the southern tribes of Raetia between the lakes Verbanus (Maggiore) and Larius (Como). Cramer places the Breuni south of the Alps in the Val Braunia; others place them higher up among the modern Grisons, between the sources of the Rhine and the Oenus (Inn). The Grisons occupy a larger portion of the ancient Raetia than that which belonged to the Breuni, a small though a warlike tribe. Pliny (N. H. iii. c. 20) has preserved an inscription from a trophy set up in one of the Alpine towns on this occasion: "IMP. CAESARI DIVI F. AVG. PONTIFICI MAX. IMP. XIIII. TRIBVNITIAE POTESTATIS S. P. Q. R. QVOD EIVS DVCTV AVSPICIISQVE GENTES ALPINAE OMNES. QVAE A MARI SVPERO AD INFERVM PERTINEBANT. SVB IMPERIVM POP. ROM. SVNT REDACTAE," &c. [The Breuni and the Genaun*es* are mentioned in this inscription.] 'Implacidum' is a word not found in any writer earlier than Horace. It is as likely that he made as that he found it: either may be true. Velleius (ii. 95) speaks of "multas urbium et castellorum oppugnationes" in the course of this war, and says it was carried on "majore cum periculo quam damno Romani exercitus," which description corresponds to that of Horace. 'Plus vice simplici' the Scholiasts Porph. and Comm. Cruq. explain to mean 'with greater advantage on his side than the enemy's,' he being 'sine clade victor' (v. 32). The literal version would thus be, 'with more than an even exchange,' i. e. of blood. Some persons, after Lambinus, understand it to mean more than once. Gesner suggests that 'vice' may be equivalent to 'periculo,' but I believe the Scholiasts to be right, though the words are not free from difficulty. As to the construction 'plus vice,' see C. i. 13. 20.

17. *Spectandus—quantis*] This seems imitated from the Greek *θαυμαστὸς ὅσοις*.

20. *Indomitas prope qualis*] Bentley proposed 'indomitus' because the harassed Raetians could not properly be compared to the untamed waters. One MS. has been found to support him. The wonder is in such a case that there are not more. Besides the support given to 'indomitas' by the MSS., it may be observed that the fourth verse of the Alcaic stanza is frequently constructed with a noun and its adjective in the first and last place, and corresponding in their last syllables. In this ode we have vv. 12, 16, 20, 36, 52, answering to this rule or habit. [Ritter joins 'indomitas' with 'prope,' and he explains 'indomitas' by 'non domabiles.'] Peerlkamp says that 'prope' weakens the sentence, and Orelli says there is some truth in that censure. Horace, whose ear was familiar with the language of the Greek tragedians, copied their *σχεδόν τι* (a common phrase in comparisons) without being conscious that it weakened his verse, if it does so. He repeats the phrase S. ii. 3. 268. The Pleiades rise in the evening on the sixth before the Ides of October (Columella, xi. 2), when there is a west or south wind sometimes with rain. They are therefore said to burst the clouds (scindere nubes), which poured down rain upon the earth. Jani and others interpret the passage as referring to the rising of the Pleiades in April, when their approach dispels the last clouds of winter, and the south wind blows its last storm. Gesner (with whom Doering agrees) supposes Horace to mean that Tiberius was

Exercet Auster, Pleïadum choro
Scindente nubes, impiger hostium
Vexare turmas et frementem
Mittere equum medios per ignes.
Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus,
Qui regna Dauni praefluit Apuli,
Cum saevit horrendamque cultis
Diluviem meditatur agris,
Ut barbarorum Claudius agmina
Ferrata vasto diruit impetu
Primosque et extremos metendo
Stravit humum sine clade victor,

like the winds, "veris comites quae mare temperant" (C. iv. 12. 1), the waves being the enemies of Rome. But this destroys the comparison obviously contained in the whole passage between the might of Tiberius and of other headlong things rushing to the work of destruction. For 'per ignes' Bentley proposes 'per enses,' without any authority. 'Ignes' is a good word, and used by others in the same sense; as Sil. Ital., "per medios ignes mediosque per enses" (xiv. 175); "per medias volitare acies mediosque per ignes" (xv. 41). Ov. Met. viii. 76: "Ire per ignes, per gladios ausim." The Scholiast (Comm. Cruq.) sufficiently explains 'per ignes' by "per medium pugnae fervorem, per medium ardorem belli."

25. *tauriformis*] This is taken from the Greek *ταυρόμορφος*, applied to the Cephisus by Eurip. (Ion 1261). The only other Italian river that was represented under this form was the Eridanus, of which Virgil says (Georg. iv. 371 sqq.):—

"Et gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu
Eridanus, quo non alius per pinguia culta
In mare purpureum violentior effluit amnis."

He was therefore represented not only with horns, but with gilded horns. Although this feature is attributed to several rivers by the poets (to the Rhine by Ovid, Trist. iv. 2. 41, and to different Greek streams, especially Achelous their type, who lost one of his horns while contending with Hercules), none of them are so represented in the ancient works of art that have survived. Horace has probably invented this description of his native river by way of magnifying its importance, and ranking it with the greater streams. Whence this conception of a bull as representing the form of a river-god may have arisen it is not easy to say, but probably from the branching of so many large streams at their mouths, though that would not apply to the Aufidus. The Aufidus, which now is called Ofanto, is invariably described by Horace as a boisterous stream; and so Silius describes it, who had less interest in magnifying its importance:—

"Sanguineus tumidas in campos Aufidus undas
Ejectat redditque furens sua corpora ripis." (x. 320.)

But the character of such streams varied greatly at different seasons of the year.

28. *meditatur*] This is the oldest and most authorized reading, and that of the Scholiasts, one of whom, Porphyrion, finds fault with it. 'Minitatur' is the reading of many MSS., and some editors have adopted it; Bentley among others. His reasons have no weight at all. The Scholiast's objection, that 'meditatur' denotes a suspended action rather than one in progress, bad as it is, is better than any of Bentley's; but it would apply equally or more to 'minitatur,' and the fact is that 'meditari' denotes an act as well as the premeditation of it, like the Greek word to which it is akin, *μελετᾶν*. See C. iii. 25. 5 n. It does not, therefore, necessarily imply any pause between the threat and the accomplishment of the threat in this instance. I do not think therefore that Orelli has hit the true force of the word, when he says it is "sine dubio longe *ποιητικώτερον*," because it expresses the silent and trembling expectation with which men are looking for the coming desolation.

31. *metendo*] Horace (like Virgil, Aen. x. 513: "Proxima quaeque metit gladio")

Te copias, te consilium et tuos
Praebente divos. Nam tibi, quo die
Portus Alexandrea supplex
Et vacuam patefecit aulam,
Fortuna lustro prospera tertio
Belli secundos reddidit exitus,
Laudemque et optatum peractis
Imperiis decus arrogavit.
Te Cantaber non ante domabilis
Medusque et Indus, te profugus Scythes
Miratur, o tutela praesens
Italiae dominaeque Romae.
Te fontium qui celat origines
Nilusque et Ister, te rapidus Tigris,
Te beluosus qui remotis
Obstrepit Oceanus Britannis,

gets his word from Homer (Il. xi. 67), *οἱ δ' ὥστ' ἀμητῆρες ἐναντίοι ἀλλήλοισιν Ὄγμον ἐλαύνωσιν.*

32. *sine clade*] See note on v. 13.

33. *te—praebente divos*] See C. i. 7. 27 n. Augustus had the 'auspicia,' and his stepsons were his 'legati.'

34. *quo die*] See C. i. 37, Introduction; iv. 4, Introduction. There may have been some representation of Alexandrea Supplex in Horace's day, such as the well-known figures of Judaea Capta and Judaea Restituta on medals of Vespasian and Hadrian. We do not hear of Augustus having caused such a medal to be struck; but, as he had a triumph for the capture of Alexandrea, such a commemoration of the event may very well have taken place. On the reverse of a medal of Hadrian Alexandrea is represented as a matron reclining with three ears of corn in her hand, and the same number springing out of her foot; while her left arm rests upon a cup with a vine-branch springing out of it, and a bunch of grapes hanging over its side.

40. *Imperiis decus arrogavit*] 'Claimed for the wars carried on under thy imperium the glory thou didst desire.' Attempts have been made to fix other meanings on 'arrogare' here, and in Epp. ii. 1. 35; but this ordinary sense of the word suits both passages. What follows is a compendious review of the successes of Augustus. Before the present ode was written the Cantabri had been finally subdued by Agrippa; the Parthians had restored the standards of Crassus and M. Antonius; the Scythians had prayed for an alliance; the distant nations of Asia had done the same (see C. S. 55 sq.); the success of Lentulus had checked the inroads of the tribes of the Danube (C. ii. 9. 23); Egypt had long been a tributary province; Armenia (Tigris) had been ceded by the Parthians; Britain, though only threatened, had sent tokens of submission. Augustus was just returned from Gaul and Spain, where he had put down the last efforts of rebellion, having also driven back the German tribes, whose success against Lollius had thrown a stain upon the arms of Rome (C. 2 of this book, Introduction).

45. *Te fontium qui celat origines*] This applies only to Nilus. I am not aware that it was ever said of the Ister. The ancient representations of the Nile exhibit him as covering his head with his robe, or with the waters flowing from under his robe; while the Ister is exhibited with his urn in a medal of Trajan, on whose column he is represented as rising out of his stream to do homage to Rome.

47. *beluosus*] This word does not occur elsewhere in any classical writer. It reduces to the form of an adjective 'scatentem beluis' (C. iii. 27. 26). It corresponds to *πολυθρέμμων* of Aeschylus, *πολυκήτης* of Theocritus, and Homer's *μεγακήτης*. [Here 'remotis' means 'distant' as well as 'separated' from the rest of the world. See C. ii. 2. 10.]

49. *Te non paventis funera Galliae*] Caes. B. G. vi. 14: "In primis hoc volunt persuadere (Druidae) non interire animos

Te non paventis funera Galliae
Duraeque tellus audit Hiberiae,
Te caede gaudentes Sigambri
Compositis venerantur armis.

sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios, atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto." See Lucan, i. 457.

[51. *Sigambri*] The allusion is, as Ritter says, to the events mentioned in Dion Cassius, 54, c. 20, and placed by him in A.U.C. 738.]

CARMEN XV.

A.U.C. 741.

This ode appears in early times to have been read as part of the fourteenth. The Scholiast Porphyrion says, "Quidam separant hanc oden a superiore, sed potest illi jungi quoniam hic laudes dicuntur Augusti." This is a poor reason, and there can be little doubt the odes were written separately, though probably about the same time, on the return of Augustus to Rome, A.U.C. 741. In consequence of the mention made in v. 9 of the closing of the temple of Janus, a later date is assigned to the ode, namely, A.U.C. 745, when it is affirmed (but without sufficient reason, as Franke has shown) that the temple was closed, for the third time during the life of Augustus. [The date of the third closing is fixed by Orosius (vi. 22) in A.U.C. 752.] But as it had been closed twice before and Horace does not specify the particular time, but merely affirms what might have been said with equal truth any year after 725, this argument proves nothing. If we may assume, as has been assumed throughout this book, that it was published, as Suetonius says, for the sake of the odes in honour of Augustus' step-sons, then it is highly improbable that the publication was delayed for four years, and there is nothing in this ode which might not have been written on his return, but much reason to suppose it was. All that is here said of the subjection of the world and the universal peace was said in effect at the close of the fourteenth ode; but it was natural that, if Horace had received the emperor's commands to publish another book of odes, he should conclude it with one addressed to Augustus himself, reviewing the blessings of his reign which at this time had been crowned by a series of successes by which universal peace was established.

ARGUMENT.

When I would sing of wars Phoebus checked me with his lyre. Thy reign, O Caesar, hath brought back our lost honour, with plenty and peace and order and the means by which our name and strength have become great. Under thy protection we fear no wars at home or abroad; the North and the East obey thy laws, and we with our wives and children will sing of the heroes of old, of Troy, and Anchises, and of Venus' son.

PHOEBUS volentem proelia me loqui
Victas et urbes increpuit lyra,
Ne parva Tyrrhenum per aequor
Vela darem. Tua, Caesar, aetas

2. *increpuit lyra*] This is explained by Ovid (A. A. ii. 493):—

"Haec ego cum canerem, subito manifestus Apollo
Movit inauratae pollice fila lyrae."

Fruges et agris rettulit uberes
Et signa nostro restituit Jovi
Derepta Parthorum superbis
Postibus, et vacuum duellis
Janum Quirini clausit, et ordinem
Rectum evaganti frena licentiae
Injecit, emovitque culpas,
Et veteres revocavit artes

'Increpuit lyra' therefore signifies, 'checked me by touching the strings of his lyre, and leading me to a strain more fitted to my muse.' That Doering, after having given and adopted this explanation, should have changed his mind and followed the Scholiasts and those after them who join 'lyra' with 'loqui' is very surprising. [Ritter does it.] Doering's judgment generally directed him better than this. In a matter of taste second thoughts are not often so good as the first, which are directed by instinct. The other metaphor is common enough. See Virgil (Georg. ii. 41): "Pelagoque volans da vela patenti;" and Ovid (Tr. ii. 329):—

"Non ideo debet pelago se credere si qua
Audet in exiguo ludere cymba lacu."

Prop. (iii. 9. 3):—

"Quid me scribendi tam vastum mittis in aequor?
Non sunt apta meae grandia vela rati."

4. *Tua, Caesar, aetas*] The abruptness with which this is introduced is worth remarking. A longer preface would have weakened the ode.

5. *Fruges et agris*] This is a repetition of C. iv. 5. 17 sq.

7. *Derepta*] There is the usual conflict of MSS. between 'direpta' and 'derepta,' but see C. iii. 5. 21 n. As the standards were voluntarily sent to Augustus by Phraates, Horace's language is somewhat exaggerated. The recovery (in 734, C. i. 26, Introduction; iii. 5) of the standards lost by Crassus was one of the greatest causes of rejoicing that ever happened at Rome. Without it the restoration effected by Augustus, and of which Horace here gives a compendious picture, would have been wanting in one of its chief features; the honour as well as the peace of Rome was restored. These praises are repeated from or in (for we cannot say which was written first) Epp. ii. 1. 255. See also Epp. i. 18. 56.

9. *Janum Quirini*] This is the reading of all the MSS. The usual form appears to have been 'Janus Quirinus,' as appears, among other examples, from Suet. (Octav. c. 22), "Janum Quirinum—ter clausit;" and Macrobius (Sat. i. 9), "In sacris quoque invocamus Janum Geminum, Janum Patrem, Janum Junonium, Janum Consivium, JANUM QUIRINUM, Janum Patulcium et Clusivium." There is no instance I believe of Janum Quirini but this, and the temple of Janus having been built, according to tradition, by Numa and not Romulus, there is much in favour of 'Quirinum.' All that is against it is the want of harmony arising out of 'um' thrice repeated, and the authority of the MSS., to which I yield with some hesitation, I admit, in this case. Bentley's argument, that if 'Janus' could be called 'Janus Junonius,' he might as properly be styled 'Janus Junonis;' and so, if he was rightly called 'Janus Quirinus,' therefore he might be properly called 'Janus Quirini,' has no weight. 'Janus Quirini' can only mean 'Janus of Romulus,' whereas 'Janus Quirinus' means 'Janus called Quirinus,' which I take to be a substantive, and a name given him as Janus of the Quirites. The latter is a proper description, the former is against history.

10. *evaganti*] This word appears nowhere else with an accusative case, wherefore some copyists have changed it into 'et vaganti,' which is very meagre. The most respectable name by which it is supported is Rutgersius. 'Evadere' and 'exire' are used with an accusative repeatedly. [Comp. C. iii. 24. 29, 'refrenare licentiam.' Horace is here alluding to some of the Juliae Leges, and particularly to the Lex Julia de Adulteriis and the Lex Julia de Maritandis Ordinibus.] 'Artes' is rightly explained by the Scholiast Acron by 'those virtues in which the discipline of life is placed, as prudence, justice, fortitude,' and temperance.' Both 'emovit' and 'amovit' have MS. authority, and the editors vary in their preference. 'Emovit' is the word Horace adopts elsewhere.

Per quas Latinum nomen et Italae
Crevere vires famaque et imperi
Porrecta majestas ad ortus
Solis ab Hesperio cubili.
Custode rerum Caesare non furor
Civilis aut vis exiget otium,
Non ira quae procudit enses
Et miseras inimicat urbes.
Non qui profundum Danubium bibunt
Edicta rumpent Julia, non Getae,
Non Seres infidive Persae,
Non Tanaïn prope flumen orti.
Nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris
Inter jocosi munera Liberi
Cum prole matronisque nostris,
Rite deos prius apprecati,

Some MSS. have 'ortus,' and others 'ortum.' That the question cannot be decided by the repetition of the final 's' may be seen by any one who examines Horace's style carefully. The arguments on the other side have not much more weight than this, which is Bentley's, and it is always better to acknowledge the uncertainty of a reading than to refine upon it one way or the other. This is what Dillenbr. has done, I think, in this and some other instances, though his edition appears to me in the main as judicious as any that has been published. [Ritter has a good note on 'ortus:' 'numerus multitudinis vi concreta praeditus loca et terras ubi sol oritur indicat.']

[15. *majestas*] 'Majestas' is magnitude, but particularly the dignity of a people, or a prince. In some Roman treaties the expression 'majestas populi Romani' was inserted. 'Minuere majestatem,' 'to impair this dignity,' was an offence equivalent to treason.]

17. *furor civilis aut vis*] 'Civilis' belongs to 'furor,' and 'vis,' which is a technical word, means here 'personal violence.' 'Ira' applies to foreign quarrels. See C. iii. 14. 14 n. 'Inimico' is a word which Horace probably found in use by writers of a former day. Later writers have taken it from him. 'Inimicat' means 'sets at enmity.' 'Apprecati' (v. 28), 'remixto' (v. 30), are also words first found in Horace.

18. *exiget*] The MSS. and editors here again are divided between 'eximet' and 'exiget.' Later editors prefer the latter, and it appears to me more forcible and appropriate. (C. iii. 14. 14 n.) [Horace has 'exigere' in a different sense C. iii. 30. 1. Ritter and Keller have 'eximet' here.]

21. *qui profundum Danubium bibunt*] The German tribes, particularly the Vindelici lately subdued. 'Edicta Julia' can only mean here the laws of Augustus laid upon them at their conquest, though in the technical sense the word 'edicta' would not apply. The rules which a governor published in his province were his 'edictum,' but these people were not in a province. Horace therefore does not use the word in its legal sense (see Mr. Long's Exc. on the 'Edicta Magist.' Cic. Verrinae orationes). The Getae lay towards the mouths of the Danube, while the Daci were situated to the west of them, on the same or north side of the river.

23. *Seres—Tanaïn*] See C. iii. 29. 27 n. The Seres and Indi are not much distinguished by Horace (C. i. 12. 56), and, when he is referring to the East, their names are generally associated with the Parthians, more for the sake of amplification than with historical or geographical accuracy. The Roman armies had not yet crossed the lower Tigris. But when Augustus was in Syria, we are informed by Suetonius, ambassadors came from the far East to ask his protection and alliance.

25. *lucibus*] This word is used for 'diebus' by Ovid. (Fast. iii. 397):—

"His etiam conjux apicati cincta Dialis
Lucibus impexas debet habere comas."

The singular is more common.

Virtute functos more patrum duces
Lydis remixto carmine tibiis
Trojamque et Anchisen et almae
Progeniem Veneris canemus.

29. *Virtute functos*] This is a concise way of expressing 'virtutis munere functos,' as in Cicero (Tusc. i. 45): "Nemo parum diu vixit qui virtutis perfectae perfecto functus est munere."

— *more patrum*] Cic. (Tusc. i. 2, and iv. 2) tells us that in the Origines of Cato it is stated that it was the custom of old to sing songs at their meals upon the virtues of great men. Valerius Maximus (ii. 1. 10) refers to the same custom: "Majores nostri in conviviis ad tibias egregia superiorum opera carmine comprehensa pangebant, quo ad eas imitandas juventutem alacriorem redderent." The practice may have been partially revived in Horace's day. The conclusion of this ode recalls C. iv. 5. 31 sq.

30. *Lydis*] Plato (de Rep. 3. 10, p. 398, E) tells us that the Lydian and Ionian melodies were best suited to delicacy and feasting, the Dorian and Phrygian to war; and Aristotle is of opinion that they (the Lydian) were most suitable to the tender age of boyhood, as harmonizing the mind and training it to good. There is no particular force, however, here in the word 'Lydis.' It should be observed, that when 'tibia' appears in the plural number (C. i. 1. 32; Epod. ix. 5) it has reference to two of these instruments played by one person. Their pitch was different, the low-pitched tibia being called 'dextra,' because it was held in the right hand; the high 'sinistra,' because it was held in the left. The pipes used by the Lydians themselves are called by Herodotus (i. 17) *αὐλὸς ἀνδρήϊος* and *αὐλὸς γυναικήϊος*, as representing the voices of a man and a woman respectively. This interpretation has been doubted, however, and it is the opinion of some that the pipes were so called as being played one by a man and the other by a woman. (See Mr. Blakesley's note on the above passage.) The family of Anchises, the grandfather of Iulus, is mentioned here, because Augustus belonged to the Julian family, of which Iulus was the reputed founder.

Q. HORATII FLACCI

CARMEN SAECULARE.

When Augustus had completed the period of ten years for which the imperial power was at first placed in his hands (A.U.C. 727—737), he determined to celebrate his success at home and abroad by an extraordinary festival, and he took as his model the Ludi Tarentini or Taurii, which had in former times been observed as a means of propitiating the infernal deities, Dis and Proserpina, on occasions of great public calamities. It does not appear that this festival ever was held at regular intervals. How therefore the name Ludi Saeculares arose is not clear: but as it was now for the first time given, it was probably convenient to have it believed that the games were no more than the observance of a periodical solemnity. The Quindecimviri were ordered to consult the Sibylline books, and they reported, no doubt as they were desired, that the time was come when this great national festival should be repeated, and the details of it were laid down in a set of hexameter Greek verses, which have been preserved by the historian Zosimus, who gives a description of the festival (ii. 5). [Zosimus names the verses *τὸν Σιβύλλης χρησμόν*: and he says that they have been reported by others before him.] The verses will be found at the end of the ode.

Since Dis and Proserpina were the divinities chiefly invoked in the ancient games, the question arises, Why were Apollo and Diana the leading deities on this occasion? If it be admitted that the festival was observed as a matter of convenience and not from any religious feeling, it is not difficult to understand that the older precedents were only generally adopted, and the deities most in fashion were as a matter of course substituted for the obsolete Dis and Proserpina. Augustus considered himself especially under the protection of Apollo, and the attributes assigned in the olden time to the infernal deities, as the originators and averters of physical evils, had by this time been transferred to Apollo and his sister as representing the sun and moon, as Mitscherlich has observed. Orelli on this point quotes with approval some remarks of Jahn on Virg. Ecl. iv. 10 to this effect: that a notion commonly existed among the Greeks, and also among the Etruscans and Romans, that the universe was moving in a cycle the completion of which would measure one great year of the world; that this year was divided into ten months or ages (saecula), the length of which was not defined but was declared from time to time, as they were completed, by prodigies sent from heaven. This accounts for the irregular celebration of the Saecular games at Rome. The Sibylline books, he goes on to say, declared which divinity especially presided over each month; Saturn presided over the first and Apollo the last, Diana over the last but one, as in the civil year she claimed November as her own particular month. This is the reason why these divinities were worshipped rather than others, because on the appearance of the comet at the death of C. Julius Caesar it was announced by the soothsayer Volcatius that the ninth (Diana's) month was passing away and the tenth was then beginning. This account evidently has reference to the great Platonic year, which, when complete, is to bring all the heavenly bodies back to their original relative places. That the

Magnus Annus was generally believed in is certain. Virgil refers to it in his fourth Eclogue: "Magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo" (v. 5), "incipient magni procedere menses" (v. 12). Cicero discusses it in his treatise de Nat. Deorum (ii. 20): "Quarum (i. e. of the planets) ex disparibus motionibus magnum annum mathematici nominaverunt; qui tum efficitur quum solis et lunae et quinque errantium ad eandem inter se comparationem confectis omnium spatiis est facta conversio. Quae quam longa sit magna quaestio est. Esse vero certam et definitam necesse est." The statements of the ancients vary from 49,000 to nearly 26,000 years. The last corresponds to the period calculated for the precession of the equinoxes, with which, however, the Magnus Annus of the Greeks and Romans had nothing to do. It is represented on the reverse of a medal of Hadrian in the form of a man in a loose robe, with a globe and Phoenix in his left hand, and his right raised over his head. He is surrounded by an oval ring to distinguish him from the figures of Eternity, represented in a circle. The inscription is Saeculum Aureum. What amount of credit is due to all the details of Jahn's explanation, which are derived chiefly from the statements of Servius on the 4th Eclogue of Virgil and from Censorinus, de Die Natali, I cannot say. But, without resorting to such explanations as the above, it would have been very surprising if Augustus, having resolved to celebrate a great festival in honour of his own successful career, had not made Apollo the principal feature of it, and had called upon Pluto to bless his country, in preference to that god to whom he allowed himself to be likened and whom his flatterers assigned to him as his father. Horace appears to have been much pleased at being chosen as poet-laureate of the occasion (C. iv. 6, Introd.). The ode was sung at the most solemn part of the festival, while the emperor was in person offering sacrifice at the second hour of the night on the river side upon three altars, attended by the fifteen men who presided over religious affairs. The chorus consisted of twenty-seven boys and twenty-seven girls of noble birth, well trained no doubt for the occasion (C. iv. 6). The effect must have been very beautiful, and no wonder if the impression on Horace's feelings (for in all probability he was present) was strong and lasting. Attempts have been made to distinguish the parts assigned to the respective choruses. But there do not appear to me to be any conclusive or very probable data on which to found an accurate division, in which therefore, as might be expected, the editors do not agree. I have endeavoured in the argument to show all the divisions of the ode by its subjects. In judging of the character of the ode as a poetical composition, it must not be forgotten that it was written for a peculiar and solemn occasion and to be set to music, in both which points it differs from most of the other odes of Horace; and, judged with reference to those objects, it may be pronounced superior to laureate odes in general. For rhythm it appears to me the best of all the Sapphic odes.

ARGUMENT.

Apollo and Diana, hear the prayers we offer you in obedience to the Sibyl's commands (1—8).

O sun that rulest the day, mayest thou look on nothing mightier than Rome (9—12).

Ilithyia, protect our mothers and their children, and prosper our marriage law, that so in the cycle of years this our festival may come again (13—24).

And ye, Parcae, who do prophesy truly, let our future fates be as the past. Let the rain and air give strength to our flocks and fruits (25—32).

Hide thy weapon, Apollo, and hear thy suppliant boys (33, 34).

Queen of the stars, O Moon, hear thy maidens (35, 36).

Since Rome is your handiwork and at your bidding Aeneas brought his remnant to these shores (37—44).

Ye gods, give virtue to the young and peace to the old, and wealth and sons and glory to the family of Romulus (45—48).

Grant Anchises' noble son his prayers, for his victories shall be tempered with mercy (49—52).

Humbled is the Mede, the proud Scythian and the Indian (53—56).

Peace, plenty, and all the virtues have returned to our land (57—60).

May Phoebus the augur, the prince of the bow and of song, the physician who favourably regardeth his Palatine temple and the fortunes of Rome and Latium, ever extend our blessings to another and still happier lustre (61—68).

May Diana who inhabiteth the Aventine and Algidus hear our prayers (69—72).

We will go home believing that our prayers are heard, the choir of Phoebus and Diana (73—76).

PHOEBE silvarumque potens Diana,
Lucidum caeli decus, o colendi
Semper et culti, date quae precamur
  Tempore sacro,
Quo Sibyllini monuere versus
Virgines lectas puerosque castos
Dis quibus septem placuere colles
  Dicere carmen.
Alme Sol, curru nitido diem qui
Promis et celas aliusque et idem
Nasceris, possis nihil urbe Roma
  Visere majus.
Rite maturos aperire partus
Lenis, Ilithyia, tuere matres,
Sive tu Lucina probas vocari
  Seu Genitalis.
Diva, producas subolem patrumque
Prosperes decreta super jugandis
Feminis prolisque novae feraci
  Lege marita,

1. *silvarumque potens*] Compare C. iii. 22. 1, and i. 3. 1, 'potens.' 'Lucidum caeli decus' applies to both deities.

9. *Alme*] This epithet must be taken in the proper sense as derived from 'alere.' 'Sun the nurturer.'

13. *Rite maturos*] 'O thou whose office it is gently to bring babes to the birth in due season.' [As to the construction 'aperire lenis,' see C. i. 1. 18.] 'Rite' means 'according to thy province and functions.' Εἰλειθυία, the Greek name for Here and Artemis, or more properly, in the plural number for their attendants when presiding at the delivery of women (which name is said to contain the root of ἐλθεῖν, but that is doubtful) is represented by the Latin 'Lucina,' "quae in lucem profert," which title also was given indiscriminately to Juno and Diana. The title 'Genitalis' does not occur elsewhere in this sense, but appears to be a version of the Greek Γενετυλλίς, which was applied to Aphrodite as well as Artemis and her attendants. Bentley contends for the Greek form being retained, and considers 'Genitalis' a corrupt reading for 'Genetyllis:' "locum esse corruptum et contaminatum existimo, vel potius certo scio." If Horace had written 'Genetyllis' it would have been another way of expressing the same name; but as 'Genitalis' cannot be objected to as the Latin form of that word, and all the MSS. have it, there is no reason for altering it. 'Eileithuia' could not be represented by any equiva-

Certus undenos decies per annos
Orbis ut cantus referatque ludos
Ter die claro totiesque grata
  Nocte frequentes.
Vosque veraces cecinisse, Parcae,
Quod semel dictum est stabilisque rerum
Terminus servat, bona jam peractis
  Jungite fata.
Fertilis frugum pecorisque Tellus
Spicea donet Cererem corona;
Nutriant fetus et aquae salubres
  Et Jovis aurae.
Condito mitis placidusque telo
Supplices audi pueros, Apollo:

lent in Latin; it is therefore no proof that Horace used the Greek form in the one case because he did so in the other, as Bentley affirms. Besides which it would seem that the Latin names are purposely introduced in contrast to the Greek. 'Producas' here signifies 'to rear' as in C. ii. 13. 3. The 'lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus' is referred to in the fifth stanza. See C. iv. 15. 10. [Ritter interprets 'decreta super jugandis feminis' as a reference to the 'Lex Julia de adulteriis;' and he says, 'jugandae feminae sunt justo jugo adjungendae quo arceantur ab adulteriis.' This is a mistake. 'Jugare' means 'to marry.' Ritter observes that the chorus of boys sing the fifth stanza, which it was proper for them to sing, and not the virgins. But if the virgins understood it as he does, it would not be decent for the boys to sing it or for the girls to hear it.]

21. *Certus undenos*] The notion that the Saecular Games were celebrated every 110 years, which seems to have been the length of a saeculum as measured by the Etruscans, was a fiction invented probably at this time. There is no trace of their having been so celebrated either before or after Augustus. They lasted three days and nights. They were celebrated by Claudius A.D. 47, and again by Domitian.

25. *veraces cecinisse*] A great deal of difficulty has been raised respecting the meaning of this stanza, and the reading, which in the MSS. varies between 'dictum est' and 'dictum' without 'est,' 'servat' and 'servet.' Bentley has increased the trouble of commentators in attempting to lighten it by the substitution of 'stabilis per aevum' for 'stabilisque rerum' and omitting 'est.' The great majority of MSS. read 'est' and 'servet;' the meaning in that case being made plain by supposing 'stabilis—servet' to be parenthetical: 'ye Parcae who tell truly what has once been determined (and may the fixed order of events preserve it so),' not as Dill. explains, 'ye Parcae who truly prophesy, add good destinies to those that we have known, according to that which has once been declared and which may,' &c. 'Veraces cecinisse' cannot properly stand alone, particularly with 'quod' immediately following. But 'servat' (which, however, has little authority from the MSS.) appears to be the simpler reading, for 'quod' does not in this case, as Bentley states, require the subjunctive mood. Supposing 'servat' to be the reading, Horace merely states a fact, that the Parcae truly foretold the destined greatness of Rome which, once for all decreed, the course of events was daily confirming. I agree with Orelli in preferring this reading, which Lambinus also preferred, though he adopted 'servet.' 'Semel,' in the sense of 'once for all' (καθάπαξ), is common. The Parcae could not but be true exponents of the decrees (fata) of Jove, since to them their execution was entrusted. There may be some inconsistency in asking them to give good fates to Rome, since they could only execute ministerially 'quod semel dictum est.'

[31. *aquae salubres*] 'Healthgiving rains.' Comp. C. iii. 1. 31.]

33. *Condito mitis placidusque telo*] On the promontory near Actium there was a statue of Apollo with his bow bent and a fierce aspect, which was an object of terror

Siderum regina bicornis audi,
  Luna, puellas:
Roma si vestrum est opus, Iliaeque
Litus Etruscum tenuere turmae,
Jussa pars mutare Lares et urbem
  Sospite cursu,
Cui per ardentem sine fraude Trojam
Castus Aeneas patriae superstes
Liberum munivit iter, daturus
  Plura relictis:
Di, probos mores docili juventae,
Di, senectuti placidae quietem,
Romulae genti date remque prolemque
  Et decus omne!
Quaeque vos bobus veneratur albis
Clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis,

to the sailors who approached the coast. See Virg. (Aen. iii. 274 sq.):—

"Mox et Leucatae nimbosa cacumina montis
Et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo."

And on the shield of Aeneas (viii. 704):—

"Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo
Desuper: omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi,
Omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei."

To this god Augustus paid his devotions before his battle with M. Antonius, and to him he attributed his success. "Vincit Roma fide Phoebi" (Propert. iv. 6. 57). Accordingly, on his return to Rome, he built a temple to Apollo of Actium on Mons Palatinus (v. 65. C. i. 31. Epp. i. 3. 17), and set up a statue of the god, but in a different character, the bow being laid aside and a lyre substituted for it in one hand, and a plectrum in the other. ("Citharam jam poscit Apollo Victor, et ad placidos exuit arma choros," Prop. iv. 6. 69 sq.) He was clad also in a long flowing robe. Propertius was present at the dedication of the temple, and gives a description of it (ii. 31); the last object he mentions being the statue of Apollo:—

"Deinde inter matrem deus ipse, interque sororem,
Pythius in longa carmina veste sonat."

35. *regina bicornis*] In a rilievo on Constantine's arch Diana, as the moon, is represented in her chariot drawn by two horses, and with a small crescent on her forehead, which is a common way of representing her on gems and medals. In this group Hesperus is flying in front.

41. *fraude*] C. ii. 19. 20. 'Castus:' C. iii. 2. 30, where the correlative term is used: "Neglectus incesto addidit integrum." Aen. vi. 661: "Quique sacerdotes casti."

[40. *Sospite cursu*] 'With saving course.' Comp. i. 37. 13, 'sospes ab ignibus.']

[43. *munivit iter*] 'Munire' is the usual word for making a road, and it has the derived sense of making a way towards any object.]

45. *docili juventae*] Bentley substitutes 'docilis' and 'senectutis' for 'docili' and 'senectuti,' putting 'mores,' 'quietem,' 'rem,' and 'prolem' all in one category, as the boons to be given 'Romulae genti.' He says this arrangement is 'melior, rotundior, et elegantior' than the common one. I do not think many will agree with him. Nothing could be more natural or suited to the occasion than the brief petitions contained in the text as it stands.

49. *Quaeque*] The MSS. and editions are divided between 'quique' and 'quaeque' in this line, and 'imperet' and 'impetret' in the fifty-first. Cruquius' Scholiast reads 'quaeque' and 'impetret,' explaining 'veneratur' to mean 'venerando precatur et postulat.' This is a common signification, of which there are two instances in Horace

Impetret, bellante prior, jacentem
  Lenis in hostem!
Jam mari terraque manus potentes
Medus Albanasque timet secures,
Jam Scythae responsa petunt, superbi
  Nuper, et Indi.
Jam Fides et Pax et Honos Pudorque
Priscus et neglecta redire Virtus
Audet, apparetque beata pleno
  Copia cornu.

(S. ii. 2. 124; and 6. 8), and others elsewhere. There can be little doubt I think that this Scholiast's reading is correct, though the respectable names of Doering and Gesner, as well as most of the older editors (Lambinus among them), and the Scholiasts Acron and Porphyrion, are on the other side. In the fifty-third line there is a curious specimen of Bentley's perverseness, if it be not an oversight. He acknowledges that 'manus potentes' is the universal reading, and says that he has no fault to find with it, though, if he could get a single MS. of any antiquity to support him, he would read 'manum potentem,' and apply it to Augustus. After this we should expect to find him following in the same track as his predecessors. But not so. He edits 'manum potentem.'

51. *bellante prior*] The chorus pray rather for the blessings of peace than the triumphs of war, and therefore say that Augustus's clemency to his conquered enemies makes him greater than his prowess in subduing them, according to Anchises' warning (Aen. vi. 851), in which Virgil refers to Augustus:—

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hae tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."

54. *Albanas—secures*] The Roman fasces, as "Albanique patres" (Aen. i. 7).

55. *responsa*] Replies to their offers of submission and petitions for friendship. This word is used for the replies of the gods, and here perhaps expresses the majesty of Augustus delivering his will as that of a god, like Virgil (Ecl. i. 45): "Hic mihi responsum primus dedit ille petenti." But 'responsum' also signifies the answer of a jurisconsult to a client, or a superior to an inferior, as of the emperor to the governor of a province.

57. *Jam Fides et Pax*] This group occurs nearly in the same combination in C. i. 24. 6. The figures are variously represented on medals, &c. 'Fides,' which represents honesty, good faith, and is called in the above place 'justitiae soror,' appears on a medal of Vespasian as a matron with long robe, very erect figure, holding out a 'patera' in her right hand, and carrying a 'cornu copiae' in the other. 'Pax' usually carries a caduceus and olive-branch in one hand, and sometimes corn in the other. 'Honos,' which has nothing to do with what we call honour in the sense of honesty ('fides'), but represents Gloria in her good character (for she had a bad, as vain glory, C. i. 18. 15), is exhibited on the reverse of a medal of Titus as a man advanced in years, with one foot upon a globe, with a cornu copiae in one hand, and the other leaning upon a spear. On another medal he is side by side with Virtus, whose natural companion he is. For Virtus is most usually represented in a military character as Fortitudo, a female figure with a helmet and a spear, and with her foot like that of Honos resting on a globe. But though these types symbolically represented Virtus, the name embraced all moral courage and steadfastness in well-doing, with which military courage was closely associated in the mind of a Roman. 'Pudor' or 'pudicitia' represents conjugal fidelity, and is exhibited (on a medal of Herennia Etruscilla in the collection at Florence) as a modest matron, seated, and drawing her veil half over her face. Juvenal speaks of her as having left the earth at the close of the reign of Saturn, or, as he sarcastically puts it, when Jove began to wear a beard (vi. 16). But these virtues are said to have left the earth with Astraea at the close of the golden age, and their return represents the return of that age.

60. *Copia cornu*] Copia, whose horn was most properly the symbol of Fortune

Augur et fulgente decorus arcu
Phoebus acceptusque novem Camenis,
Qui salutari levat arte fessos
  Corporis artus,
Si Palatinas videt aequus arces
Remque Romanam Latiumque, felix
Alterum in lustrum meliusque semper
  Proroget aevum.
Quaeque Aventinum tenet Algidumque,
Quindecim Diana preces virorum
Curet et votis puerorum amicas
  Applicet aures.

(C. i. 17. 14 n.), but was also given to many other divinities, as Fides, Felicitas, Concordia, Honos, &c., was herself represented under the forms of Abundantia and Annona. As the first, which was the most general form of Plenty, she is exhibited on a medal of Trajan seated on a chair made of two 'cornua copiae:' as Annona, which character was confined to the supply of corn, a medal of Antoninus Pius represents her as standing with a 'cornu copiae' in her left hand, and some corn in her right; with a basket of corn on one side, and a ship's beak (symbolizing the foreign supply of that article) on the other.

61. *Augur et fulgente decorus arcu*] This seems to contradict the prayer in v. 33; but the bow of Apollo did not always inspire dread. He is sometimes represented with this unstrung at his back, and the lyre and plectrum in his hands (C. ii. 10. 19); and it is uncertain whether he did not so appear in the statue above referred to. In some ancient rilievi and paintings Apollo is represented as seated in the midst of the nine Muses, who are all paying attention to him. Ausonius wrote an inscription (Idyll. xx.) for a group of the Muses, in which Apollo appeared in the midst. Such a group is seen on a sarcophagus in the Giustiniani palace at Rome, given in Montfaucon's collection, vol. i. Pl. 60. 1. Apollo's attribute as the Healer is one of the oldest that was attached to him, and is most commonly exhibited in his statues and other representations. It is symbolized by the serpent which always attends the figures of Salus, Aesculapius, and others connected with the healing art. In Apollo's case this is often taken for the serpent Python, even when there is nothing but mildness in the face and attitude of the god. Ovid (Rem. Am. 76) addresses him as "Carminis et medicae, Phoebe, repertor opis;" and again he makes him say:—

"Inventum medicina meum est; opiferque per orbem
Dicor, et herbarum subjecta potentia nobis." (Met. i. 521.)

[62. *acceptus*] In the sense of 'pleasing,' as in Livy i. 15, 'acceptissimus militum animis.' 'Camenis' is the dative. Caesar has 'plebi acceptus' (B. G. i. 3).]

65. *Si Palatinas videt aequus arces*] See above, v. 33 n. 'Aras' is the reading of some MSS. and editions, but 'arces' is better. I understand 'felix' to agree with 'aevum,' and 'videt' to govern 'arces' 'rem' and 'Latium.' It is common with Horace to put an adjective and its substantive at the two extremes of a period. According to some 'felix' belongs to 'Latium,' and also to 'rem;' and 'proroget felix Latium' is equivalent to 'proroget felicitatem Latii.' Orelli takes 'felix' with 'lustrum.' Bentley takes it so likewise, but goes farther, and putting 'Si Palatinas—Latiumque' in a parenthesis, makes 'aevum' the object after 'prorogat,' and takes all the adjectives with 'lustrum,' as though the meaning were 'Apollo is advancing the age into another happy, and even a happier lustre.' He prefers the indicative to the subjunctive. Many good MSS. have it so, but most editors prefer the supplicatory form, [Ritter has 'prorogat.'] Bentley is consistent, and reads 'curat' and 'applicat' in the next stanza, for which he has about the same amount of MS. authority. [Ritter has 'curat' and 'applicat,' and Keller also, though he has 'proroget.']

69. *Quaeque Aventinum*] Diana had a temple on Mons Aventinus and on Algidus

Haec Jovem sentire deosque cunctos
Spem bonam certamque domum reporto,
Doctus et Phoebi chorus et Dianae
Dicere laudes.

(C. i. 21. 6). From this stanza it has been assumed by some that the sacred commissioners (the 'quindecimviri') took part in the singing, which is not very probable. Their number, which was originally two, and then increased to ten, was raised to fifteen either by Sulla or C. Julius Caesar. 'Puerorum' includes the whole choir of boys and girls.

75. *Doctus*] C. iv. 6. 43: "docilis modorum Vatis Horati."

ZOSIMUS (lib. ii. c. v.).

[This text is nearly the same as that in Reitemeier's edition of Zosimus.]

Ἀλλ' ὁπόταν μήκιστος ἵκῃ χρόνος ἀνθρώποισι
Ζωῆς, εἰς ἐτέων ἑκατὸν δέκα κύκλον ὁδεύων,
Μεμνῆσθαι, Ῥωμαῖε, καὶ οὐ μάλα λῆσαι ἑαυτόν,
Μεμνῆσθαι τάδε πάντα. Θεοῖσι μὲν ἀθανάτοισι
Ῥέζειν ἐν πεδίῳ παρὰ Θύμβριδος ἄπλετον ὕδωρ,
Ὅππῃ στεινότατον, Νὺξ ἡνίκα γαῖαν ἐπέλθῃ,
Ἠελίου κρύψαντος ἑὸν φάος· ἔνθα σὲ ῥέζειν
Ἱερὰ παντογόνοις Μοίραις ἄρνας τε καὶ αἶγας.
Κυανέας δ' ἐπὶ ταῖσδ' Εἰλειθυίας ἀρέσασθαι
Παιδοτόκους θυέεσσιν, ὅπῃ θέμις. Αὖθι δὲ Γαίῃ
Πληθομένῃ χοῖρός τε καὶ ὗς ἱεροῖτο μέλαινα.
Ζάλευκοι ταῦροι δὲ Διὸς παρὰ βωμὸν ἀγέσθων
Ἤματι, μηδ' ἐπὶ νυκτί· θεοῖσι γὰρ οὐρανίοισι
Ἡμέριος πέλεται θυέων τρόπος· ὣς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς
Ἱρεύειν· δαμάλης δὲ βοὸς δέμας ἀγλαὸν Ἥρης
Δεξάσθω νηὸς παρὰ σεῦ. Καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
Ὅστε καὶ Ἠέλιος κικλήσκεται, ἶσα δεδέχθω
Θύματα Λητοΐδης· καὶ ἀειδόμενοί τε Λατῖνοι
Παιᾶνες κούροις κούρῃσί τε νηὸν ἔχοιεν
Ἀθανάτων· χωρὶς δὲ κόραι χορὸν αὐταὶ ἔχοιεν
Καὶ χωρὶς παίδων ἄρσην στάχυς, ἀλλὰ γονήων
Πάντων ζωόντων, οἷς ἀμφιθαλὴς ἔτι φύτλη.
Αἱ δὲ γάμου ζεύγλαισι δεδμημέναι ἤματι κείνῳ
Γνὺξ Ἥρης παρὰ βωμὸν ἀοίδιμον ἑδριόωσαι
Δαίμονα λισσέσθωσαν· ἅπασι δὲ λύματα δοῦναι
Ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξί, μάλιστα δὲ θηλυτέρῃσι.
Πάντες δ' ἐξ οἴκοιο φερέσθων ὅσσα κομίζειν
Ἐστὶ θέμις θνητοῖσιν ἀπαρχομένοις βιότοιο,
Δαίμοσι μειλιχίοισιν ἱλάσματα καὶ μακάρεσσιν
Οὐρανίδαις· τὰ δὲ πάντα τεθησαυρισμένα κείσθω,
Ὄφρα τε θηλυτέρῃσι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἑδριόωσιν
Ἔνθεν πορσύνῃς μεμνημένος. Ἤμασι δ' ἔστω
Νυξί τ' ἐπασσυτέρῃσι θεοπρέπτους κατὰ θώκους
Παμπληθὴς ἄγυρις· σπουδὴ δὲ γέλωτι μεμίχθω.
Ταῦτά τοι ἐν φρεσὶ σῇσιν ἀεὶ μεμνημένος εἶναι,
Καί σοι πᾶσα χθὼν Ἰταλὴ καὶ πᾶσα Λατίνη
Αἰὲν ὑπὸ σκήπτροισιν ὑπαυχένιον ζυγὸν ἕξει.

Q. HORATII FLACCI

EPODON

LIBER.

CARMEN I.

A.U.C. 723.

WHEN Caesar Octavianus had determined on the expedition against M. Antonius and Cleopatra which led to the battle of Actium, A.U.C. 723, he summoned, as we learn from Dion Cassius (50. 11), the leading senators and men of Equestrian rank to meet him at Brundusium, for the benefit of their counsel and (the historian says) to keep the Equestrians from mischief, and also to show the world the harmony to which he had brought men of all orders at Rome. Whatever the motives may have been, the fact may be accepted. Maecenas obeyed this summons and went to Brundusium, but was sent back by Caesar to watch over the peace of the city and the affairs of Italy, with what particular powers, or under what title, history does not inform us, nor is the question material here. The Scholiasts (Acron and Comm. Cruq.) state that Maecenas had received the command of the fleet, or part of it as tribune, from Augustus. But there is no credit due to such statements, which are often taken (as this may be), like the inscriptions invented by grammarians, from incidental names and allusions in the odes themselves. He appears to have accompanied the expedition to Sicily against Sextus Pompeius A.U.C. 718, and the writer of the article 'Maecenas' in Smith's Dict. Biog. thinks that this Epode was written on that occasion. This opinion is quite new, and I believe the general opinion to be correct. The language of affection in this Epode is too strong for the short acquaintance Horace had then enjoyed with Maecenas; also, there is evidence of the Sabine farm having come into Horace's possession when he wrote it (v. 31). But that this did not occur till after the publication of the first book of Satires is certain, and it is generally referred to A.U.C. 720. The opinion of the same writer that Horace actually accompanied Maecenas on this expedition to Sicily is noticed elsewhere (C. iii. 4. 28 n.). It is very possible that Maecenas may have had the offer of a command in the expedition against M. Antonius, and that both he and Horace believed he was going on that service, until on his arrival at Brundusium Augustus thought fit to send him back to discharge more important duties at Rome. Horace, supposing him to be going on this expedition, wished to accompany him, but Maecenas would not allow it (v. 7), which gave occasion for this Epode.

ARGUMENT.

Thou art going into the midst of danger, Maecenas, to share the fortunes of Caesar. Shall I stay at home at ease, or meet the danger with thee, on whose life my happiness depends? I will go with thee whithersoever thou goest. To what end shall I go? As the bird fears less for her young when she is near them, so shall I fear less for thee if I go with thee, and I go to win thy love, not thy favours. Thy love hath given me enough. I seek not wide lands or fine houses and cattle, and gold to hide or to squander.

Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
Amice, propugnacula,
Paratus omne Cæsaris periculum
Subire, Maecenas, tuo.
Quid nos, quibus te vita sit superstite
Jucunda, si contra gravis?
Utrumne jussi persequemur otium
Non dulce ni tecum simul,

1. *Liburnis*] These were light vessels that took their name from the ships used by the Liburnians, a piratical tribe on the Illyrian coast. Augustus employed them in his expeditions against Sex. Pompeius, and they were of great use at Actium (C. i. 37. 30). It is disputed whether 'inter alta propugnacula' refers to Antonius' ships or Caesar's. Horace is speaking of the danger Maecenas is going to encounter, and it could not be better described than by contrasting the light galleys of Caesar's fleet with the heavy ships of the enemy; and though there were ships of larger size in Caesar's fleet (as Dillenbr. says, taking the other view of the sense), the danger would not have been described by mentioning them. 'Ibis inter' may not be a proper phrase for describing an attack upon the enemy's fleet, but it may do very well for contrasting the size of the ships on each side. The danger would not have been adequately described by representing Maecenas as sailing in a light vessel among the larger ones giving his orders, as some have explained it. (Dion, 50, c. 31.) Such a description would have diminished the picture of danger, and only represented the honour of the command. Propertius (iii. 11. 41) represents Caesar's fleet only by the Liburnian part of it:—

"Ausa (Cleopatra dared) Jovi nostro latrantem opponere Anubim ——
Baridos et contis rostra Liburna sequi,"

where he speaks contemptuously of her fleet for his own purpose, but all writers on the battle of Actium describe the ships of M. Antonius and Cleopatra as of enormous size. Like those of Caesar, the Egyptian vessels were fitted with towers ('propugnacula'), from which the men fought.

4. *Subire—tuo*] 'Tui' to agree with 'Caesaris,' has been suggested. 'Tuo periculo,' 'meo,' 'suo,' 'nostro,' are all one as common as the other, and without the possessive pronoun 'periculum' is used in the ablative case in 'summo periculo,' 'minimo periculo,' &c., where the ablative is an ablative of cost, and is not to be explained by supplying 'cum.' Whether a note of interrogation should be put after 'tuo' is a matter of taste. Bentley thinks it more pathetic. It appears to me less simple and manly. ['Periculum subire,' is like 'onus subiit,' S. i. 9. 21.—'Quid nos:' the omission of the verb is common in such forms.]

5. *sit superstite*] The old Venetian edition of 1483, and all the editions after that till Bentley's that I have seen, have 'sit.' But the Scholiast Porphyrion read 'si,' saying "bis posuit particulam 'si;' semel abundat." Torrentius, reading 'sit,' notices the reading 'si' in one of his MSS., which has a note in the margin, "si abundat." Another MS. has 'sic.' Bentley mentions six MSS. which have 'si,' and Orelli eleven more. Two of Orelli's best, and others referred to by Bentley, have no word between 'vita' and 'superstite,' which appears as if some syllable supposed to be redundant had been purposely omitted, though the metre suffered. All Orelli's MSS. therefore are directly or indirectly

An hunc laborem mente laturi decet
Qua ferre non molles viros?
Feremus et te vel per Alpium juga
Inhospitalem et Caucasum,
Vel Occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum
Forti sequemur pectore.
Roges tuum labore quid juvem meo,
Imbellis ac firmus parum?
Comes minore sum futurus in metu,
Qui major absentes habet;
Ut assidens implumibus pullis avis
Serpentium allapsus timet
Magis relictis, non, ut adsit, auxili
Latura plus praesentibus.
Libenter hoc et omne militabitur
Bellum in tuae spem gratiae,
Non ut juvencis illigata pluribus
Aratra nitantur mea,

in favour of 'si.' Orelli supposes the construction to be compounded of 'te superstite' and 'si superstes mihi eris.' Cruquius reads 'sit,' and notices no various reading. We may suppose therefore that the Blandinian MSS. had that word. The punctuation by which some editors try to make the sense plain renders it hopelessly confused. Doering, for instance, and Mitscherlich point thus:—

"Quid nos? quibus te, vita, si superstite,
Jucunda, si contra, gravis."

It would be hard to imagine a greater abuse of commas. [Ritter has 'te vita si est;' but 'est' is his own invention. 'Sit' is plainly right. The words are badly arranged. That is all.]

[7. *Utrumne—an*] This form occurs in the fragments of Sisenna: 'utrumne divi cultu erga se mortalium laetiscant an supernae gentes humana negligant.' Horace has it Sat. ii. 3. 251, and ii. 6. 73.]

[9. *laturi*] The regular construction would be 'feremus,' which word does appear in v. 11. Perhaps the idea in 'persequemur' is continued, 'an laborem persequemur laturi (eum) mente qua decet,' &c.]

12. *Inhospitalem—Caucasum*] See C. i. 22. 6.

16. *firmus parum*] This is generally supposed to refer to Horace's state of health, which was never good; but I think it is only taken from the Greek ἄναλκις, which goes commonly with ἀπτόλεμος (as Doering says). In the next line Bentley reads 'sim' on the conjecture of N. Heinsius, "ut respondeat τῷ juvem," which I do not understand. 'Sum futurus' is a direct answer to the supposed question.

19. *Ut assidens*] 'As the bird that sits by her unfledged brood is more afraid of the serpent's stealthy approach if she leave them, and yet, if she were with them, she could give no more help though they should be under her wing.' 'Relictis' I take with Dacier to be the ablative absolute. For 'ut adsit,' Bentley reads 'uti sit' with a few MSS. But it does not make very good sense. The objection to the tautology in 'ut adsit' and 'praesentibus' need not weigh against the received reading. See Ter. (Adelph. iii. 3. 39): "Non quia ades praesens dico hoc." Ib. (iv. 5. 34): "Cum hanc sibi videbit praesens praesentem eripi."

23. *militabitur bellum*] The Scholiast says of this, "Nove et eloquenter dixit." 'Eleganter et nove' is Baxter's opinion, 'audaciter et nove' Dillenburger's. But Plautus has the same expression (Pers. ii. 2. 50): "At confidentia illa militia militatur multo magis quam pondere." See also C. iii. 19. 4: "bella pugnata," which expression is repeated Epp. i. 16. 25. 'In spem,' 'looking to the hope,' is used where we should say 'in the hope.' 'Mea' and

Pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum
  Lucana mutet pascuis,
Neque ut superni villa candens Tusculi
  Circaea tangat moenia.
Satis superque me benignitas tua
  Ditavit: haud paravero
Quod aut avarus ut Chremes terra premam,
  Discinctus aut perdam nepos.

'meis' (v. 26) are both supported by authority; the latter was generally adopted till Bentley edited 'mea,' rightly observing that the possessive pronoun ought to be joined with the nearer substantive, and that the two adjectives 'meis' and 'pluribus' agreeing with 'juvencis' are bad. [Ritter and Keller have 'meis.'] The editors generally understand Horace to be alluding to the rewards of service in the field. He appears rather to be impressing on Maecenas that he wishes to follow him not for his bounty but his love.

28. *pascuis*] Several MSS. have 'pascua,' which Torrentius prefers, though all his MSS. have 'pascuis.' I do not see much force in Bentley's objection that with 'pascua' we should have three lines all ending alike, 'nitantur mea,' 'mutet pascua,' 'tangat moenia,' and I have some difficulty in choosing. I have followed the later editors. 'Mutet' is used as it is elsewhere by Horace. See C. i. 17. 2 n. Varro (de Re Rust. ii. 1. 16) says, "Greges ovium longe abiguntur ex Apulia in Samnium aestivatum, atque ad publicanum profitentur ne si inscriptum pecus paverint lege censoria committant," where 'inscriptum' means 'unregistered,' it being required that the cattle put to graze on the public lands should be registered with a view to the payment of the tax (scriptura). Cic. Verr. ii. 2. 70, Long's note. The plains of Calabria were hot ("non aestuosae grata Calabriae armenta," C. i. 31. 5), and the woody hills of Lucania formed a pleasant contrast in summer.

29. *Neque ut*] The older editions have 'nec.' 'Nor that I may have a white marble villa near the walls that Telegonus built, the walls of Tusculum on the hill.' He says he does not want a villa at Tusculum where there were many handsome houses besides that of Lucullus. See Cic. de Legg. iii. 13. The ancient Tusculum, Fea says, was built on the top of the hill, but the modern town, Frascati, is on the slope. Fea says he has frequently seen the ruins of the old town, which was destroyed A.D. 1181 in the civil wars. 'Circaea' is explained by C. iii. 29. 8 n. Bentley conjectures 'supini' for 'superni,' referring to "Tibur supinum," C. iii. 4. 23. But there is no variation in the MSS., and even if what Bentley says were true, that 'superni' could only be used relatively, we may imagine that the higher part of the town ("superius Tusculum," as Gesner says) was more agreeable than the lower. But the word is used absolutely. It is extraordinary that the explanation of Lambinus should have found favour with so intelligent an editor as Doering, 'that the buildings on my farm should be extended and reach to Tusculum,' which was fifteen miles off. Lambinus says he speaks in an hyperbole, as he certainly would if that were his meaning. Many editors have adopted that notion and Porphyrion gave it birth; but his words though obscure do not convey that meaning, "Circaea tangat moenia: Tusculum intelligendum. Sensus est autem ut neque in Tusculo possideam villam quae ibi aedificia habeat usque ad ipsam urbem." Others after Acron (Turnebus, xii. 14) think of a villa and farm reaching from Tusculum to Circaei in Latium, taking 'villa Tusculi' together. ['Candens:' S. i. 5. 26.]

31. *Satis superque*] Epod. xvii. 19: and C. ii. 18. 12; iii. 16. 38.

33. *Chremes*] The allusion is perhaps to a character in some play of Menander.

34. *perdam nepos*] This is a more agreeable reading than the common one 'ut nepos' [which Ritter and Keller have]. It has the authority of Orelli's B. 'Ut' is not omitted by any editor earlier than Orelli, and the question is not raised by any earlier commentator that I have seen. The Scholiast Porphyrion had 'ut' in his copy, and the oldest known MS., the Blandinian of Cruquius, must have had it, or he would have noticed the omission. Nevertheless it is probable that Horace wrote 'perdam nepos,' and that the second 'ut' was inserted by copyists to correspond to the first. Comp. S. i. 1. 101.

CARMEN II.

Horace, meaning to write on the praises of the country, put his poem (whether as an after-thought or not may be open to conjecture) into the shape of a rhapsody by a money-getting usurer who, after reciting the blessings of a country life and sighing for the enjoyment of them, resolving to throw up his business and persuading himself that he desires nothing so much as retirement and a humble life, finds habit too strong for him and falls back upon the sordid pursuits which after all are most congenial to him. Some may perhaps think that this little bit of satire is the chief object for which the poem was written. My impression is that it was commenced (whether in imitation of Virgil, Georg. ii. 458 sqq., as Franke supposes, or of a poem of Archilochus [Fr. 21. Bergk] as Lachmann, or not in imitation of any thing, which is more probable) as a "laudatio vitae rusticae" (which is the tenor of most of the inscriptions), and that the last four verses, which have been called clumsy, were added to give the rest a moral. At any rate the greater part of the speech must be admitted to be rather out of keeping with the supposed speaker. We should not expect, for instance, to hear a city usurer talk about an hereditary farm, the dangers of the soldier and the sailor, and the cares of love. The last difficulty is got rid of by Doering and others, who interpret 'amor' (v. 37) as the love of money, which that editor says "vix dubitari potest," though the word 'habendi' "paulo licentius omisit." This I am quite sure is wrong; and I think we must allow that Horace was more intent upon his description than on maintaining an accurate consistency between the circumstances of the speaker and the sentiments he utters. But, however this may be, the picture is very beautiful and the moral very true. In the most sordid minds more genial impulses will sometimes arise: but the beauties of nature and the charms of a peaceful retirement are, like virtue itself, only attractive in the distance and at intervals to minds that have grown addicted to the pursuit of gain for its own sake. To such minds domestic and innocent pleasures offer no lasting gratification, and the picture of rustic enjoyment on the one hand, and of the jaded but still grasping usurer struggling for a moment against his propensities on the other, affords a wholesome lesson for many. In respect to the date, it can only be conjectured that Horace had tasted the enjoyments he describes so graphically, and was in possession of his farm. But even that is uncertain. Franke, thinking that Horace must have had before him Virgil's second Georgic (458 sqq.), which some say was not published till A.U.C. 724, attributes this ode to 724 also, in which his friend Lachmann informs him he seems "nimis subtiliter ignorabilia rimatus esse." There is a fragment from the comedy Νῆσοι attributed to Aristophanes (344, Dind.), which is very like this ode. Whether Horace ever saw it or thought of it when he was writing, it is impossible to say. It runs thus:—

> ὦ μῶρε μῶρε, ταῦτα πάντ' ἐν τῇδ' ἔνι·
> οἰκεῖν μὲν ἐν ἀγρῷ τοῦτον ἐν τῷ γηδίῳ
> ἀπαλλαγέντα τῶν κατ' ἀγορὰν πραγμάτων,
> κεκτημένον ζευγάριον οἰκεῖον βοοῖν·
> ἔπειτ' ἀκούειν προβατίων βληχωμένων
> τρυγός τε φωνὴν εἰς λεκάνην ὠθουμένης,
> ὄψῳ τε χρῆσθαι σπινιδίοις τε καὶ κίχλαις,
> καὶ μὴ περιμένειν ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἰχθύδια
> τριταῖα, πολυτίμητα, βεβασανισμένα
> ἐπ' ἰχθυοπώλου χειρὶ παρανομωτάτῃ.

The reader may also compare Ovid, Fast. iv. 691 sqq., and Martial, iii. 58.

ARGUMENT.

Happy is the man who lives on his farm remote from the troubles of the city and the dangers of war and of the sea. He trains his vines, or watches his flocks, or grafts his trees, or stores his honey, or shears his sheep, or brings offerings of fruit to Priapus and Silvanus, or lies in the shade or on the soft grass where birds are singing and streams are murmuring; or hunts the boar, or lays nets for the birds and hares, and herein forgets the pangs of love. Give me a chaste wife who shall care for my home and children, milk my goats, prepare my unbought meal, and no dainties shall please me like my country fare, as I sit and watch the kine and oxen and labourers coming home to their rest at even. So said Alphius the usurer, and determining to live in the country he got in all his money, but soon repented, and put it out to usury again.

BEATUS ille qui procul negotiis,
Ut prisca gens mortalium,
Paterna rura bobus exercet suis,
Solutus omni fenore,
Neque excitatur classico miles truci,
Neque horret iratum mare,
Forumque vitat et superba civium
Potentiorum limina.
Ergo aut adulta vitium propagine
Altas maritat populos,
Aut in reducta valle mugientium
Prospectat errantes greges,
Inutilesque falce ramos amputans
Feliciores inserit,
Aut pressa puris mella condit amphoris,
Aut tondet infirmas oves;
Vel cum decorum mitibus pomis caput
Auctumnus agris extulit,

[1. *negotiis*] Hence 'negotiator,' a banker or money-lender.]

4. *Solutus omni fenore*] Torrentius, whom Orelli follows, explains this 'qui neque dat neque accipit fenori,' and this would be the meaning in the mouth of a city usurer. But the words would equally suit any other person, and would mean that in the country he would not be subject to the calls of creditors, and need not get into debt. Some parts of the language suit and some do not suit the character of Alphius.

9. *Ergo*] This is an adverb of emphasis, like δή, the use of which it is not easy to define. Here it expresses a feeling of pleasure in the contemplation of the scenes described. In the occupations and amusements that follow no particular order of seasons is observed, but one recreation after another is mentioned as it occurs, which is a more poetical way of proceeding than some editors would adopt, who have altered the arrangement of the verses to suit the seasons.

[10. *maritat*] 'Makes the poplars husbands.' 'Ulmi vitibus recte maritantur,' where 'vitibus' is the ablative; Colum. xi. 2. 79. 'Si teneram ulmum maritaveris,' Colum. v. 6. 18. See C. iv. 5. 30.]

[15. *mella*] The plural as usual in Horace, C. iii. 16. 33 &c. See C. iii. 19. 8 n.]

16. *infirmas*] An ornamental epithet, not 'sickly,' as Baxter thinks.

17. *Vel cum*] The commentators quote Aen. xi. 406: "Vel cum se pavidum contra mea jurgia fingit," &c., and Wagner's note, "*Vel* sic usurpatum eam habet potes-

Ut gaudet insitiva decerpens pira,
  Certantem et uvam purpurae,
Qua muneretur te, Priape, et te, pater
  Silvane, tutor finium!
Libet jacere modo sub antiqua ilice,
  Modo in tenaci gramine.
Labuntur altis interim ripis aquae,
  Queruntur in silvis aves,
Fontesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus,
  Somnos quod invitet leves.
At cum tonantis annus hibernus Jovis
  Imbres nivesque comparat,
Aut trudit acres hinc et hinc multa cane
  Apros in obstantes plagas,

tatem, ut transitum paret ad alia; *cum* respicit ad praegressa." But in that instance there is no apodosis: it is an elliptical way of expressing what the speaker has to say. Here 'vel' is followed by 'ut gaudet:' the only thing to observe therefore is that 'vel' has here a copulative force and not a disjunctive, as "Silvius Aeneas pariter pietate vel armis Egregius" (Aen. vi. 769). 'Et' would have made the sentence too much of a climax, especially with the exclamation 'ut gaudet.' 'Gaudet decerpens' is after the Greek idiom δρέπων ἥδεται. In v. 18 Lamb., Cruquius, and others read 'arvis' for 'agris.' [Keller has 'arvis.'] But the first of these words belongs only to arable land, while 'agris' represents any lands whatever.

[19. *Ut gaudet*] See C. i. 11. 3, and this epode v. 61.]

22. *Silvane, tutor finium*] Silvanus here only is called the protector of boundaries, which province belonged to the god Terminus. Virgil calls him the god of corn-fields and cattle (Aen. viii. 601).

24. *tenaci*] This is merely a redundant epithet. Grass, especially short turf grass, which is here meant, binds the soil and tenaciously adheres to it, both of which ideas seem to be included in this word, from which most of the editors attempt to extract more than it will yield, in order to make it suit the occasion. 'Interim,' as we say 'the while.' Some of the oldest MSS. read 'rivis' for 'ripis' in v. 25. But this confusion is very common, and the only editors I have seen that adopt it are Torrentius and Fea, who contend for that reading very strongly. The former quotes C. ii. 3. 11. [Ritter has 'rivis,' and he explains 'alti rivi' to be 'deep brooks which therefore make little or no noise.'] Bentley contradicts his own theory by advocating 'ripis' (C. iii. 25. 13 n.). 'Altis ripis' are rocky overhanging banks, not, as Bentley and Gesner say, banks rendered high by the subsiding of the stream in summer, in which there is no poetry. 'Obstrepunt' is used absolutely, as C. iii. 30. 10. Some (thinking a dative case required after 'obstrepunt') understand 'illi,' some 'avibus,' and Markland prefers to change 'fontes' into 'frondes' and make 'lymphis' the dative case, as in Propert. (iv. 4. 4): "Multaque nativis obstrepit arbor aquis." 'Lymphis' is what is called the ablative absolute. [It was suggested to me by T. F. Ellis that Horace has imitated a fragment of Sappho:—

—— ἀμφὶ δ' ὕδωρ
——ψῦχρον κελαδεῖ δι' ὕσδων
μαλίνων, αἰθυσσομένων δὲ φύλλων
κῶμα καταῤῥεῖ:

and if this is so, it is further supposed that it confirms Markland's 'frondes.']

26. *Queruntur*] Virg. (Ecl. i. 56): "Saepe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro."

29. *annus*] 'The season of the year,' as in Virgil (Ecl. iii. 57), "formosissimus annus."

31. *Aut trudit acres*] There is a description in a simile of Statius (Achill. i. 459 sqq.) of this way of hunting wild beasts. The hunters encompassed some large space (generally the foot of a wooded hill) with strong nets, which they gradually drew into a more and more narrow circle, while dogs and beaters with torches

Aut amite levi rara tendit retia,
  Turdis edacibus dolos,
Pavidumque leporem et advenam laqueo gruem
  Jucunda captat praemia.
Quis non malarum quas amor curas habet
  Haec inter obliviscitur?
Quodsi pudica mulier in partem juvet
  Domum atque dulces liberos,
Sabina qualis aut perusta solibus
  Pernicis uxor Apuli,
Sacrum vetustis exstruat lignis focum
  Lassi sub adventum viri,

were set to drive the beasts into a given spot, where they were attacked and slain; or else they were driven down to the nets, with which they were entangled or stopped, unless they contrived, as they sometimes did, to break through them, which would give occasion for a chase in the open plain (see C. i. 1. 28). Plutarch, in his life of Alexander speaks of toils twelve miles long. The poets, Latin and Greek, used the feminine gender in speaking of hunting-dogs, as mares are more often mentioned than horses for the race. 'Amites' were forked stakes on which the nets were stretched. 'Plagae' were the strong nets mentioned above; 'retia' were finer ones for birds and fish; 'retia rara' were those with wider meshes than fishing-nets, and therefore used only for birds. 'Edacibus' represents their depredations on the corn; Doering applies it to their greedy seizure of the bait. The next line is said by its numbers to represent the rapid course of the hare and crane. If so, Doering contrives to annihilate the poet's purpose by his punctuation,

"Pavidumque leporem, et advenam, laqueo, gruem,
  Jucunda, captat, praemia,"

by which it is intended I suppose to show that 'laqueo' represents the instrument of capture, and is not to be taken with the word that goes before it as if Horace meant to say that the crane was 'advena laqueo,' an error not likely to be made. I do not see that the sound in this line represents the sense. It rather halts than flies. 'Laqueo' may be pronounced as a dissyllable. ["Across every break in the woods or chasm in the hills [of Ischia] rows of nets are placed to intercept stock-doves and quails in their annual flights." Swinburne, The Two Sicilies ii. 5.]

39. *in partem*] 'On her part.' The Greeks said *ἐν μέρει*. 'In partem' occurs in Plautus (Asin. iii. 3. 89), "Age sis tu in partem nunc jam hunc delude."

41. *perusta solibus*] Theoc. (x. 26): *Βομβύκα χαρίεσσα Σύραν καλέοντί τυ πάντες Ἰσχνάν, ἁλιόκαυστον, ἐγὼ δὲ μόνος μελίχλωρον.*

42. *Pernicis*] 'Pernix' signifies patient, stedfast, being compounded of 'per' and the root of 'niti.' (Servius on Virg. Georg. iii. 93.) When applied to motion it means swift, by the natural consequence of a steady movement of the wings or feet, which accomplishes distance more rapidly than irregular speed.

43. *Sacrum vetustis*] The fire-place was sacred to the Lares. The wood must be old that it might not smoke like that which plagued the travellers at Trivicum (S. i. 5. 80):—

"—— lacrimoso non sine fumo,
Udos cum foliis ramos urente camino."

The 'focus' was either a fixture of stone or brick, in which case it was synonymous with 'caminus,' or it was moveable and made of bronze, and then it was called 'foculus.' In either case it was a wide and shallow receptacle for wood or charcoal, the smoke of which found its way out by apertures at the top of the room, or, in some rare instances, as modern scholars have established, by chimneys (Becker's Gallus, Sc. ii. Exc. i., on the Roman House, sub fin.). 'Sacrum et,' 'sacrumque,' with 'juvans' for 'juvet' (v. 39), have been proposed in order to connect this line with the preceding; but these readings have no authority, and the sense

Claudensque textis cratibus laetum pecus
Distenta siccet ubera,
Et horna dulci vina promens dolio
Dapes inemptas apparet:
Non me Lucrina juverint conchylia
Magisve rhombus aut scari,
Si quos Eois intonata fluctibus
Hiems ad hoc vertat mare;
Non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum,
Non attagen Ionicus
Jucundior, quam lecta de pinguissimis
Oliva ramis arborum

does not require them. The connexion is clear enough. Statius has imitated Horace (Silv. v. 1. 122):—

"—— velut Apula conjux
Agricolae parci, vel sole infecta Sabino,
Quae videt emeriti jam prospectantibus astris
Tempus adesse viri, propere mensasque torosque
Instruit exspectatque sonum redeuntis aratri."

Horace may have remembered the passage in Eurip. Elec. 71 sqq. ['Sub' with an accusative, where time is referred to, sometimes means 'just before,' and sometimes 'immediately after.' Compare C. i. 8. 14 n., and C. ii. 18. 18, 'sub ipsum funus;' and 'sub haec,' Epode v. 83, and Epp. ii. 2. 34, 'sub hoc tempus.' 'Sub adventum' may therefore mean 'just before,' or 'just after,' but the better interpretation is perhaps 'in readiness for his coming.']

47. *horna—dolio*] Poor wine of that year, which had not been bottled for keeping, but was drunk direct from the dolium. Like the other parts of this description, this is meant to convey the notion of primitive simplicity. The wine of the year is generally drunk now in and about Rome. ['Hornus' is a shorter form of a word like the Greek *ὥρινος*. But the Greek word is *ὥριος*.]

48. *inemptas*] Georg. iv. 132:—

"—— seraque revertens
Nocte domum dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis."

Martial mentions the oysters from the Lucrine lake (xiii. 82):—

"Ebria Baiano veni modo concha Lucrino:
Nobile nunc sitio luxuriosa garum."

See Juvenal (Sat. iv. 140 and note). ['Apparet:' see C. i. 37. 1.]

51. *intonata*] This participle occurs nowhere else in extant writers; but it is not likely Horace invented it. It represents the noise of the wind rather than of the clouds, as Virgil (Georg. i. 371) says, "Eurique Zephyrique tonat domus." Duentzer renders it as a passive participle, 'sent thundering;' but it is more likely an old deponent form. The 'scarus,' whatever that fish may be, is said by Pliny to have abounded most in the Carpathian sea. The storm therefore must come from the east that should drive it to the coast of Italy. What bird is meant by 'Afra avis' we cannot tell, nor does Varro help us by saying that the Greeks called Gallinae Africanae by the name *μελεαγρίδες*, a bird also unknown. Columella (viii. 2) distinguishes them, saying the Africana had a red crest, the Greek a blue. The African pheasant is a bird of remarkably beautiful plumage and very rare, but I believe that it is only found at present on the southern coast of Africa: and, whatever bird the Roman writers refer to, it was less remarked for its beauty than its delicacy. Martial (iii. 58. 15) speaks of "Numidicae guttatae" 'speckled,' which seems to be the same bird, and answers to the appearance of the guinea-fowl, which fowl also corresponds to Varro's description, "Gallinae Africanae sunt grandes, variae, gibberae" (De R. R. iii. 9. 18). Juvenal mentions it as a delicacy (Sat. xi. 142 sq.):—

"Nec frustum capreae subducere, nec latus Afrae
Novit avis noster tirunculus."

The 'attagen' is usually said to be the

Aut herba lapathi prata amantis et gravi
Malvae salubres corpori,
Vel agna festis caesa Terminalibus,
Vel haedus ereptus lupo.
Has inter epulas ut juvat pastas oves
Videre properantes domum,
Videre fessos vomerem inversum boves
Collo trahentes languido,
Positosque vernas, ditis examen domus,
Circum renidentes Lares!
Haec ubi locutus fenerator Alphius,
Jam jam futurus rusticus,
Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam,
Quaerit Kalendis ponere.

moor-fowl. Martial says it was one of their most delicious birds (xiii. 61) :—

"Inter sapores fertur alitum primus
Ionicarum gustus attagenarum."

It is repeatedly mentioned by Aristophanes.

57. *Aut herba lapathi*] Both the 'lapathum' and the 'malva' were gently purgative. See Sat. ii. 4. 29 and Mart. x. 48. 7 :—

"Exoneraturas ventrem mihi villica malvas
Attulit."

59. *caesa Terminalibus*] The Terminalia took place in the early spring (23 February), about the time of lambing, and lambs were offered to Terminus. Plutarch says that sheep rescued from the jaws of the wolf were thought to be better flavoured than others. The thrifty would eat them for economy. That is the idea Horace means to convey. Martial introduces the same dish to make a plain meal (x. 48. 13) :—

"—— Una ponetur caenula mensa
Haedus inhumani raptus ab ore lupi."

Porphyrion explains Horace's meaning by saying "factus gratior ex perdito."

61. *ut juvat*] See v. 19, "ut gaudet."

65. *vernas, ditis examen domus*] "Turbaque vernarum saturi bona signa coloni" (Tibull. ii. 1. 23). 'Verna' was a slave born in the owner's house. There was a hearth near which the images of the Lares were placed, in the centre of the 'atrium,' the entrance-room, and round it the slaves had their supper. Columella (xi. 1. 19, quoted by Cruquius) says: "Consuescat (villicus) rusticos circa Larem domini focumque familiarem semper epulari." Martial (iii. 58. 22) has :—

"Cingunt serenum lactei focum vernae
Et larga festos lucet ad Lares silva,"

which favours the notion that 'renidentes' means shining by the light of the fire, although Orelli says it does not. 'Cheerful' is the sense. Rutgersius refers the word to 'vernas,' and Doering partly approves. The sense derived from Juvenal's description (xii. 88), "simulacra nitentia cera," does not suit this passage.

67. *Haec ubi locutus*] Mancinelli, who was an acute as well as learned man, supposes Horace to mean, that on hearing him declaim upon the charms of the country the usurer determined to be a farmer, and he understands 'sum' after 'locutus.' Though no doubt he is wrong, he saw that a good deal of the language and sentiments of this ode was unsuited to Alphius. H. Stephens notices the same interpretation. A usurer of this name is mentioned by Columella (i. 7. 2) as an authority on the subject of bad debts. 'Redigere' (not 'religere,' as the Scholiasts and some of the older editors have it) is the technical word for getting in money out on loan, and 'ponere' for putting it out, as καταβάλλειν, βάλλειν, τιθέναι. The settling days at Rome were the Kalends, Nones, and Ides. See Cicero, Div. in Q. Caecil. 17; also in Verr. (ii. 1. c. 57), "Nemo Rabonio molestus est neque Kalendis Decembribus neque Nonis neque Idibus." [Sat. i. 3. 87.]

CARMEN III.

Between A.U.C. 718—721.

Horace here vents his wrath against some garlick he had eaten the day before at Maecenas' table, and which had disagreed with him. He seems to imply that Maecenas had played off a practical joke upon him, and the whole Epode is full of humour and familiarity. This leads to the supposition that it was not written very early in their acquaintance, while from the last two verses it has been justly inferred that it was written before Maecenas was married to Terentia, or in love with her, since the notion suggested by Acron (not as his own however), that Terentia is there alluded to, is out of the question. But, for reasons that will be stated in Epod. xiv., Introduction, it is probable that Maecenas was married, or in love with his future wife, in A.U.C. 721. This ode was therefore written in all probability some time between 718 and 721.

ARGUMENT.

If a man has murdered his father, only make him eat garlick. Oh, the bowels of those country folk! What poison have I got in me? Was a viper's blood in the mess, or did Canidia tamper with it? Sure with such poison did Medea anoint Jason and his intended bride. Apulia in the dog-days never burnt like this, nor the coat on Hercules' shoulders. If thou dost ever take a fancy to such stuff, Maecenas, mayst thou ask for a kiss and be refused!

PARENTIS olim si quis impia manu
Senile guttur fregerit,
Edit cicutis allium nocentius.
O dura messorum ilia!
Quid hoc veneni saevit in praecordiis?
Num viperinus his cruor
Incoctus herbis me fefellit? an malas
Canidia tractavit dapes?

1. *Parentis olim*] He uses the same illustration in cursing the tree that nearly killed him (C. ii. 13. 6).

3. *Edit*] The old form of the present subjunctive was 'edim,' 'edis,' 'edit.' It occurs again (Sat. ii. 8. 90). Cicero uses this form, and Plautus frequently. ['Alium' appears to be the true form.]

4. *O dura*] Horace perhaps remembered Virgil's line (Ecl. ii. 10):

"Thestylis et rapido fessis messoribus aestu
Allia serpyllumque herbas contundit olentes."

5. *praecordiis*] This is sometimes put for the intestines, as in Sat. ii. 4. 26. ['What poison is this which is raging within me?']

6. *viperinus—cruor*] See C. i. 8. 9.

7. *fefellit*] C. iii. 16. 32 n.

8. *Canidia*] This is one of the few names of which we may be pretty sure that it represents a real person. The Scholiasts on this place, and Sat. i. 8. 24, say that her real name was Gratidia, and that she was a Neapolitan seller of perfumes. She is mentioned always as a witch; but I do not know why Buttmann says Horace describes her every where as a woman grown old amid her intrigues, and so derives her fictitious name from 'Canus,' which observation Estré commends. Franke also calls her "anilis mulier." But this contradicts the notion, which Buttmann himself adopts, that she was a "former mistress" of Horace's. He was not more than twenty-eight or twenty-nine (some say twenty-six) when he wrote against her

Ut Argonautas praeter omnes candidum
  Medea mirata est ducem,
Ignota tauris illigaturum juga
  Perunxit hoc Iasonem;
Hoc delibutis ulta donis pellicem
  Serpente fugit alite.
Nec tantus unquam siderum insedit vapor
  Siticulosae Apuliae,
Nec munus humeris efficacis Herculis
  Inarsit aestuosius.
At si quid unquam tale concupiveris,
  Jocose Maecenas, precor
Manum puella savio opponat tuo
  Extrema et in sponda cubet.

first (either in Epod. v. or Sat. i. 8), and he was twenty-four when he arrived in Rome. Unless therefore he became enamoured of her in her old age, she could not have been an old woman when he gave her this name. The boy in Ep. v. 98 curses her and her fellows, and predicts that they will be stoned for a set of wicked old women, and Priapus describes her with false teeth (S. i. 8. 48); but these words need not be taken literally. In Ep. xvii. 47, Horace says she is not an old woman; and there is no reason to suppose she was, though most probably she was not young. It is impossible, from Horace's poems, to gather the cause of his anger against this woman or his connexion with her. If Gratidia was her real name, the fictitious one was framed on the principle noticed C. ii. 12, Introduction.

9. *praeter omnes*] Orelli directs us to take these words with 'candidum,' not with 'mirata est.' I prefer taking them with the latter. Horace assigns opposite qualities to the poison in Medea's hands. It protects Jason and destroys Creusa (or Glauce) his betrothed. (Epod. v. 63.)

[13. *delibutis*] Ep. xvii. 31.]

15. *insedit vapor*] 'Vapor' is equivalent to 'calor,' the effect to the cause (see Forcell. for examples, and also of 'efficax'). 'Siderum vapor' is the heat of the dog-days. Compare Ep. xvi. 61: "Nullius astri Gregem aestuosa torret impotentia." The arid unwatered character of Apulia has been noticed before (C. iii. 30. 11). South of the Aufidus there was not a stream till you reached the Galaesus near Tarentum. This caused the arrangement mentioned by Varro in the passage quoted on Epod. i. 27. The northern part of Apulia was better watered, and very fertile.

[16. *Apuliae*] See C. iii. 4. 10 n.

17. *Nec munus humeris*] i.e. the garment smeared with the blood of Nessus, given by Deianira to Hercules. [Sophocles, Trachiniae.] See Epod. xvii. 31.

21. *savio opponat tuo*] The editors generally have 'savio,' and not 'suavio:' Forcell. makes them both the same word, and says they were from 'suavis.' Jahn denies this, and says 'savium' means 'a lip.'

[22. *sponda*] Ritter combats Orelli's notion that 'sponda' is a bed, and in opposition to Orelli and other commentators, he maintains that the 'puella' is no other woman than Maecenas' wife Terentia. He fixes the date of the ode a little after the marriage, and he places the marriage in A.U.C. 725. Ritter has argued the matter, and there is something to be said on both sides as to the 'puella;' if it is worth the trouble.]

CARMEN IV.

All the positive information we can derive from this ode in respect to the purport and date is, that it contains a vehement invective against some person of low birth and contemptible character, who gave himself airs, and disgusted the people of Rome: he was also a military tribune. The approximate time is fixed by the last lines, which show that it was written while Caesar Octavianus was preparing or carrying on war against Sextus Pompeius, who had enlisted in his service pirates and slaves, as we learn from Dion (49. c. 1—12. See below, ix. 10). To bring us nearer to the exact date, it has been argued (first by Masson in his life of Horace) that, inasmuch as in the second expedition of Cæsar against Sex. Pompeius there were enlisted in his fleet a great body of slaves, it is not probable that Horace would have used language of contempt which would apply as much to Caesar's as the enemy's force. It must therefore have been written, if this assumption has any weight, before that armament was formed, which was A.U.C. 717. In 716 there deserted to Caesar, Pompeius' lieutenant Menas or Menodorus (C. iii. 16. 15 n.), and it was in consequence of the advantage gained by this man's defection that Caesar declared war against Pompeius, in which war he sustained two severe defeats; after which he suspended operations for a twelvemonth, and during that period it is said with confidence this Epode was written. It is also stated by all the Scholiasts that Menas is the subject of this lampoon. The greater number of modern critics doubt their accuracy, and as the name 'Vedius Rufus' occurs in one or two inscriptions, that name has been fixed upon instead of 'Menas,' though no attempt is made to identify him with any historical character. The objections raised to Menas being the person alluded to are: 1. That Horace would not have failed to notice the treachery as well as the pride of this person. But that argument, which is Gesner's, has no great force. Horace meant to attack the swaggering airs of the man, which were more offensive to the citizens than his betrayal of Pompeius, by which they had gained, and which could not have been noticed without offending Caesar. 2. That Menas had been so short a time in Rome, that he could not have been possessed of large landed property, and having charge of the fleet would have had no opportunity of making himself unpopular in the manner here described. But no length of time was wanted for these objects. He had no doubt made himself rich before he betrayed his trust, having had plenty of opportunities for doing so, and probably he did not sell his conscience and his trust for nothing. He had had time to invest his money, become a favoured guest of Caesar, and have his head turned; and a very few exhibitions of himself in the character here described would be enough to call forth this short lampoon. 3. That Menas was not an eques. But he was elevated to that rank by Caesar, as we learn from Dion (xlviii. 45); and at any rate, if he had but the regulated income of an eques, he had the privileges of that order at least as regards a seat in the theatre. 4. It is affirmed that Menas could not be called a 'tribunus militum,' inasmuch as he who had been under Pompeius the governor of two large islands (Sardinia and Corsica), as well as admiral of his fleet and commander of three legions, would have held a higher post under Caesar, who had received and continued to treat him with great respect. But it is a matter of history that Menas' desertion of Caesar and return to his old master arose out of his discontent with the rank given him by the former, and it is hard to say what that rank may at any given time have been. It was always subordinate; and, though we learn he rose to be legatus to Calvisius Sabinus the chief admiral, he may at first only have been a military tribune, which post however would at once give him equestrian rank (S. i. 6. 25 n.). 5. It is said we do not know that Menas ever was flogged; but that he was once a slave (he was a freedman of Pompeius Magnus) was enough to give rise to such an assertion in a satire of this kind, whether it was known to be true or not. Thus I do not think there is sufficient internal evidence to impugn the unanimous statement of the Scholiasts; and though it must be admitted that, without

their authority, no ingenuity would have discovered that Menas was the subject of the Epode, and notwithstanding the appearance of another name, the forgery of which it is difficult to account for, in one or two inscriptions, it does not seem that a case has been made out against that which until recently has been the opinion generally received on the authority of the Scholiasts. The MSS. with inscriptions bearing the name of Vedius are four in number: one of Kirchner's best is inscribed "ad quendam tribunum inimicum poetae;" which title any one would naturally affix to the poem who had no clue to the person intended but such as itself affords. But the vast majority of MSS., of which Fea has cited a large number, are headed with inscriptions to the effect that Menas is the person attacked, though the copyists had so little respect for these titles that they were content to take merely the substance of them, since no two MSS. exactly agree in the words. I need not repeat that none of the inscriptions can with any probability be supposed to have been affixed by Horace himself.

ARGUMENT.

I hate thee, thou whipt slave, as the lamb hates the wolf and the wolf the lamb. Be thou never so proud, luck doth not change the breed. See, as thou swaggerest down the road how they turn and say, "Here is a scoundrel who was flogged till the crier was tired, and now he has his acres, and ambles on his nag, and sits among the equites, and snaps his fingers at Otho and his law. What is the use of our sending ships to attack the pirates if such a rascal as this is to be military tribune?"

Lupis et agnis quanta sortito obtigit,
Tecum mihi discordia est,
Hibericis peruste funibus latus
Et crura dura compede.
Licet superbus ambules pecunia,
Fortuna non mutat genus.
Videsne, Sacram metiente te viam
Cum bis trium ulnarum toga,

1. *sortito*] In virtue of their condition. 'Sors' is the condition which choice, accident, fate, or nature (as here) has assigned. See notes on C. i. 9. 14; S. i. 1. 1.

3. *Hibericis —funibus*] These were cords made of 'spartum,' usually said to be the Spanish broom. It was made into ropes especially for ships' rigging. The Scholiast Acron and Cruquius' Commentator both suppose Horace to allude to a time when the subject of his abuse had served in Spain. Mancinelli takes that view too. If it were so, it would suit Menas very well, for he was in all probability with Sex. Pompeius in that country before he obtained his freedom. 'Hibericis funibus' might be very well used without any such allusion, since the material of which cords were made was known to come from Spain; but, if the person had ever been there, the point would be forcibly felt. It may be added, in favour of the theory which makes Menas the hero, that the mention of Spanish ropes seems to imply that the person had suffered on board ship, if not in the country itself, since, as Pliny tells us, ropes of spartum were especially used in ships, and the only way to give point to the epithet is to suppose it had reference to Spain itself or to the fleet. In the army they flogged with vine twigs. This gives a colouring to the observation of Mancinelli: "'Ibericis funibus' ostendit eum fuisse Pompeii remigem in Iberia." ['Peruste:' see S. ii. 7. 58; Epp. i. 16. 47.]

7. *metiente*] Here "metiri viam' is perhaps rather more emphatic than it is in other instances, as showing the man's strut and swagger. Acron quotes happily, "Instabili gressu metitur littora cornix" (Lucan, v. 556). The Via Sacra, on the position of which see Epod. vii. 8, was crowded with public buildings, and was a favourite lounge. See S. i. 9. 1.

8. *trium*] Bentley was the first, I believe, to adopt this reading from the conjecture of Barthius. The MSS. have either 'ter' or 't,' which latter may stand for 'trium' as well as for 'ter.' 'Huc et huc,' 'hinc et hinc' (Epod. ii. 31; v. 97),

Ut ora vertat huc et huc euntium
  Liberrima indignatio?
Sectus flagellis hic triumviralibus
  Praeconis ad fastidium
Arat Falerni mille fundi jugera
  Et Appiam mannis terit,
Sedilibusque magnus in primis eques
  Othone contempto sedet!
Quid attinet tot ora navium gravi
  Rostrata duci pondere
Contra latrones atque servilem manum
  Hoc, hoc tribuno militum?

are poetical ways of expressing what in prose is expressed with 'illuc,' 'illinc' in the second place. The Romans of this period used 'ulna' as an equivalent for 'cubitus;' therefore 'bis trium ulnarum' must be understood to have reference to the width of the 'toga,' which was about three times the height of the wearer from the shoulder to the ground. The effect of so wide a 'toga' would be to give a broad imposing appearance to the man's person, which I mention, because some suppose Horace to mean that his 'toga' swept the ground as he walked. Compare S. ii. 3. 183; "Latus ut in Circo spatiere." The shape and adjustment of the 'toga' are discussed in Becker's Gallus (Exc. on the Male Attire); and in a note from a French writer, appended by the translator, it is said that when stretched out it formed an elliptic curve, which is very probable: "une courbe qui n'était pas tout-à-fait circulaire mais un peu elliptique."

9. *vertat*] This the Scholiasts interpret 'turns away in disgust;' but it rather implies that the passengers turned to one another, and turned to look at the coxcomb and point at him.

11. *Sectus*] This is supposed to be the language each man holds to his neighbour. The 'triumviri capitales' had the power of summarily punishing slaves. The place was usually at the Maenia columna. It does not necessarily overthrow the Scholiasts' theory (v. 3) that here the punishment is laid in Rome. If either were true, both might be. But the argument from 'Hibericis' (see Introd.) is not strong. A crier stood by while floggings were going on, and kept proclaiming the offender's crime. So Plato lays down, in the Laws, ii. p. 917 D, that the swindler shall be flogged at the rate of one blow for each drachma while the crier declares his crime. ['Praeconis ad fastidium:' 'till loathing seized the crier,' Newman.]

13. *Arat Falerni*] The Falernian hills were covered with vines, but the vineyards were ploughed between the trees and sown with corn. The Appian road leading into Campania would be passed and repassed by the parvenu as he went to and from his estates. 'Tero' is equivalent to τρίβω, which is used in the same way.

15. *eques*] See Introduction. If the person was a military tribune, he had equestrian rank; and, if of one of the four first legions, he had a seat in the Senate, and wore the 'latus clavus.' See S. i. 6. 25 n. If he had a property of 400,000 sesterces, he could, under the law of L. Roscius Otho (passed A.U.C. 687), take his place in any of the fourteen front rows in the theatre, and laugh at Otho, whose purpose was to keep those seats for persons of birth. See Juv. iii. 154 sqq., and the Scholiast thereon, and Horace, Epp. i. 1. 62, "Roscia, dic sodes," &c.

17. *ora*] Bentley proposes 'aera,' but does not take it into the text. Sanadon proposes 'ora aerata.' But, though the expression 'ora navium rostrata' is new, it is very intelligible, and need not be altered. A fragment of Anacreon has been preserved in Athenaeus, xii. 533 E (20 Bergk), which in some respects is so like this Epode that it seems probable Horace remembered it as he was writing. He describes a person named Artemon, who had risen from the lowest poverty, and was now carried about like a fine lady in his litter:

—— Ξανθῇ δέ γ' Εὐρυπύλῃ μέλει
ὁ περιφόρητος 'Αρτέμων· κ.τ.λ.
πολλὰ μὲν ἐν δουρὶ τιθεὶς αὐχένα, πολλὰ δ' ἐν τρόχῳ,
πολλὰ δὲ νῶτον σκυτίνῃ μάστιγι θωμιχθεὶς, κ.τ.λ.
νῦν δ' ἐπιβαίνει σατινέων, κ.τ.λ.

CARMEN V.

There is so much likeness between this singular ode and part of the eighth Satire of the first book, that it is generally supposed they were written about the same time, or about A.U.C. 721. A scene is represented in which the unfortunate woman Canidia (Ep. iii. 8 n.), so unmercifully satirized by Horace for a succession of years, is the chief actress. She is passionately in love with one Varus, whom she calls an old sinner, but whose heart she is resolved to win. To this end she resorts to magical philters, for the composition of which, in company with three other witches, she gets a boy of good family, strips him naked, and buries him up to his chin in a hole, in order that there with food put before him he might wither away in the midst of longing, and so his liver might form, in conjunction with other ingredients, a love-potion to be administered to the faithless Varus. What could have put such a scene into Horace's head it is hard to say; but in treating it as one that actually happened, and that at Naples (from v. 43), Porphyrion and those who have followed him show more simplicity than judgment. That the scene does not even profess to be laid at Naples is clear from the dogs of the Subura (58), and the vultures of the Esquiliae (100) being introduced.

ARGUMENT.

"Tell me, by the gods, by thy children, if Lucina hath ever blessed thee, by this purple toga which should protect my childhood, tell me what meaneth this horrid scene. Why look ye at me so sternly?" As these words drop from the trembling and naked child Canidia bids them bring branches from the tombs, as creech-owl's wing and eggs steeped in frog's blood, poisonous herbs of Thessaly and Hiberia, and bones snatched from the jaws of a hungry bitch, to burn in the magic flames. Sagana meanwhile sprinkles waters of Avernus over the chamber, and Veia digs a pit where the boy must stand buried to the chin that his marrow and liver may dry up and become fit ingredients for the potion. Folia too is there charming stars and moon from the sky. Then Canidia bursts forth, saying, "Night and Diana avenge me on my enemies. Give me such an ointment to smear the old man with, that the dogs may bark at him as he goes to his vile haunts. But what is this? How did Medea succeed while I fail? I know every herb. I have anointed his bed. I see, I see. Some charm more skilled has set him free. No common potion therefore, no hacknied spell will I prepare for thee, Varus: the skies shall sink below the sea if thou burn not with love for me." Then the boy breaks out into cursing, and says, "The destiny of man is unchangeable. I will curse you, and my curse no sacrifice shall avert. My ghost shall haunt you by night, and tear your flesh, and rob you of sleep. Men shall stone you, and wolves and vultures shall tear your unburied carcases, and my parents shall live to see it."

At, o deorum quidquid in caelo regit
  Terras et humanum genus,
Quid iste fert tumultus? aut quid omnium
  Vultus in unum me truces?

1. *At, o deorum*] 'At' is the same word as 'ad,' and is not always or usually an adversative particle. When 'at' is used at the opening it expresses abruptness, and is as though the speaker were only continuing a sentiment previously conceived, but not expressed. "It denotes a sudden emotion of the mind, and is em-

Per liberos te, si vocata partubus
  Lucina veris affuit,
Per hoc inane purpurae decus precor,
  Per improbaturum haec Jovem,
Quid ut noverca me intueris aut uti
  Petita ferro belua?
Ut haec trementi questus ore constitit
  Insignibus raptis puer,
Impube corpus quale posset impia
  Mollire Thracum pectora,
Canidia brevibus implicata viperis
  Crines et incomptum caput
Jubet sepulcris caprificos erutas,
  Jubet cupressos funebres,
Et uncta turpis ova ranae sanguine,
  Plumamque nocturnae strigis,
Herbasque quas Iolcos atque Hiberia
  Mittit venenorum ferax,
Et ossa ab ore rapta jejunae canis
  Flammis aduri Colchicis.
At expedita Sagana per totam domum
  Spargens Avernales aquas

ployed in sudden transitions in a speech" (Key's Lat. Gr. 1445, d). See S. ii. 2. 40 n.

— *quidquid deorum*] Livy uses the same expression, ii. 5; xxiii. 9. See also S. i. 6. 1: 'Lydorum quidquid.'

5. *Per liberos te*] 'Te' is addressed to Canidia. Though Torrentius thinks it far-fetched to suppose there is any double meaning in what follows, a doubt is certainly implied of the woman's fertility. The charge is retracted in Ep. xvii. 50 sqq.

7. *purpurae decus*] The 'toga praetexta,' the sign of free birth and of youth which should have turned his persecutors from their purpose but did not. Cic. (in Verr. ii. 1. 58): "Vestitus enim (the 'toga praetexta' worn by the young Junius) neminem commovebat is quem illi mos et jus ingenuitatis dabat." In addition to this 'toga,' children of free parents wore a small round plate of gold ('bulla') suspended from their neck. Both were laid aside on the assumption of the 'toga virilis' (usually about 15), and the 'bulla' was presented as an offering to the Lares (see Dict. Ant.). Quintilian (Declam. 340): "Ego vobis allego etiam illud sacrum praetextarum quo sacerdotes velantur, quo magistratus, quo infirmitatem pueritiae sacram facimus ac venerabilem." Pliny calls the 'purpura' "majestas pueritiae" (N. H. ix. 36). 'Odia novercalia' were proverbial. (See Tac. Ann. xii. 2.)

8. *Per improbaturum*] Comp. C. i. 2. 19.

12. *Insignibus*] That is his 'praetexta' and 'bulla.' 'Impube corpus' is in apposition with 'puer.'

21. *Iolcos atque Hiberia*] Iolcos was a town of Thessaly, and Hiberia a region east of Colchis and south of the Caucasus, now part of Georgia. See C. ii. 20. 20. Elsewhere in Horace, Hiber and Hiberia have reference to Spain. [Ritter refers to Tacitus, Ann. vi. 34, who reports a tradition that the Hiberi of the Caucasus were descendants of Thessalians.] Flames of Colchis are magic flames, such as Medea prepared.

25. *expedita*] This answers to the description of Canidia herself, Sat. i. 8. 23:—

Horret capillis ut marinus asperis
  Echinus aut currens aper.
Abacta nulla Veia conscientia
  Ligonibus duris humum
Exhauriebat ingemens laboribus,
  Quo posset infossus puer
Longo die bis terque mutatae dapis
  Inemori spectaculo,
Cum promineret ore quantum exstant aqua
  Suspensa mento corpora;
Exsucca uti medulla et aridum jecur
  Amoris esset poculum,

"Vidi egomet nigra succinctam vadere palla
Canidiam."

Sagana is there again introduced in her company (see note).

26. *Avernales aquas*] So Dido in her pretended magical ceremony sprinkled "latices simulatos fontis Averni" (Aen. iv. 512).

28. *currens aper*] Bentley has substituted 'Laurens' on the conjecture of N. Heinsius, and produces of course many instances in which Laurentian boars are mentioned. But the more common he makes that epithet appear the less probable it becomes that it would have been universally overlooked by the copyists and Scholiasts. As Sagana is represented running about furiously, the rushing of a boar is not a bad simile. If Bentley had ever seen a wild hog bursting from a jungle, and then tumbling along the open plain faster than dog or rider can follow him, he would not have quarrelled with the illustration. The Scholiast Acron gives, either as a comment or a various reading, 'furens.'

29. *nulla—conscientia*] Unconscious or careless of the horrible suffering the child was to endure. Though she groaned, it was only with the labour. We are to understand that the transaction was going on, and the grave being dug in the open court, the 'impluvium.'

33. *Longo die bis terque*] 'Longo' belongs to 'die,' not to 'spectaculo.' On every weary day food was to be put before him, and changed two or three times, that his soul might yearn for it like Tantalus, and its longings might be worked into the spell that was to inflame the heart of Varus. 'Inemori' is not found any where else. The ordinary form is 'immori,' which appears in Ven. 1483. 'Bis terque' signifies 'frequently;' as in Martial (vi. 66):

"Attraxit prope se manu negantem
Et bis terque quaterque basiavit."

'Bis terve' (which was the common reading till Bentley edited the other) means 'rarely.' Bentley is wrong in saying that all the editions since the fifteenth century have 've.' That of Ascensius of 1519 has 'que,' and Mancinelli in his commentary has the same. The Scholiast Porphyrion so read it.

37. *Exsucca*] Till Lambinus, on the authority of one or two MSS., introduced 'exsucta,' the editions all had 'exerta' or 'exserta.' The Scholiasts read 'exsecta,' which is plainly out of place. There are more various readings on this word in the MSS. than on any other in Horace. They are recapitulated by Fea: 'exusta,' 'exsecta,' 'execta,' 'extracta,' 'exsucta,' 'exuta,' 'exerta,' 'exhausta,' 'exesa,' 'exesta.' He adds 'exsucca,' and adopts it with Cunningham and Sanadon. I find in the margin of H. Stephens' edition 'exacta.' Bentley prefers 'exesa.' 'Exsucta' and 'exsucca' appear to me the most likely readings. The latter is used by Seneca and Quintilian; [but in Seneca, Ep. 30, Lipsius has 'corporis exhausti,' not 'exsucci.'] Juvenal has "ossa vides regum vacuis exsucta medullis" (viii. 90). If there is any difference, 'exsucca' seems better suited to describe the dry state of the marrow, while the participle 'exsucta' better suits the bones from which the marrow has been exhausted, as in the verse of Juvenal. [Ritter has 'execta' with this remark, 'medulla ex capite secta.' Keller and Orelli have 'exsucta.']

Interminato cum semel fixae cibo
 Intabuissent pupulae.
Non defuisse masculae libidinis
 Ariminensem Foliam
Et otiosa credidit Neapolis
 Et omne vicinum oppidum,
Quae sidera excantata voce Thessala
 Lunamque caelo deripit.
Hic irresectum saeva dente livido
 Canidia rodens pollicem
Quid dixit aut quid tacuit? O rebus meis
 Non infideles arbitrae,
Nox et Diana quae silentium regis
 Arcana cum fiunt sacra,
Nunc, nunc adeste, nunc in hostiles domos
 Iram atque numen vertite!
Formidolosis dum latent silvis ferae
 Dulci sopore languidae,
Senem, quod omnes rideant, adulterum
 Latrent Suburanae canes

39. *Interminato*] This word, compounded of 'inter' and 'minor,' is a stronger way of expressing 'interdicto.' It is the interposition of a threat instead of a plain command. "As soon as his eye-balls fastened on the forbidden food should have wasted away." Sat. ii. 1. 24: "Ut semel icto Accessit fervor capiti." Mitscherlich takes 'semel' with 'fixae,' as if it meant the eyes fastened on the food and never removed.

41.] Folia of Ariminum (an Umbrian town) represents some woman of unnatural lewdness well known at Naples and the neighbourhood, where, Horace means to say, when this story was told every body believed she had had a hand in it. This is the most obvious way of explaining the passage without supposing the scene to be laid at Naples.

43. *otiosa*] So Ovid calls it: "in otia natam Parthenopen" (Met. xv. 711).

45. *Quae sidera excantata*] This faculty of witches is well known. Virg. (Ecl. viii. 69): "Carmina vel caelo possunt deducere Lunam." Tibull. (i. 2. 43): "Hanc ego de caelo ducentem sidera vidi." Plato speaks of *τὰς τὴν σελήνην καθαιρούσας, τὰς Θετταλίδας* (Gorg. p. 513, A). And Strepsiades' ingenious device for avoiding the payment of interest for his debts was to get a witch to bring down the moon from the sky and then lock her up, that there might be no more months bringing pay-day round (Arist. Nub. 749 sqq.).

— *Thessala*] C. i. 27. 21.

55. *Formidolosis*] The MSS. vary between this and 'formidolosae.' As the word bears both an active and a passive meaning, it is not clear which Horace wrote. If applied to the woods, it is equivalent to 'horridis,' as Virg. (Georg. iv. 468), "Caligantem nigra formidine lucum;" and the oldest MSS. have it thus.

57. *Senem, quod omnes rideant*] She here prays that the dogs may bark at Varus as he goes to the brothels of the Subura, so that all may turn out and laugh at the vile old man scented with the richest perfumes, such as even she, Canidia, had never made. She knows that these are his haunts, and wonders why her drugs (which she calls the drugs of Medea, as imitating those) take no effect upon him: when she suddenly breaks out with the exclamation, "Ah! ah! I see, some stronger spell is at work; but I will find one that is stronger than any." The greatest difficulty has been made with vv. 69, 70, which are certainly capable of various renderings. Orelli says she had

Nardo perunctum, quale non perfectius
  Meae laborarint manus.—
Quid accidit? Cur dira barbarae minus
  Venena Medeae valent?
Quibus superbam fugit ulta pellicem,
  Magni Creontis filiam,
Cum palla, tabo munus imbutum, novam
  Incendio nuptam abstulit.
Atqui nec herba nec latens in asperis
  Radix fefellit me locis.
Indormit unctis omnium cubilibus
  Oblivione pellicum.—
Ah ah! solutus ambulat veneficae
  Scientioris carmine.
Non usitatis, Vare, potionibus,
  O multa fleturum caput,
Ad me recurres, nec vocata mens tua
  Marsis redibit vocibus:

smeared the couch he slept on with drugs, to make him forget all women but herself, taking 'unctis' with 'oblivione.' My own opinion is divided between this interpretation and the following: 'he is sleeping on his drugged couch, in forgetfulness of all women,' including herself, as if she suddenly had seen him in that position. I incline on the whole to Orelli's version. Those who are not satisfied with either of these interpretations will find a new one in nearly every commentator. The Scholiasts' notion that Canidia was a seller of perfumes has a little more show of foundation (in. v. 59, 60) than the same as applied to Virgilius (C. iv. 12, Introduction); but it is in all probability derived from this passage only. Acron's reading, 'suburbanae,' in v. 58, shows the caution with which the Scholiasts are to be followed. In v. 60 the oldest MSS. vary between 'laborarint' and 'laborarunt.' Both have an appropriate sense: the one declaring that she never had wrought, and the other that she never could have wrought, such ointment. 'Quale' is equivalent to 'cujusmodi.' The Subura was a street leading from the Esquiliae to the Viminal. It was one of the most populous and profligate parts of the city.

"Famae non nimium bonae puellam
Quales in media sedent Subura."
Martial, vi. 66.

62. *Venena Medeae*] She speaks as if she had been actually using the drugs of Medea.

63. *fugit ulta pellicem*] See Epod. iii. 14.

[65.] Palla is the πέπλους ποικίλους of Euripides, Medea, v. 1156, the gift of Medea, which the new bride of Jason put on, and was destroyed by it.]

[67. *Atqui*] S. i. i. 19.]

71. *Ah ah*] Bentley 'Aha!'

73.] Who Varus may have been we cannot tell. See C. i. 18, Introduction. Some ancient inscriptions call him 'Alfius Varus.' ['Caput:' see C. i. 24. 2.]

76. *Marsis—vocibus*] That is, by common spells or charms, such as have been learnt from the Marsi, and were usually practised (Epod. xvii. 29). Gellius says (xvi. 11): "Marsis hominibus—vi quadam genitali datum est, ut serpentium virulentorum domitores sint et incentionibus herbarumque succis faciant medelarum miracula." Virgil has (Aen. vii. 758): "Marsis quaesitae in montibus herbae." ['Ad aliam paelicem cogitatio tua non redibit,' Ritter. This is certainly wrong. The sense is, 'you shall come back, and your thoughts shall return to me, not summoned by Marsic spells,' but by something stronger. Then she says, 'Majus parabo,' &c.]

Majus parabo, majus infundam tibi
Fastidienti poculum,
Priusque caelum sidet inferius mari
Tellure porrecta super,
Quam non amore sic meo flagres uti
Bitumen atris ignibus.—
Sub haec puer jam non ut ante mollibus
Lenire verbis impias,
Sed dubius unde rumperet silentium
Misit Thyesteas preces:
Venena magnum fas nefasque non valent
Convertere humanam vicem;
Diris agam vos; dira detestatio
Nulla expiatur victima.

[83. *Sub haec*] 'After this,' 'in reply to this.' See Epode ii. 44 n. 'Lenire' is the historic infinitive, as it is sometimes named. 'Sed dubius unde:' 'hardly knowing with what words to begin his curses.']

86. *Thyesteas preces*] Curses such as Thyestes might have imprecated on the head of Atreus. The opening sentence of the boy's speech is variously interpreted. Lambinus proposed, and many scholars have adopted, the following version: namely, "Witchcraft can overthrow the great principles of justice, but cannot overthrow (or change) the condition or fate of men;" where 'valent' is understood in the first clause. In support of the construction are quoted Tac. Ann. xii. 64: "Agrippina quae filio dare imperium, tolerare imperitantem nequibat." Ib. xiii. 56: "Deesse nobis terra in qua vivamus, in qua moriamur non potest;" and Plaut. Amphit. i. 1. 300: "Tuae si quid vis nuntiare (sub. sinam), hanc nostram adire non sinam;" which no doubt exactly represent the case as these interpreters view it. But I do not see the sense which by this construction is brought out of Horace's words. Orelli makes 'fas nefasque' the subject, and supposes the boy to say that appeals to justice and the laws of Heaven are of no avail to turn the course of witchcraft (or the hearts of witches); so he resorts to curses. The words 'humanam vicem' he renders 'more modoque hominum,' which he explains by 'humanis sensibus.' It would be better if this view of the construction were adopted to render 'humanam vicem' 'on behalf of men,' or 'of humanity,' as (Cic. Epp. ad Fam. i. 9. 2) "nostram vicem ultus est ipse sese." (See Epod. xvii. 42 n.) I do not see why 'venena' should not stand for 'veneficas,' like 'scelus' for 'scelestus,' as Fea says, but which Dillenbr. says cannot be. Bentley acknowledges he can make nothing of the sentence; and, as the corrections he suggests do not please himself, they need not be repeated here. The Scholiasts throw no light upon the subject with their explanations, and I feel very doubtful about the meaning. The words may be translated as they stand: "Witchcraft or the great powers of right and wrong cannot change the fate of men;" i. e. nothing can, whether it be good or bad; and though that interpretation does not satisfy me, I prefer it to the others, because it is the least strained with reference to the collocation of the words. The omission of a copula between 'venena' and 'magnum' is no argument against this version. The only other explanation that coincides at all with the order of the words is that which makes 'magnum fas nefasque' an exclamation: "Witchcraft, by the mighty laws of heaven! cannot change the destiny of man." It had occurred to me as a possible solution of the difficulty; and, notwithstanding Orelli's bad opinion of this interpretation, I think it may take its place among the more plausible of the many explanations that have been offered. Orelli has given every other that has been suggested, in his excursus on the passage. [Ritter translates it thus: 'Poisonous juices, be they good or bad, have no power to keep off the lot that belongs to man.']

90. *Nulla expiatur victima*] See C. i. 28. 34.

Quin ubi perire jussus exspiravero,
  Nocturnus occurram Furor
Petamque vultus umbra curvis unguibus,
  Quae vis deorum est manium,
Et inquietis assidens praecordiis
  Pavore somnos auferam.
Vos turba vicatim hinc et hinc saxis petens
  Contundet obscoenas anus;
Post insepulta membra different lupi
  Et Esquilinae alites;
Neque hoc parentes heu mihi superstites
  Effugerit spectaculum.

[91. *Quin*] See C. iii. 11. 21 n.]

92. *Nocturnus occurram Furor*] He threatens to haunt them at night by his ghost in the shape of madness, with sharp claws tearing their faces, and sitting like a nightmare on their breast. 'Furor' is nowhere else personified, as far as I am aware. Though the Furies were called 'Dirae,' they are not meant by 'Diris' above, nor are they intended at all. 'Diris' means 'curses.'

94. *Quae vis deorum est manium*] The spirits of the dead were to their surviving kindred divinities, 'Dii Manes.' They had their sacred rites secured them by law (Cic. de legg. ii. 9), and their annual festival, Feralia. In the early period of Rome they were identical with the Lares, the deities who protected each homestead, and whose hearth was in every hall. [Such an expression as 'quae vis' &c. is sometimes translated 'such is the power.' It is a usual Latin form, in which the relative refers either to one word or several words preceding or following, but agrees in gender with a noun which follows it. It may be translated, 'and this (petamque &c.) is the power' &c. Comp. S. i. 9. 54.]

100. *Esquilinae alites*] On the Campus Esquilinus malefactors of the lower sort were executed, and their bodies left for the birds to devour. Compare Ep. xvii. 58, and S. i. 8. 8 n. [As to the hiatus see C. ii. 20. 13.]

CARMEN VI.

The Scholiast Porphyrion says of this ode that it is directed against some man who was given to attacking virulently unoffending persons. Acron says his name was Cassius, and that he was a slanderous poet. Compounding these statements, and amplifying them from his own head and the language of the ode, Cruquius' Scholiast makes Cassius to be Cassius Severus, an orator of great celebrity and bitterness, who was banished by Augustus, and after remaining in exile for twenty-five years died a beggar A.D. 33, more than sixty-three years after the composition of this ode. The Scholiast's authority is destroyed by his own description of Severus, who, he says, was very abusive and attacked the best of men, but was easily appeased by filling his belly and plying him with money, for which reason Horace compares him to a dog, &c. This is the language of a mere compiler, and is worthy of no credit. The silence of Porphyrion, and the positive statement of Acron that the Cassius of this ode was a poet (which we have no authority for supposing Severus was), as well as the extreme youth of Severus at the time it was written, are all opposed to the notion that he is the person attacked; and moreover so far from being the coward Horace describes, Severus boldly attacked men of influence, and suffered for doing so; and as to his avarice, it was through persisting in the course his nature inclined him to, of indiscriminate abuse, that he came to destitution and died in that condition. Although therefore Comm. Cruq. has been followed by all the editors till the present century and by some late commentators; and though Weichert has done

his best to support this opinion, I do not think he has succeeded. It may be allowed that Acron had some ground—we know not what—for calling the man Cassius, and if so the notorious orator would occur to the copyists and those by whom the inscriptions were framed, who were as ignorant as we are of the real Cassius. Estré has, with his usual exactness, given all the authorities from whom the life of Cassius Severus has been compiled, among whom not one, it appears, makes any mention of his being a poet. Kirchner supposes Maevius to be meant, and Grotefend Bavius. But if a name is retained I think it should be Cassius, it being admitted that the man is otherwise unknown, and that perhaps Horace writing when he was young, gave him more consideration than he deserved in composing this satire upon him.

ARGUMENT.

Why snarl at innocent strangers, dog, and run away from the wolf? Attack me if thou darest. I am ever ready to hunt the prey, while thou dost but bark and turn aside to fill thy belly. Beware! for I have lifted my horns even as Archilochus and Hipponax lifted theirs. If I am attacked, think'st thou I will stand like a child and cry?

Quid immerentes hospites vexas canis
  Ignavus adversum lupos?
Quin huc inanes, si potes, vertis minas
  Et me remorsurum petis?
Nam qualis aut Molossus aut fulvus Lacon,
  Amica vis pastoribus,
Agam per altas aure sublata nives
  Quaecunque praecedet fera:
Tu cum timenda voce complesti nemus,
  Projectum odoraris cibum.
Cave, cave: namque in malos asperrimus
  Parata tollo cornua,
Qualis Lycambae spretus infido gener,
  Aut acer hostis Bupalo.
An si quis atro dente me petiverit
  Inultus ut flebo puer?

3. *Quin—vertis*] Many MSS. have 'verte' and 'pete,' which readings are found in the Venetian edition of 1483, notwithstanding the metrical difficulty, which Cruquius gets rid of by putting 'verte' before 'si potes.' But the construction with the imperative is conversational and dramatic, and there is no reason to think Horace would say 'quin verte' when he could say 'quin vertis,' which is a direct question. [See C. iii. 11. 21 n.]

6. *Amica vis pastoribus*] Lucretius (vi. 1221) speaks of 'fida canum vis' and Virg. (Aen. iv. 132), 'odora canum vis.' It does not, therefore, express 'praesidium et custodia gregibus,' as Orelli says, but rather seems to signify 'a pack,' or something of that sort. Whatever the Molossian and Laconian dogs were, they were more used for hunting than for watching sheep, and were loved by shepherds because in packs they destroyed the wolves and beasts of prey. (Georg. iii. 405 sqq.)

13. *Lycambae — Bupalo*] Lycambes, after promising Archilochus his daughter Neobule in marriage retracted his promise, and was then attacked so sharply by the poet that he is said to have hanged himself. The same fate was supposed to have befallen Bupalus and Athenis, two sculptors, who turned the ugly features of Hipponax into ridicule [and were repaid by the poet's stinging iambics. Plin. H. N. 36. c. 5; and Sillig. Catalog. Artificum.]

16. *Inultus ut flebo puer*] The construction is 'inultus flebo ut puer.'

CARMEN VII.

This ode is referred by Franke, Kirchner (p. 22), Mitscherlich, and others, to A.U.C. 722, when the last war between Caesar Octavianus and M. Antonius broke out. Orelli refers it to the beginning of the war of Perusia, A U.C. 713-14, to which period Epode xvi. belongs. Dillenbr. refers it, without assigning any particular reasons, to the year 716, when Augustus was going against Sex. Pompeius. There is very little, if any, internal evidence as to the date. None of the chronologists give any good reason for their opinions, and the reader must judge for himself. [Ritter maintains that this ode refers to the war which was terminated by the battle of Philippi, in which Horace was (Epp. ii. 2. 46). This is the opinion of Acron. Ritter thinks that Epode xvi. refers to Philippi, and also Epode xiii. 'Omnes hos versus inter belli paratus et ardorem factos esse argumentum ipsorum docet: sed poeta patriae redditus polivisse et mitigasse videtur quaecumque in strepitu armorum et partium studio concitatius composuerat.']

ARGUMENT.

Whither run ye to arms?—hath not blood enough of Romans been shed? 'Tis not to burn the walls of Carthage, or humble the Briton, but that the Parthian may rejoice in seeing Rome fall by her own hand. The beasts do not war upon their kind. Is it madness, or force irresistible, or wickedness that drives you? They are dumb: they answer not. 'Tis even so: the blood of Remus is visited on the destinies of Rome.

Quo, quo scelesti ruitis? aut cur dexteris
  Aptantur enses conditi?
Parumne campis atque Neptuno super
  Fusum est Latini sanguinis,
Non ut superbas invidae Karthaginis
  Romanus arces ureret,
Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
  Sacra catenatus via,

2. *conditi*] Swords which were lately sheathed.

7. *Intactus*] See C. iii. 24. 1. What Horace means to say is, "the blood that has been spilt in these civil wars has been shed not for the destruction of Carthage, as in the war that Scipio led, or that the Briton might be led in chains, as he was by C. Julius Caesar, but for the destruction of Rome herself." 'Intactus' means 'untouched' till Caesar invaded Britain and carried away prisoners, many of whom walked in his triumph. The first time after Caesar that a Roman army invaded Britain was in the expedition of Claudius, A.D. 43.

8. *Sacra catenatus via*] See C. iv. 2. 35 n. The procession commenced (according to the account given in that note) at the Porta Triumphalis at the foot of the Mons Capitolinus on the north, and passed out of that gate into the Campus Martius, which lay between it and the river. After making the circuit of the Campus it entered the city again by the Porta Carmentalis, at the south extremity of the Mons Capitolinus, where it entered the Velabrum, the space between that hill and Mons Aventinus. Crossing the Velabrum it passed by the Circus Maximus, which lay between the last-named hill and Mons Palatinus, round which it wound to the left till it reached the spot where afterwards was built the arch of Constantine, on the eastern side, opposite the spot where Vespasian built the Amphitheatre that bore his name, Amphitheatrum Flavianum, or, as it is now usually called, the Colosseum. Keeping still to the left the procession came to the Templum Veneris, adjoining which was the Templum Romae. Here the Via Sacra commenced and continued past the Templum Pacis, near to which stands the Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore.

Sed ut secundum vota Parthorum sua
Urbs haec periret dextera?
Neque hic lupis mos nec fuit leonibus
Unquam nisi in dispar feris.
Furorne caecus, an rapit vis acrior,
An culpa? Responsum date.
Tacent et albus ora pallor inficit
Mentesque perculsae stupent.
Sic est: acerba fata Romanos agunt
Scelusque fraternae necis,
Ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi
Sacer nepotibus cruor.

There a slight descent commences leading to the Templum Faustinae and that of Antoninus Pius (according to Fea, but the situation of that Temple seems to be very uncertain). Then the procession passed through the Forum till it reached the spot where was afterwards built and still stands the arch of Septimius Severus, close to which, under the east side of the Mons Capitolinus, was the Carcer Tullianus or Mamertinus, the great prison built, as tradition said, by Servius Tullius. At the above spot the captives were taken off to this prison, as Jugurtha was, and usually strangled at once. The procession then having arrived near the gate it started from, wound its way up the Mons Capitolinus till it reached the Capitol. If this description, which a map of the city will enable the student to follow, be correct, and if the whole circuit of the Campus Martius was traversed, the distance passed over must have been not less than six miles. The part of the road which Horace (C. iv. 2. 35) calls the 'Sacer clivus,' is the above-named declivity between the Templum Pacis and the Forum.

12. *Unquam*] Some of the old editions have 'nunquam,' as that of 1483, where for 'dispar' we have 'disparibus,' showing a careless copyist. The same reading was found by Bentley in the edition of 1490, and is printed in his text, but the edition of 1490 is a reprint of the other, and that of the Florentine edition of the previous year, which Fea says has the same reading. It was easily perpetuated as being at the first glance more intelligible. But there is no MS. authority for 'nunquam,' and the only objection to 'unquam' is the somewhat redundant character of the word 'feris,' which Orelli excuses on the score of the author's youth, but Dillenbr. and others think a striking beauty, as giving emphasis to the word, as if it meant 'fierce as they are.' 'Genus,' said by Lambinus to be the reading of many MSS., is an evident gloss. Compare a beautiful passage of Juvenal (Sat. xv. 159 sqq.): "Sed jam serpentum major concordia. . . . convenit ursis." Augustin (de Civ. Dei, xii. 22): "Neque enim unquam inter se leones aut inter se dracones qualia homines inter se bella gesserunt." 'Dispar' signifies an animal of another species.

13. *Furorne caecus*] This is the reading of most MSS. Bentley from two or three has 'caecos,' which is a good reading too, as (Sat. ii. 3. 44) 'caecum agit.' Aen. ii. 356: "Quos improba ventris Exegit caecos rabies." [Keller has 'caecos.'] 'Vis acrior' seems to be an absolute expression (not comparative with 'furor'), and equivalent, as Lambinus says, to θεοῦ βία, θεοβλάβεια; and it is so explained by Gaius with reference to such a visitation of God as a storm, earthquake, and so forth (Dig. 19. 2. 25. § 5): "Vis major, quam Graeci θεοῦ βίαν appellant, non debet conductori damnosa esse, si plus quam tolerabile est laesi fuerint fructus." Horace means some irresistible force. [Ritter and Keller have 'ora pallor albus,' as many good MSS. have, and Ritter thinks that this order of the words is better.]

19. *Ut immerentis*] 'Ut' signifies 'ever since,' as C. iv. 4. 42, and elsewhere. See Key's L. G. 1457. 1. Horace here fetches his reasons from a distant source, more fanciful than natural. He wrote more to the purpose afterwards, C. i. 2; ii. 1. ['Sacer nepotibus,' 'a curse on posterity.' Ritter explains 'sacer' by ἅγος.]

CARMEN VIII.

ROGARE longo putidam te saeculo
  Vires quid enervet meas!
Cum sit tibi dens ater et rugis vetus
  Frontem senectus exaret,
Hietque turpis inter aridas nates
  Podex velut crudae bovis.
Sed incitat me pectus et mammae putres,
  Equina quales ubera,
Venterque mollis et femur tumentibus
  Exile suris additum.
Esto beata, funus atque imagines
  Ducant triumphales tuum,
Nec sit marita quae rotundioribus
  Onusta baccis ambulet.
Quid, quod libelli Stoici inter sericos
  Jacere pulvillos amant;
Illiterati num minus nervi rigent,
  Minusve languet fascinum?
Quod ut superbo provoces ab inguine,
  Ore allaborandum est tibi.

CARMEN IX.

The date of this ode cannot be mistaken. It was written when the news of Actium was fresh, in September, A.U.C. 723, immediately before the 37th of the first Book. It is addressed to Maecenas, and it is impossible to read it and suppose he had just arrived from Actium, where some will have it he was engaged. As to Sanadon, he thinks Horace wrote to Maecenas while he was still on the other side of the water, which is absurd.

ARGUMENT.

When shall we drink under thy tall roof, Maecenas, to Caesar the conqueror, as late we did when the son of Neptune lost his fleet and fled,—he who threatened us all with the chains his slaves had worn? Will our sons believe it? Romans have sold themselves to serve a woman and her eunuchs, and the luxurious gauze hath fluttered among the standards of war. But their allies deserted to our side, and their ships skulked from the fight. Io Triumphe! bring forth the golden chariot and the sacrifice. So great a conqueror never came from Africa to Rome. The enemy hath changed his purple for mourning, and hath fled to Crete or the Syrtes, or knoweth not whither to fly. Bigger cups, boy,—Chian, or Lesbian, or Cæcuban,—we will drown our old anxieties for Caesar in wine.

QUANDO repostum Caecubum ad festas dapes
  Victore laetus Caesare
Tecum sub alta—sic Jovi gratum—domo,
  Beate Maecenas, bibam
Sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra,
  Hac Dorium, illis barbarum?
Ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius
  Dux fugit ustis navibus,

3. *sub alta—domo*] This was the house built by Maecenas in the gardens of the Esquiliae. See Introduction to S. i. 8.

6. *barbarum*] Phrygian, for which this was a common equivalent as opposed to Graecian. So (Epp. i. 2. 7) "Graecia barbariae lento collisa duello." Aen. ii. 504: "Barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi." Catull. (lxiv. 265): "Barbaraque horribili stridebat tibia cantu." See C. iii. 19. 18 n.; and iv. 15. 30 n., on the plural 'tibiis.'

7. *nuper*] [Ritter puts a comma after 'barbarum' and the interrogation after 'perfidis' v. 10. He explains 'ut nuper' in the same way as it is explained in the Argument.] This was nearly six years before, when Sextus Pompeius was defeated by Agrippa off Naulochus on the coast of Sicily, A.U.C. 718, when his fleet was burnt and he himself obliged to fly to Asia. Horace says he threatened to fasten upon the free citizens those chains which he had taken from the fugitive slaves who formed a large part of his force. Sextus appears to have boasted that Neptune was his father and the sea his mother: ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοιᾷδε εὐκαιρίᾳ τοσοῖσδε ναυαγίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν ἠξίου· ἀλλ' ἔθυε μόνον θαλάσσῃ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ υἱὸς αὐτῶν ὑφίστατο καλεῖσθαι (Appian. B. C. v. 100). "Is tum occupata Sicilia servitia fugitivosque in numerum exercitus sui recipiens magnum modum legionum effecerat, perque Menam et Menecratem, paternos libertos, praefectos classium, latrociniis ac praedationibus infestato mari, ad se exercitumque tuendum rapto utebatur, cum eum non depuderet vindicatum armis ac ductu patris sui mare infestare piraticis sceleribus" (Vell. Paterc. ii. 73). In his life, in Smith's Dict., there is an engraving of a coin, on the reverse of which is Neptune standing on a column erected on a war galley. See Epod. iv. 19, and Introduction.

Minatus Urbi vincla, quae detraxerat
Servis amicus perfidis.
Romanus,—eheu, posteri negabitis—
Emancipatus feminae
Fert vallum et arma miles et spadonibus
Servire rugosis potest,
Interque signa turpe militaria
Sol adspicit conopium.
At huc frementes verterunt bis mille equos
Galli canentes Caesarem,
Hostiliumque navium portu latent
Puppes sinistrorsum citae.

12. *Emancipatus*] "'Mancipatio' is the form by which a person who was not 'sui juris' was transferred to the 'potestas' of another, as in the case of adoption. 'Emancipare' is the proper term to express the making a person 'sui juris' by the act of 'mancipatio;' but 'mancipo' and 'emaucipo' are often confounded in the MSS." (Long's note on Cic. de Senect. c. xi.: "Si nemini mancipata est.") See also, by the same author, art. 'Mancipium,' Smith's Dict. Ant. If 'emancipatus' is the true reading, it can only signify 'sold into slavery.' The instances quoted by Orelli from Plautus (Bacchid. i. 1. 59), "tibi me emancipo," and Cicero (Phil. ii. 21), "venditum atque emancipatum tribunatum," are suspicious: in each case 'emancipo' follows a word whose last letter is 'e.' [One MS. of Cicero (Phil. ii. 21) has 'mancipatum,' and it is the proper word.]

16. *conopium*] A gauze musquito curtain. Some MSS. have 'conopeum,' and so Lambinus and Cruquius. The Greek is κωνωπεῖον, and according to analogy it would be written κωνώπιον if the Romans wished to shorten the penult, as κηρύκειον, κηρύκιον, &c., on which grounds Bentley says that it should be written 'conopium' or 'conopeum,' according as the penult is short or long. It is long in Juvenal (Sat. vi. 80): "Ut testudineo tibi, Lentule, conopeo." In Propert. (iii. 11. 45) it is short: "Foedaque Tarpeio conopia tendere saxo." [Ritter puts a comma after 'arma,' by which mode of reading the line 'miles' is attached to 'spadonibus,' and the passage is more effective. In a useful note he shows that Horace often places 'et' in this manner, as 'blandum et' C. i. 12. 11, &c. In order to get rid of the 'e' in 'emancipatus' I propose 'et mancipatus feminae fert arma,' 'a Roman both enslaved to a woman carries arms, and as a soldier obeys eunuchs.']

17. *At huc*] The MSS. vary so much that the true reading is very difficult to determine. The greater number of MSS., and all the older editions, have 'ad hunc,' which is the reading followed by the Scholiasts Acron and Porphyrion, though Bentley, by not quoting the latter correctly, makes him favour his reading, 'ad hoc.' 'Ad hunc' is rendered 'against him,' that is, Antonius, who has not been mentioned but is sufficiently implied in the preceding verses. [Ritter, who has 'ad hunc frementes' explains it 'adversus militem spadonibus servientem frementes.'] Orelli and Dillenbr., deserting the MSS., adopt the conjecture of Fea, 'at hoc,' and join 'hoc' with 'frementes.' It appears to me to give but a lame sentence, and I prefer following good MSS. 'At huc' were the words Cruquius' commentator had before him, and Cruquius found them in two of his MSS., and in others as a various reading. Orelli mentions others that have the same. 'Huc,' as Cruquius and his Scholiast remark, means 'to our side,' as Velleius (ii. 84) says, "*Hinc* ad Antonium nemo, *illinc* ad Caesarem quotidie aliquid transfugiebat." 'Frementes' will then go with 'equos,' to which it appears naturally to belong. Horace means that part of the enemy's force deserted to Caesar. For the expression 'canentes Caesarem' compare Virg. (Aen. vii. 698): "Ibant aequati numero regemque canebant." The 'Gauls' were cavalry of Galatia (or Gallograecia) under Deiotarus their king, and his general (who afterwards succeeded him) Amyntas. See Juv. (vii. 16): "Altera quos nudo traducit Gallia talo." [Vertĕrunt,' as Ritter remarks.]

Io Triumphe, tu moraris aureos
Currus et intactas boves?
Io Triumphe, nec Jugurthino parem
Bello reportasti ducem,
Neque Africanum, cui super Karthaginem
Virtus sepulcrum condidit.

20. *sinistrorsum citae*] These words may refer to the desertion of Antonius' naval force, as the foregoing refer to his troops. Some of his ships either did not enter the battle or quitted it and took shelter in some neighbouring harbour. Whether Horace means to be so precise as to determine the true position of this harbour, I think doubtful, though there are plenty of harbours in the Ambracian Gulf to which they may have fled. The Scholiasts and nearly all the old commentators understand 'sinistrorsum' to mean 'towards Alexandria,' and the flight of Antonius and Cleopatra to be meant; but it was not known whither Antonius had fled when the messenger came to Rome and this ode was written. I believe the meaning of the words to be impenetrably obscure from our ignorance of the ancient nautical phrases; but if we take 'sinistrorsum' as signifying literally 'to the left,' it must be understood that the deserting ships made their escape from the scene of action into the gulf, and there remained till the battle was over. Bentley, without acknowledging that Heinsius had preceded him with the same notion, supposes 'sinistrorsum citae' may be equivalent to πρύμναν κρούσασθαι, 'to back water.' Something of that sort, connected with flight, I have no doubt it means. Whether Horace exactly states what he had heard, and whether the information was precisely correct, we cannot tell. He wrote while the tidings were fresh, and probably gave only popular reports. The defection of the Galatians is mentioned by Plutarch (Ant. 63). 'Citae' is the participle of 'ciere.'

21. *Io Triumphe*] Triumphus is personified, as in C. iv. 2. 49.

— *aureos currus*] Philostratus (i. 7), in his life of Dion, the sophist, says, the Emperor Trajan used to take him up by his side on the gilded chariot used by conquerors in their triumphs. The form of the chariot is described by Zonaras (vii. 21) as that of a round tower: τὸ δὲ δὴ ἅρμα οὔτε ἀγωνιστηρίῳ οὔτε πολεμιστηρίῳ ἦν ἐμφερές, ἀλλ' εἰς πύργου περιφεροῦς τρόπον ἐξείργαστο (quoted by Turnebus, ii. 16). Four horses, which on special occasions were white, were used for drawing the triumphal chariot. Heifers that had not been under the yoke were offered in sacrifice at the close of the procession. Scipio Africanus Minor triumphed in A.U.C. 608, and Marius in 650.

25. *cui super Karthaginem*] All that is here said about Scipio's tomb is that his valour built him one on the ruins of Carthage, which is no more than a repetition of C. iv. 8. 17. Acron's story that the Romans, by command of the oracle, built a tomb to Scipio at the mouth of the Tiber looking towards Carthage, is no doubt a fabrication; and Turnebus' note, "cujus sepulchro eversae Carthaginis titulus subscriptus est," if it were true would have nothing to do with Horace's words. No doubt the conquest of Carthage was, as he says, "titulo res digna sepulchri" (Juv. vi. 230). But Horace is speaking of a tomb of renown, in which Scipio's memory is enshrined, not his body. Bentley has a long note here, the substance of which is this: 'Africanum' may mean either the elder or younger Scipio; if the elder is understood, we must suppose that 'sepulchrum' means Ennius' poem (C. iv. 8. 17 n.), which was to him a tomb or monument 'surpassing Carthage;' but if the younger is meant, then he proposes to change 'cui' into 'quo,' that we may have 'quo super,' 'on whose behalf,' and the tomb his valour built him was Carthage. He proves that Statius (Silv. ii. 7. 72) calls Lucan's Pharsalia "Pompeio sepulchrum;" and in an epigram in the Anthology, Hector claims Homer's poem as his tomb. No one can deny that 'quo super' may mean 'on behalf of whom,' and that Carthage might be called Scipio's tomb, as Salamis is Themistocles' in another epigram. But why the reading of all the MSS., which is 'cui,' should be abandoned for 'quo,' it is difficult to tell. I think it refers to the younger Scipio, which gives the most obvious meaning. The reference to Ennius' poem would be too obscure. The application to the elder is as old as Cruquius' Scholiast. [Ritter takes the reading 'Africano' with which 'bello' must be

Terra marique victus hostis punico
  Lugubre mutavit sagum.
Aut ille centum nobilem Cretam urbibus
  Ventis iturus non suis,
Exercitatas aut petit Syrtes Noto,
  Aut fertur incerto mari.
Capaciores affer huc, puer, scyphos
  Et Chia vina aut Lesbia.
Vel, quod fluentem nauseam coërceat,
  Metire nobis Caecubum :
Curam metumque Caesaris rerum juvat
  Dulci Lyaeo solvere.

supplied, but then 'cui' cannot be explained.]

27. *Terra marique*] There was no land engagement; but all Antonius' forces, when he deserted them, laid down their arms. 'Punicum sagum' is called by the Greek writers *φοινικίς*. So Plutarch (Brut. c. 53): *τὸν δὲ Βροῦτον ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνευρὼν τεθνηκότα, τὸ μὲν σῶμα τῇ πολυτελεστάτῃ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φοινικίδων περιβαλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ὕστερον δὲ τὴν φοινικίδα κεκλεμμένην αἰσθόμενος ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ὑφελόντα.* The Sagum was properly the cloak worn by the common soldier on service; but qualified as it is here by 'punicum,' 'purple,' it can only mean the paludamentum, or officer's military cloak. Horace says the enemy has changed his purple cloak for a black one in token of mourning and shame for his defeat. Though M. Antonius is clearly uppermost in the writer's mind, he only uses the general expressions 'hostis,' 'Romanus' (v. 11). 'Mutavit' signifies as elsewhere, 'has taken in exchange.' [Lachmann proposed 'mutabit,' which spoils the passage.]

29. *centum—urbibus*] See C. iii. 27. 33 n. 'Ventis non suis' means 'unfavourable winds.' Ovid (Met. iv. 373): "Vota suos habuere deos." 'Metire' is equivalent to 'misce.' The wine and the water were mixed in regular proportion with the cyathus (C. iii. 19. 12).

33.] The transition here is as abrupt and expressive as in C. iii. 19. 9.

[36. *Caecubum*] 'Quia austerissimum est Caecubum vinum, merito nauseam coercet.' Porphyrion.—'Curam,' &c.: 'anxiety and fear about Caesar's interests.']

CARMEN X.

All that is known or has been conjectured about Maevius will be found in his life in Smith's Dict. Biog. He is most popularly known through Virgil's familiar line, "Qui Bavium non odit amet tua carmina, Maevi" (Ecl. iii. 90). It appears that he went or meditated going to Greece, and Horace took a different leave of him from that he took of his friend Virgil on a like occasion (C. i. 3). Attempts as usual have been made to give the ode a date, but with as little success as might be expected.

ARGUMENT.

Bad luck go with stinking Maevius. Blow, ye winds, and shatter his ship; no friendly star peep forth in the sky: let him be driven as the Greeks were by Pallas for the crime of Ajax. Oh, how the sailors will sweat; and thou wilt turn deadly pale, and cry like a woman, and fall to thy prayers! Let me only hear the gulls are feasting upon thy carcase, and I will offer a goat and a lamb to the storms.

MALA soluta navis exit alite
  Ferens olentem Maevium :
Ut horridis utrumque verberes latus,
  Auster, memento fluctibus !
Niger rudentes Eurus inverso mari
  Fractosque remos differat ;
Insurgat Aquilo quantus altis montibus
  Frangit trementes ilices ;
Nec sidus atra nocte amicum appareat
  Qua tristis Orion cadit ;
Quietiore nec feratur aequore
  Quam Graia victorum manus,
Cum Pallas usto vertit iram ab Ilio
  In impiam Ajacis ratem !
O quantus instat navitis sudor tuis,
  Tibique pallor luteus,
Et illa non virilis ejulatio,
  Preces et aversum ad Jovem,
Ionius udo cum remugiens sinus
  Noto carinam ruperit !
Opima quodsi praeda curvo litore
  Porrecta mergos juveris,
Libidinosus immolabitur caper
  Et agna Tempestatibus.

[6. *differat*] Comp. Ep. v. 99, 'different.'—'Tristis Orion :' see C. i. 28. 21.]

14. *Ajacis*] The son of Oïleus. Aen. i. 41.

17. *illa*] He speaks as though he heard the man crying.

[19. *Ionius — sinus*] Ἰόνιος κόλπος, Thucydides, i. 24, and vi. 30, the southern part of the Hadriatic, and the sea between Corcyra and Italy. Virg. Georg. ii. 108, 'Nosse quot Ionii veniant ad littora fluctus.'—'Curvo :' see C. iv. 5. 14.]

23. *immolabitur caper*] See Virg. Aen. iii. 120; v. 772; Ov. Fast. vi. 193; Aristoph. Ran. 847,—in all which places the offerings, as might be expected, are deprecatory; here they are thanksgivings.

CARMEN XI.

Supposing that Inachia (v. 6) were admitted to be the same as the Inachia of the next ode (which is very doubtful, for the name is fictitious, and the person is most probably fictitious too), we should be at liberty to say that at least two years elapsed between the composition of that ode and this; but as neither contains any certain evidence of its date, this comparison even then would be of no value for determining when they were written. Franke compares Sat. ii. 3. 325, where Damasippus charges Horace with "Mille puellarum, puerorum mille furores," with his own excuse for writing so little in this ode, "Amore, qui me praeter omnes expetit Mollibus in pueris aut in puellis urere" (vv. 3, 4); and from this infers they were written about the same time. But the Satire appears to have been written at the end of A.U.C. 721; wherefore he infers the Epode was written in that year; which however is not very convincing. I can see nothing in the ode but a specimen of that species of composition to which Horace first betook himself in imitation of the Greek amatory writers. The metre is artificial and difficult of adaptation to the Latin language, and the last that any writer in that language would resort to for the expression of passion, though in the Greek it is very expressive and tender. I do not believe therefore that this ode can be identified with any precise period of Horace's life; and to imagine him deeply in love with some young Lyciscus is quite foreign to the view I take of Horace's love poems. The name Lyciscus is probably formed from Lycus, Alcaeus' favourite boy (C. i. 32. 11).

ARGUMENT.

Pettius, I am so smitten with the heavy hand of Love, who makes me above others his victim, that I cannot write as I used. 'Tis two years since I gave up Inachia. Ah! what a byword was I then! How I sighed in company and poured out my complaints to thee when wine had opened my heart! "Has the poor man's wit no chance against the rich man's purse? My wrath is kindled: I cast my modesty and my sighs to the winds; I will contend with such rivals no more." Thus did I boast; but my feet carried me still to her cruel door. Now Lyciscus has caught my heart, who boasts that he surpasses every woman in delicacy; nor can counsel or raillery deliver me, nor aught but some new flame.

Petti, nihil me sicut antea juvat
  Scribere versiculos amore percussum gravi,
Amore qui me praeter omnes expetit
  Mollibus in pueris aut in puellis urere.

1. *Petti*] This name is not found elsewhere. It may nevertheless be a real name; for it does not savour of a Greek origin, though one editor (Sivry) has derived it from πέττοι, which is not probable. Fabricius (according to Fea) says he has found the name in inscriptions. The name is introduced, I believe, to give an air of reality to the ode, which I conceive to be a fiction throughout. Some MSS. have 'Pecti.'

2.] The MSS. vary between 'perculsum' and 'percussum;' and though Bentley argues strongly for the latter, it is not a matter to be decided with certainty. 'Perculsum' would signify 'pierced' (as by lightning, Orelli says, which he considers too strong and out of place), 'percussum,' 'struck.' Who shall say which of these two Horace wrote? Cruquius' Scholiast reads 'percussum;' his editor prefers 'perculsum.' The other Scholiasts are silent. Virgil has (Georg. ii. 476) "ingenti percussus amore," where also the MSS. vary, and in most other places of the same kind. I have followed many judicious editors who prefer 'percussum;' but some prefer 'perculsum,' as Lamb., Cruq., Gesn., Dillenbr., Mitsch., and others of good judgment. See

Hic tertius December, ex quo destiti
Inachia furere, silvis honorem decutit.
Heu me, per Urbem—nam pudet tanti mali—
Fabula quanta fui! Conviviorum et poenitet,
In quis amantem languor et silentium
Arguit et latere petitus imo spiritus.
Contrane lucrum nil valere candidum
Pauperis ingenium? querebar applorans tibi,
Simul calentis inverecundus deus
Fervidiore mero arcana promorat loco.
Quodsi meis inaestuat praecordiis
Libera bilis, ut haec ingrata ventis dividat

C. i. 7. 11. 'Me' is governed by 'expetit,' not by 'urere,' as Dillenbr.'s note would lead us to suppose, comparing "certat tollere" (C. i. 1. 8). 'Expetit—urere' is a Greek construction; 'quem urat' is the regular Latin. Bentley prefers 'aut pueris' to 'in pueris,' but assigns no good reason, and he does not adopt his own conjecture. This use of 'in' is not very common. It occurs Ov. Met. iv. 234: "Neque enim moderatus in illa Solis amor fuerat."

6. *Inachia*] This is another of those Greek names which Horace invariably adopts in his merely poetical compositions, such as I believe this ode to be (see Introd.). [Ritter, as usual, supposes Inachia to be a real woman: 'puellam Argis in urbem profectam videtur nominare.'] 'Inachiam' is a reading quoted by one of the editors, and is supported by the double construction with 'ardere;' but nearly all the MSS. are in favour of the ablative.

— *honorem decutit*] This expression is used by Virgil, who either borrowed it from Horace, or from some common original (Georg. ii. 404): "Frigidus et silvis Aquilo decussit honorem." Some suppose that Horace copied Virgil, and therefore that this ode was written after the publication of the Georgics. See C. i. 17. 16: "Ruris honorum opulenta."

8. *Fabula*] Epp. i. 13. 9: "Fabula fias."

— *Conviviorum et poenitet*] Bentley conjectures 'ut poenitet,' which has no authority, but if there were any MSS. in its favour I would adopt it. 'Arguit' (v. 10) is the perfect tense. [Ritter says that the meaning is 'et quantum conviviorum paenitet,' 'quantum' being drawn out of 'fabula quanta fui.' Both he and Keller place a comma after 'fui.']

11. *Contrane*] Many MSS. and old editions (not Venet. 1483) have 'contraque,' and that was the reading of Acron and Porphyrion, not of Comm. Cruq. "Contrane" is better. "Can it be that the honest genius of the poor man has no influence against gold?" 'Ne' might be omitted, but then it would be a mere exclamation "to think that," &c. 'Applorans' is not found elsewhere, except in Seneca. (Forcell.)

13. [*Simul*] See C. i. 12. 27. 'Soon as the god had brought out from their place the secrets of one (myself) warmed with wine' as Ritter says, and the argument expresses.]

— *inverecundus deus*] When Horace means to discourage brawling over wine, he calls Bacchus 'verecundus' (C. i. 27. 3). The best works of art represent this god as young and effeminately beautiful, with long hair like Apollo, as the emblem of eternal youth. [In Dr. Billing's work 'The Science of Gems, &c., Ancient and Modern,' there is a representation of Pistrucci's cameo of Young Bacchus (No. 125).] It is a coarse modern notion to represent him as a jolly round-faced boy, or a drunken sot. This character belongs to Silenus, who is always drunk. "We have readily retained that idea of this attendant of Bacchus in our northern drinking part of the world, and so have mixed up the youth of Bacchus with the plumpness and sottishness of Silenus; and to finish all, instead of an ass we set him usually astride a tun" (Spence, Polymetis, p. 131, fol. edit.). Bacchus (C. ii. 19. 30) had horns assigned him as the son of Jupiter Ammon, called Corniger, and Alexander took this emblem because he too affected to be the son of Ammon, and brother of Bacchus. "Eodem nempe quo frater Bacchus instituto; cui ideo cornua adscribit Diodorus (lib. iii. p. 206) quod Corni-

Fomenta vulnus nil malum levantia,
Desinet imparibus certare summotus pudor.
Ubi haec severus te palam laudaveram,
Jussus abire domum ferebar incerto pede
Ad non amicos heu mihi postes et heu
Limina dura, quibus lumbos et infregi latus.
Nunc gloriantis quamlibet mulierculam
Vincere mollitie amor Lycisci me tenet,

geri Ammonis esset filius" (Spanheim de Numism. Dissert. vii.). *ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἄμμωνος υἱὸς εἶναι καὶ κεράσφορος ἀναπλάττεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀγαλματοποιῶν* (Clem. Alex Protrept. p. 36).

15. *Quodsi meis*] He means to say that his wrath has got the better of his love and modesty; and he will cast his complaints to the winds, and cease to contend with rivals that are unworthy of him. This supposes the common reading 'inaestuet' to be wrong, which I believe it is. [Ritter and Keller have 'inaestuet.'] Doering and Gesner have 'inaestuat,' and it appears to me that the indicative is the proper form here. The subjunctive could only be rendered as an hypothetical threat (as Cruquius says) that if he could only get up his wrath sufficiently to cast his complaints away, he would abandon Inachia; which does not appear very good sense. 'Si' is not hypothetical, but affirmative, and the whole is a positive resolution made one moment and broken the next; otherwise the inconsistency of the lover's conduct is lost. 'Fomenta' means 'sighs' and 'complainings' with which grief is sought to be relieved. Lambinus, Turnebus, and others take 'fomenta' for 'alimenta,' 'thoughts which foster love and sorrow;' but that is disproved by the words that follow: 'vulnus nil malum levantia.' Such ineffectual remedies are elsewhere called "frigida curarum fomenta" (Epp. i. 3. 26). 'Fomenta' are there glory and such like rewards. 'Libera bilis,' 'unrestrained wrath,' as above (Ep. iv. 10), "liberrima indignatio." 'Imparibus' signifies his rivals who are beneath him in mind though his betters in fortune. With the exception of 'imparibus' and 'fomenta,' Turnebus (Adv. xxv. 20) gives the usual acceptation of the passage: "Fomenta—si virili quadam ira in praecordiis aestuante dimiserit, praesertim ingrata nec vulnus amoris levantia—'me,' inquit, 'paulo inverecundius geram, nec ita pudenter summittam amicae, sed eam aspernabor desinamque sectari imparem neque redamantem.'" 'Desinet certare summotus pudor' is equivalent to 'desinam certare summoto pudore.' 'Imparibus' is the dative case. See C. i. 1. 15 n. 'Inaestuo' is not used elsewhere, but Horace is free in his use of prepositions in composition, after the manner of the Greeks. 'Palam' is used both as an adverb and a preposition. 'Laudaveram' is equivalent to 'jactaveram,' which use Forcell. does not notice.

20. *incerto pede*] With steps that would go one way and are forced to go another. Some have interpreted 'incerto' 'reeling' from the effects of wine, and so destroy the effect of the whole passage, in which the poet obviously represents himself as making fine boasts before his friend, but striving in vain to keep them when he leaves him. So Tibull. (ii. 6. 11):—

"Magna loquor; sed magnifice mihi magna locuto
Excutiunt clausae fortia verba fores.
Juravi quoties rediturum ad limina nunquam!
Cum bene juravi, pes tamen ipse redit."

Baxter, as usual, takes 'incerto' *διλόγως*, as applying to the unsteadiness of the foot and purpose too. 'Non amicos heu mihi postes' is elsewhere "asperas porrectum ante fores" (C. iii. 10. 2), where 'porrectum' explains 'lumbos et infregi latus,' 'I wearied my body by lying on the hard ground.' ['Fores et limina Lycisci,' Ritter; but the interpretation in the Argument is perhaps right.]

24. *mollitie amor*] The hiatus in this verse, and the short syllable in v. 26, are explained by the rule that, the two verses being composed of two separate measures, the last syllable in each is common, and independent of the syllable that follows. [Ritter and Keller have 'mollitia.']

26. *Libera consilia*] 'Candid counsels,' opposed to 'contumeliae graves;' but neither are meant seriously.

28. *teretis pueri*] 'Smooth-faced boy.'

Unde expedire non amicorum queant
  Libera consilia nec contumeliae graves,
Sed alius ardor aut puellae candidae
  Aut teretis pueri longam renodantis comam.

See note on C. i. 1. 28 ['round-limbed' is better.] As to 'longam comam,' see C. iv. 10. 3 n. 'Renodantis,' which some render 'untying, and allowing to flow upon his shoulders,' means rather tying up in a knot like a girl. Valerius Flaccus uses it in the other sense, which Forcell. does not notice: "Teque renodatam pharetris ac pace fruentem," i. e. 'Dianam' (Argon. v. 381). As the word is not found any where else, perhaps this writer took it from Horace, mistaking or altering the meaning. I find 'renidentis' in the Venetian edition of 1483, and Gesner mentions that reading from the Bodleian MS., but there is no weight to be attached to it.

CARMEN XII.

Quid tibi vis, mulier nigris dignissima barris?
  Munera quid mihi quidve tabellas
Mittis nec firmo juveni neque naris obesae?
  Namque sagacius unus odoror,
Polypus an gravis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis,
  Quam canis acer ubi lateat sus.
Qui sudor vietis et quam malus undique membris
  Crescit odor, cum pene soluto
Indomitam properat rabiem sedare; neque illi
  Jam manet humida creta colorque
Stercore fucatus crocodili, jamque subando
  Tenta cubilia tectaque rumpit!
Vel mea cum saevis agitat fastidia verbis:
  Inachia langues minus ac me;
Inachiam ter nocte potes, mihi semper ad unum
  Mollis opus. Pereat male quae te
Lesbia quaerenti taurum monstravit inertem,
  Cum mihi Cous adesset Amyntas,
Cujus in indomito constantior inguine nervus
  Quam nova collibus arbor inhaeret.
Muricibus Tyriis iteratae vellera lanae
  Cui properabantur? Tibi nempe,
Ne foret aequales inter conviva magis quem
  Diligeret mulier sua quam te.
O ego non felix, quam tu fugis ut pavet acres
  Agna lupos capreaeque leones!

CARMEN XIII.

This ode is like the ninth of the first book,—a convivial song written in winter. A political allusion is extracted from v. 7 as from v. 9 of the other ode, and in either case we may suppose it possible that the troubles of the times are included in those anxieties which were to be left to the gods. But this proves nothing as to time, except that they were both written before the close of the civil wars, which is certain as respects this ode, and very probable as to the other. There can be little doubt of the subject as well as the metre being imitated from the Greek. The reference to Achilles reminds us of C. i. 8, and of the allusion to Teucer (C. i. 7). There is a fragment of Anacreon (6 Bergk) which bears some likeness to the opening of this Epode:—

μεὶς μὲν δὴ Ποσιδηϊών
ἕστηκεν, νεφέλη δ' ὕδωρ
* * * βαρὺ δ' ἄγριοι
χειμῶνες παταγεῦσιν.

ARGUMENT.

The tempest is raging, let us make merry, my friends, while we are young, and leave the rest to the gods who will give us a good turn yet. Bring ointment and music, as Chiron taught his great pupil, saying, "To Troy thou must go and not return; while there drown care in wine and song, which are grief's pleasant comforters."

Horrida tempestas caelum contraxit et imbres
  Nivesque deducunt Jovem; nunc mare, nunc siluae
Threïcio Aquilone sonant: rapiamus, amici,
  Occasionem de die, dumque virent genua

1. *contraxit*] This word may be explained by observing the different aspect of the sky when it is closed in with clouds, and when it is spread out in all its breadth and cloudless. A frowning sky is a notion easily understood, and common to all languages.

2. *Jovem*] See C. i. 1. 25; i. 16. 12. Virgil (Ecl. vii. 60): "Jupiter et laeto descendet plurimus imbri." Georg. ii. 325:—

"Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus aether
Conjugis in gremium laetae descendit."

3. *rapiamus, amici, occasionem de die*] This is explained by C. iii. 8. 27: "Dona praesentis cape laetus horae." 'Die' means the present day as opposed to to-morrow, not, as some take it, 'from this stormy day.' Bentley proposes 'amice' for 'amici' because of v. 6; but 'tu' refers to the symposiarch. Fea, following Cruquius, supposes the ode to be addressed to one person, and the storm to be a figurative way of expressing the state of public affairs, which is absurd. He and some others make 'amici' the nominative case.

4. *dumque virent genua*] See C. i. 9. 17 n. The commentators quote Pliny (N. H. xi. c. 45): "Genibus hominum inest quaedam religio observatione gentium: haec supplices attingunt, ad haec manus tendunt, haec ut aras adorant; fortasse quia inest iis vitalitas." But these last words have no meaning. What vitality is there in the knees more than in any other part? The strength of an active man lies very much in his legs, and so they are put for his strength, as in the 147th Psalm (v. 10): "He delighteth not in the strength of the horse: he taketh not pleasure in the legs of a man:" and the knees are a chief part of the legs, therefore γούνατα λύειν is used for κτείνειν. The expression θεῶν ἐν γού-

Et decet, obducta solvatur fronte senectus.
Tu vina Torquato move consule pressa meo.
Cetera mitte loqui: deus haec fortasse benigna
Reducet in sedem vice. Nunc et Achaemenio
Perfundi nardo juvat et fide Cyllenea
Levare diris pectora sollicitudinibus;
Nobilis ut grandi cecinit Centaurus alumno:
Invicte, mortalis dea nate puer Thetide,
Te manet Assaraci tellus, quam frigida parvi
Findunt Scamandri flumina lubricus et Simoïs,

νασι κεῖται (Odyss. i. 267), which Dillenbr. quotes, and which the Scholiast explains *ἐν θεῶν ἐξουσίᾳ ἐστί*, has no bearing upon this passage. It rather seems akin to that expression of Solomon (Prov. c. xvi. v. 33), "The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord." But, however this may be, 'dum virent genua' means merely 'while our limbs are strong and we are young.' (C. i. 9. 17.) Dacier says truly the tottering of the knees is one of the first signs of old age.

5. *obducta—fronte*] 'Clouded brow.' So Juvenal (S. ix. 1, 2):—

"Scire velim quare toties mihi, Naevole, tristis
Occurras fronte obducta."

Eur. (Phoen. 1328), *ἀλλὰ γὰρ Κρέοντα λεύσσω τόνδε δεῦρο συννεφῆ—στείχοντα.* 'Senectus' is nowhere else used in this sense of 'melancholy,' though 'senium' is not uncommonly. See Forcell., who does not notice this use of 'senectus.' 'Tu' is the master of the feast. Sex. Manlius Torquatus was consul A.U.C. 689, when Horace was born. Compare "O nata mecum consule Manlio" (iii. 21. 1).

7. *Cetera*] See Introduction, and C. i. 9. 9: "Permitte divis caetera."

8. *in sedem*] The commentators quote the words of Augustus' edict (Suet. Octav. 28): "Ita mihi salvam ac sospitem Rem Publicam sistere in sua sede liceat."

— *Achaemenio*] Venet. 1483, and nearly all the editions till Bentley's, with Comm. Cruq. and many MSS., have 'Achaemenia.' But 'nardum' is the word, not 'nardus,' as in Epod. v. 59: "Nardo perunctum quale non perfectius——."

9. *fide Cyllenea*] The lyre invented by Mercury, born on Mount Cyllene in Arcadia. 'Diris,' not 'duris,' is the reading of the oldest editions and nearly all the MSS. Bentley prefers the latter.

11. *Centaurus*] Cheiron, the instructor of Achilles. Orelli has collected a large number of places in which this subject is mentioned. Whether Horace took what follows from any story or not it is impossible to determine, as in the similar episode of Teucer in C. i. 7.

— *grandi*] Juvenal (vii. 210) describes Achilles as a big boy at school, "Metuens virgae jam grandis Achilles Cantabat patriis in montibus;" but 'grandis' has not that meaning here, though some have supposed it has.

13. *frigida*] This is an adaptation of Homer's description (Il. xxii. 151): *ἡ δ' ἑτέρη θέρεϊ προρέει εἰκυῖα χαλάζῃ Ἢ χιόνι ψυχρῇ.* 'Domus Assaraci,' 'proles Assaraci,' are common in Virgil. Assaracus was great-grandfather of Aeneas. Homer took a more heroic view of the dimensions of the river Scamander, which was *μέγας ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης* (Il. xx. 73). Bentley suggests 'proni' for 'parvi;' others have proposed 'pravi' (that is, 'tortuous'), 'puri,' 'flavi,' 'tardi.' But the MSS. do not vary. ['Lubricus:' smooth-flowing.]

15. *subtemine*] 'The woof of the web.' 'Certo subtemine' means only by an unalterable destiny. There is no need of Bentley's alteration to 'curto,' nor of taking 'certo subtemine' with 'Parcae,' as if it were the adverb of quality, signifying the 'Parcae' whose woof of destiny is unalterable. See Catull. 64. 328, &c.: "Currite ducentes subtemina currite fusi." 'Mater caerula' means Thetis, not the sea, as Com. Cruq. supposes.

18. *alloquiis*] If the true reading is without any conjunction, 'alloquiis' would appear to be in apposition with 'vino cantuque.' There is no other instance of 'alloquium' being used otherwise than with reference to conversation. But Horace may have followed, after his custom of imitating the Greeks, the use of *παρα-*

Unde tibi reditum certo subtemine Parcae
  Rupere, nec mater domum caerula te revehet.
Illic omne malum vino cantuque levato,
  Deformis aegrimoniae dulcibus alloquiis.

μύθιον, *παρηγορία*, which were applied in a derived sense to any thing that gave relief to sorrow. Otherwise we must introduce a conjunction somewhere, and I should prefer it at the end of the previous verse to the place where Bentley proposes to place it, after 'aegrimoniae,' which he supposes to depend upon 'malum.' In that case 'alloquiis' would merely mean 'conversation,' unless, as Bentley suggests, Horace meant it in another sense, as 'lenes sub noctem susurri,' which I do not believe. But I do not think a conjunction is wanted.

CARMEN XIV.

That Maecenas was not married, or engaged to be married, in A.U.C. 720, is inferred from the fact that in a letter written in that year to Augustus by M. Antonius he taunts him with carrying on an intrigue with Terentia (Suet. Octav. 69, quoted by Franke). Kirchner (Qu. Hor. p. 28) supposes Maecenas did not marry till he had built his house on the Campus Esquilinus, A.U.C. 721-22. His domestic happiness was not of long continuance. But he could hardly have come to the end of it when Horace wrote this ode, in which allusion is plainly made to Terentia and her husband's affection for her (supposing them to have been married at the time, and not merely betrothed, as Kirchner imagines). These data leave a wide space for the composition of the ode. The object of it is to excuse Horace for his indolence in not having finished a poem, or volume of poems, he had long promised. It is generally assumed that this 'carmen olim promissum' was the book of Epodes we now possess. If so, the ode was not written long before the publication of the volume: for if it had long been promised and was anxiously expected (as Bentley says), we can hardly suppose that after being stirred up by his patron, and with the leisure he must have had at his farm, Horace would have kept Maecenas and all his friends in further suspense for any length of time, especially when we consider that the work was not an Aeneid, but a mere collection of comparative trifles, some of which must have been written early, and few of them could have cost the author any particular amount of thought. Now one of these odes at least (C. ix.) was written as late as 723, being composed immediately after the battle of Actium, and the first is almost universally allowed to have been written just before that battle. The book therefore, under this explanation of 'promissum carmen,' was not published at the earliest till towards the end of A.U.C. 723, and thus the ode apologizing for its delay could not have been written much before then. Franke assigns two odes (2 and 17) to the following year 724, while this apology he places in 721-22. In this case Horace must have gone on dawdling with his book at a very slow rate, which under these circumstances it is difficult to account for.

After all it is doubtful whether 'promissum carmen' means this book of Epodes. Doering considers it certain that it was a single poem. (See note on v. 8.)

ARGUMENT.

Thou killest me, my noble Maecenas, asking again and again if I have drunk the waters of Lethe. It is love, it is love that keeps back the verses I have promised, such love as Anacreon wept in his flowing numbers for Bathyllus the Samian. Thou too feelest the flame, and if thou art more blessed than I am, be thankful. Thou lovest the most beautiful of women: I am in torment for a strumpet.

MOLLIS inertia cur tantam diffuderit imis
  Oblivionem sensibus,
Pocula Lethaeos ut si ducentia somnos
  Arente fauce traxerim,
Candide Maecenas, occidis saepe rogando:
  Deus, deus nam me vetat
Inceptos, olim promissum carmen, iambos
  Ad umbilicum adducere.
Non aliter Samio dicunt arsisse Bathyllo
  Anacreonta Teïum,
Qui persaepe cava testudine flevit amorem
  Non elaboratum ad pedem.

1. *imis—sensibus*] So Virgil (Ecl. iii. 54): "Sensibus haec imis (res est non parva) reponas."

4. *traxerim*] This is the earliest instance of this use of 'traho.' 'Duco' is more common (C. i. 17. 22; iii. 3. 34; iv. 12. 14). Ovid and later writers use 'traho.' The Greeks used σπάω and ἕλκω commonly in this sense. 'Candide' seems to signify 'generous,' 'true.' It is used familiarly.

8. *Ad umbilicum adducere*] The several sheets of parchment on which the contents of a book were written were joined together, and at the extremity of the last was fastened a stick on which the whole was rolled like our maps; and in the same way, at the extremities of this roller, were knobs which were called 'cornua' or 'umbilici.' The former word is obvious enough. The latter belongs more properly perhaps to the shape that the ends of the roll would take when these knobs were wanting; but it was also applied to the knobs themselves, and so 'ad umbilicum adducere' is to bring a volume to the last sheet. Mart. (iv. 91):—

"Ohe jam satis est; ohe libelli
  Jam pervenimus usque ad umbilicos."

Fea's remark, "umbilici vocabantur quia in media parte libri erant," quoted without contradiction by Orelli and Dillenbr., conveys no meaning. 'Carmen,' for a volume of 'carmina,' is an expression which raises a very natural doubt as to Horace's meaning here. 'Ad umbilicum adducere' seems to refer to a volume, 'carmen' to a single poem; but the former might be taken in a derived sense, "ad finem adducere," as reasonably as the latter in a collective sense. See Introduction. Whether 'olim' belongs to 'inceptos' or 'promissum' is open to doubt. Bentley does not strengthen his opinion that it belongs to 'promissum' by referring to A. P. 46: "Hoc spernat promissi carminis auctor." The objection to taking it with 'inceptos,' if 'carmen' means the book of Epodes, is, that it would imply that the different odes were written to form part of a volume, whereas they must have been written at intervals and without reference to their collective publication.

9. *Bathyllo*] C. ii. 4. 7 n. Anacreon's verses were full of passionate addresses to boys. The name of Bathyllus does not occur in any of the fragments that have come down to us; but it is mentioned by others besides Horace, and he is known to have been one of Anacreon's chief favourites. He was a graceful performer on the flute, which accomplishment, we learn from

Ureris ipse miser: quodsi non pulchrior ignis
Accendit obsessam Ilion,
Gaude sorte tua; me libertina neque uno
Contenta Phryne macerat.

Maximus Tyrius (quoted by Orelli), Anacreon took delight in praising. One of the odes falsely attributed to Anacreon (16 Bergk) is addressed *εἰς νεώτερον Βάθυλλον*: and from that we also learn that he was a Samian, *ἢν δ' ἐς Σάμον ποτ' ἔλθῃς Γράφε Φοῖβον ἐκ Βαθύλλου.* Anacreon, being driven from his native town Teos in Ionia, lived many years at Samos under the protection of Polycrates. There is a very graceful eulogy of Anacreon by Critias (Socrates' disciple), of whose verses a few fragments have been preserved. The fragments of Anacreon that remain indicate that easy style which Horace describes, and make us lament that the prophecy of Critias has not been realized. Few literary losses are so much to be regretted as the loss of the true Anacreon's poems.

[11. *cava testudine*] Ep. xvi. 4, 'cava ilice.' 'Cava' is a poetical ornament derived from the form of the 'testudo,' or *χελώνη*, which Hermes caught on the mountain Cheludorea, and after taking the shell from the animal's back formed it into a lyre (Pausanias, viii. 17. 5).]

13. *Ureris ipse miser*] See Introduction. The Scholiasts affirm that Terentia is here alluded to, and there can be little doubt of it. There was a dancer, or pantomimus, named Bathyllus, who was a freedman of Maecenas, and of whom he was very fond. Tac. (Ann. i. 54): "Indulserat ei ludicro (histrionum) Augustus, dum Maecenati obtemperat effuso in amorem Bathylli." Juv. vi. 63: "molli saltante Bathyllo." To this person some have most improperly referred the words of Horace, supposing Anacreon's Bathyllus to have been introduced with reference to this player. For 'quodsi' Orelli prefers but does not edit 'quando,' which he finds in a corrupted form in his MS. B. 'Quodsi' appears to me much better, and all the other MSS. have it. [As to the gender of 'Ilion' see C. iv. 9. 18.]

CARMEN XV.

This is probably a composition from the Greek, and I should think a pretty close imitation. It is addressed to an imaginary Neaera by the poet in his own person. He complains of her deserting him for a wealthier rival. Horace introduces the same name in a much later ode (iii. 14. 21), and it is used throughout the third book of Elegies commonly attributed to Tibullus. The ode is in Ovid's style, and worthy to have been written by him. By the same argument that is applied to Epode xi. (see Introduction) Franke and Kirchner assign to this the date A.U.C. 721. I need not repeat how widely such notions in my opinion depart from the true character of Horace's love poems.

ARGUMENT.

Remember that night when the moon was in the sky, and thou didst swear fidelity to me, saying that so long as the sheep feared the wolf, and storms vexed the winter's sea, and Apollo's locks floated in the breeze, our mutual love should last. Thou shalt rue my firmness, Neaera. Flaccus will bear no rival. Let thy faithlessness drive him to wrath and he will seek a true heart elsewhere. Let him once learn to hate thy beauty and he will be its captive no more, when grief shall have settled in his soul. And thou, whosoever thou art, that boastest thyself in my sorrow, be thou rich in flocks and fields, and let Pactolus run gold for thee; be thou wise in the secrets of Pythagoras and of form more beautiful than Nireus; yet shalt thou weep for her love transferred to another, and my turn to laugh shall come.

Nox erat et caelo fulgebat luna sereno
Inter minora sidera,
Cum tu magnorum numen laesura deorum
In verba jurabas mea,
Artius atque hedera procera adstringitur ilex,
Lentis adhaerens brachiis:
Dum pecori lupus et nautis infestus Orion
Turbaret hibernum mare,
Intonsosque agitaret Apollinis aura capillos,
Fore hunc amorem mutuum.
O dolitura mea multum virtute Neaera!
Nam si quid in Flacco viri est,

2. *Inter minora sidera*] 'Sidus' properly signifies a collection of stars, a constellation; but here it is equivalent to 'stella,' which in its turn appears for 'sidus' in C. iii. 29. 19. In C. i. 12. 47, it is also a single star, and the moon is represented as she is here: "Micat inter omnes Julium sidus, velut inter ignes Luna minores."

3. *laesura*] 'Laedere' is applied to injury by word or deed, to fraud ('laesa fides') or slander, or violence done to the person, or damage of any kind. It applies to high treason, whereby the majesty of the sovereign power is violated, and to perjury, as blaspheming the name of God. Ovid (Heroid. ii. 43):—

"Si de tot laesis sua numina quisque deorum
Vindicet, in poenas non satis unus eris."

The offence however of lovers' perjury was not supposed to weigh very heavily (C. ii. 8. 13 n.). The Dii Magni were twelve in number: Juppiter, Minerva, Juno, Neptune, Venus, Mars, Vulcan, Vesta, Apollo, Diana, Ceres, and Mercury.

4. *In verba jurabas mea*] This is the usual way of expressing the oath of obedience taken by soldiers, the words being dictated to the men. Hence the phrases 'conceptis verbis jurare,' 'conceptis verbis pejerare.' 'Jurare in verba' was conventionally applied to any oath of allegiance, and the poet says Neaera swore by the gods eternal devotion to his will. Elsewhere Horace expresses by these words the blind adherence to a particular teacher, declaring that he himself is "Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri" (Epp. i. 1. 14).

[5. *Artius atque*] 'Closer than the ilex is embraced by the outstretching ivy.' This is one of the examples in which 'atque' is supposed to be equivalent to 'quam.' Suetonius, Caesar, 14 is compared: 'Sententia gravius atque ipse sensisset excepta.' See C. i. 25. 18, and S. i. 1. 46.]

6. *Lentis adhaerens brachiis*] 'Lentissima brachia' is used in a different sense in S. i. 9. 64. Here 'lentis' signifies 'twining,' as that which is soft and pliant.

7. *Dum pecori lupus*] 'Infestus' belongs to both clauses, but in the first 'esset' must be supplied. There is a slight irregularity therefore in the sentence. As to Orion, see C. iii. 27. 18. 'Turbaret' and 'agitaret,' for which Bentley and Fea have 'turbarit,' 'agitarit,' are required by the oblique construction.

9. *Intonsosque agitaret*] Long hair was the mark of youth (C. iv. 10. 3 n.), and Apollo as well as Bacchus (Epod. xi. 13 n.) were held to be always young. Hence in all ancient representations of Apollo (of which the Belvedere is a specimen familiar to most readers) he has long hair either braided or flowing, in which respect he is frequently compared with Bacchus by the poets. See Ovid (Met. iii. 421), "Et dignos Baccho dignos et Apolline crines." Also Martial (iv. 45):—

"Perpetuo sic flore mices; sic denique non sint
Tam longae Bromio quam tibi, Phoebe, comae."

And Tibullus (i. 4. 37):—

"Solis aeterna est Phoebo Bacchoque juventa:
Nam decet intonsus crinis utrumque deum."

In the full description Tibullus (or the pseudo-Tibullus) gives of his person, in

Non feret assiduas potiori te dare noctes,
Et quaeret iratus parem,
Nec semel offensae cedet constantia formae,
Si certus intrarit dolor.
Et tu, quicunque es felicior atque meo nunc
Superbus incedis malo,
Sis pecore et multa dives tellure licebit
Tibique Pactolus fluat,
Nec te Pythagorae fallant arcana renati,
Formaque vincas Nirea,
Eheu translatos alio maerebis amores:
Ast ego vicissim risero.

which there can be little doubt he followed paintings as well as statues well known in his day, he says:—

"Intonsi crines longa cervice fluebant,
Stillabat Syrio myrtea rore coma."
(iii. 4. 27 sq.)

Hence the expression in the text is almost proverbial, and Neaera's vow is one of eternal fidelity. As to Apollo's hair see C. i. 21. 2, "Intonsum pueri dicite Cynthium;" C. iii. 4. 62, "Qui rore puro Castaliae lavit Crines solutos;" and C. iv. 6. 26, "Phoebe qui Xantho lavis amne crines."

11. *virtute*] 'Virtus' here signifies moral courage, determination, and firmness. See note on C. S. 58. The name Neaera is formed from *νείαιρα*, which is used by Homer, and is said to be an irregular comparative of *νέος*, so that Neaera signifies 'the younger.'

14. *parem*] One who is his match, equally loving and true.

15. *Nec semel offensae*] 'Offensus' is here used as the object of dislike. Horace says, 'His firmness shall not yield to the charms of her beauty when once he shall have learnt to hate it, and when the pain shall have entered and settled within him.' Of this use of the passive participle 'offensus,' Forcellini gives several examples. Bentley, admitting that 'offensus' may have this meaning, nevertheless alters 'offensae' into 'offensi;' for what reason, he asks, had Horace to hate her beauty? The obvious reason, that he had been cheated by it into loving her. There is more in Bentley's note of the same kind. No man was ever less qualified for a judge upon delicate points of taste or touches of nature. The passage he says has been corrupted by the audacity and ignorance of the copyists and the interpreters, "meram hic caliginem pro luce offuderunt." But before he reaches the end of his note new light breaks in upon him, and he will allow the common reading to stand, if only it be granted that 'forma' signifies figuratively Neaera herself: "Et tum sententia sit, 'nec constantia mea cedet tibi, O formosa Neaera, semel mihi invisae.'" Any sensible person will see that he concedes the whole point, and that the 'audacia,' 'ignorantia,' and 'caligo pro luce offusa,' are all on his own side. I do not find any MS. authority for 'intravit;' the meaning therefore is that he has not yet learned to hate, and the wound has not yet become fixed and incurable, but that if it once does so, she will seek in vain to recover his affections.

17. *Et tu*] The reading of most of the old editions is 'at tu,' which Fea defends, "at enim particula adversans." But as 'at' is not an adversative particle his defence falls to the ground. Either conjunction would do, because neither of them is adversative, and an adversative particle would be out of place. 'Et tu' is the reading of all the oldest known MSS., and of Porphyrion and Comm. Cruq.

19. *licebit*] This use of the future tense shows the truth of Forcellini's remark, that 'licet' and some other words which are called by the grammarians conjunctions are in fact only verbs, after which 'ut' is understood. 'Licebit is used below (S. ii. 2. 59), and by Ovid (Trist. v. 14. 3), "Detrahat auctori multum fortuna licebit." The Pactolus in Lydia was not the only golden stream of the ancients. The Tagus, Hebrus, Po, and Ganges, had the same repute. What the secret learning of Pythagoras was is expressed in the epithet given him, 'renati.' His metempsychosis is referred to in C. i. 28. 10. As to Nireus, see C. iii. 20. 15.

CARMEN XVI.

This ode is written with great care, and was probably one of those compositions by which Horace brought himself into public notice. It has more the appearance of having been written for fame than any other in the book. I have no doubt it was written soon after Horace came to Rome at the outbreak of the Perusian war, A.U.C. 713. Some follow what they suppose to be the meaning of the Scholiast Acron, who says on the word 'Altera' (v. 1): "quando Antonius dimicavit contra Augustum." But he may have referred to L. Antonius the consul; at any rate the language and sentiments are so different from any that Horace used or was likely to use about the time of Actium, that the ode cannot be referred to that period. The state of Rome at the time supposed is described very vividly by Appian (Bel. Civ. v. 18—49) and Dion (xlviii. 9—15). It has been supposed that the notion of migrating to the fortunate islands, which many of the commentators have taken too literally, was derived from the words of Sertorius, recorded by Plutarch in his life (c. 8), and said by the Scholiast Acron to have been mentioned by Sallust. When he was hard pushed by Luscus the legate of Sulla, Sertorius, falling in with some sailors who had visited or been driven to the Western Islands, and hearing from them a glowing description of their climate, is said to have conceived a desire to go and live there, and so to get rid of the troubles of his life and the never-ending wars. Sertorius' speech may have become notorious, or Horace may have heard of it; but the idea may have occurred to him independently or been suggested, as the description seems in part to have been, by Pindar's description of the Happy Islands (Ol. ii. 70 sqq.), and Hesiod's of the same (Op. et Di. 167): *τοῖς δὲ δίχ' ἀνθρώπων βίοτον καὶ ἤθε' ὀπάσσας, κ.τ.λ.*, or Homer's description of the Elysian plains (Odyss. iv. 563 sqq.). ['Carminis lineamenta ducta sunt anno 712 (a. Chr. 42) in Graecia, cum bellum civile exarsit, perfecta demum, ut videtur, cum poeta anno 717 Maecenati iambos cupienti morem gessit; cf. ad Epod. xiv. 7.' Ritter.]

ARGUMENT.

Another age is wasting in civil wars. She whom no enemy could tame shall be destroyed by her own accursed children; the wild beast shall devour her; the barbarian shall trample upon her, and scatter the dust of her Romulus to the winds. What are we to do? Go forth like the Phocaeans, leave our homes and our temples to be the dens of beasts, and go wherever the winds shall waft us. Shall it be so? Then why delay? But let us swear:—when rocks shall swim, and the Po shall wash the tops of Matinus, and the Apennine be cast into the sea; when the tiger shall lie with the hind, and the dove with the hawk, and the herds fear not the lion, and the he-goat shall love the waves,—then we will return to our home. Thus let the nobler spirits resolve while the craven clings to his couch. For us there are those happy isles where the earth yields her harvests and the trees their fruit unbidden; where honey drops from the oak, and the stream leaps babbling from the hills; where the goat comes unbidden to the milk-pail, and udders are full, and the fold fears no beasts, and the ground bears no viper; where the rain-flood and the drought are not known; whither the venturous sail comes not; where the flock is unhurt by pestilence or heat. Jove destined these shores for the pious when the golden age had passed away, and thither the pious may resort and prosper.

ALTERA jam teritur bellis civilibus aetas,
Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit:
Quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marsi
Minacis aut Etrusca Porsenae manus,
Aemula nec virtus Capuae nec Spartacus acer
Novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox,
Nec fera caerulea domuit Germania pube
Parentibusque abominatus Hannibal,
Impia perdemus devoti sanguinis aetas,
Ferisque rursus occupabitur solum.
Barbarus heu cineres insistet victor et Urbem
Eques sonante verberabit ungula,

[1. *Altera*] If Horace reckons from the civil wars of L. Sulla and C. Marius, A.U.C. 666 or B.C. 88, a generation may be supposed to have passed away. But it is not safe to form any conclusion from the words 'altera aetas.']

2. *Suis et ipsa*] Porphyrion quotes Livy, Pref.: "jam magnitudine laboret sua," and the commentators have gone on quoting those words ever since. But Livy's meaning and Horace's are not the same. What Horace says may be true of any state that turns its arms against itself. Livy's words belong only to a state that aims at universal dominion, and falls under the weight of the burden. The practice of quoting passages for the sake of a little verbal similarity can do no good and often misleads.

4. *Porsenae*] Though Niebuhr contends that the penultimate syllable of this name is long, it is here short, and is so used repeatedly by Silius (B. P. viii. 391. 480; x. 484). The lofty language and tone held by the Campanians after the battle of Cannae—how they expected that Hannibal, when he withdrew to Carthage, would leave Rome a wreck and the power over Italy in the hands of Capua, and demanded of the Romans as a condition of their assistance that one of the Consuls should always be a Campanian,—is related by Livy (xxiii. 6). As to the Marsic war and Spartacus, see C. iii. 14. 19. The Allobroges, whose country lay on the left bank of the Rhone, between that river and the Isère, had ambassadors at Rome at the time of Catiline's conspiracy praying for redress for certain grievances. These men were tampered with by the conspirators, and promised to forward their designs, which they betrayed, and became the principal witnesses against the conspirators (Sall. Cat. 41; Cic. in Catil. iii. 2—4). Two years afterwards these people, having broken out in war and invaded Gallia Narbonensis, were defeated by C. Pomptinus, governor of that province. The restlessness of the Galli is mentioned by Caesar (B. G. iv. 5).

[7. *caerulea—pube*] The allusion is to the northern nations who were conquered by C. Marius, B.C. 102, 101, after they had threatened the Romans for some years. Comp. Juvenal, xiii. 164, 'caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina.']

8. *Parentibus*] This I understand literally as "bella matribus detestata" (C. i. 1. 24). Orelli and Dillenbr. take it for the Romans of a former day, 'our fathers.' Doering takes it in the other sense.

11. *Barbarus*] This has been referred to the Egyptians, and taken as evidence of the ode having been written in the last war with M. Antonius, which is not worth notice. 'Insistere' is followed by the accusative case sometimes; Forcell. says when it implies motion, as 'insistere viam,' a peculiarity which is found in the Greek καθέζομαι; but that signification is not very marked in this passage, which he does not quote. It more usually governs the dative case, or is followed by the ablative after 'in.' See Aen. vi. 563: "Sceleratum insistere limen." Ezekiel's prophecy against Tyre declares that Nebuchadnezzar "with the hoofs of his horses shall tread down all her streets" (xxvi. 11); and Jeremiah exclaims: "At that time they shall bring out the bones of the kings of Judah, and the bones of his princes, and the bones of the priests, and the bones of the prophets, and the bones of the inhabitants of Jerusalem out of their graves, and they shall

Quaeque carent ventis et solibus ossa Quirini,
Nefas videre! dissipabit insolens.
Forte quid expediat communiter aut melior pars
Malis carere quaeritis laboribus:
Nulla sit hac potior sententia, Phocaeorum
Velut profugit exsecrata civitas
Agros atque Lares patrios habitandaque fana
Apris reliquit et rapacibus lupis,
Ire pedes quocunque ferent, quocunque per undas
Notus vocabit aut protervus Africus.
Sic placet? an melius quis habet suadere?—Secunda
Ratem occupare quid moramur alite?
Sed juremus in haec: Simul imis saxa renarint
Vadis levata, ne redire sit nefas;
Neu conversa domum pigeat dare lintea, quando
Padus Matina laverit cacumina,
In mare seu celsus procurrerit Apenninus,
Novaque monstra junxerit libidine
Mirus amor, juvet ut tigres subsidere cervis,
Adulteretur et columba miluo,
Credula nec ravos timeant armenta leones,
Ametque salsa levis hircus aequora.

spread them before the sun: they shall not be gathered nor be buried; they shall be as dung on the face of the earth." Horace does not take account of the apotheosis of Romulus, which he himself refers to elsewhere (C. iii. 3. 16). Porphyrion, on the authority of Varro, says the tomb of Romulus was behind the Rostra.

15. *expediat*] This belongs to 'carere;' 'what may be our best course, that we may be set free from these wretched sufferings,' where the Greeks would express or (more commonly) understand ὥστε. The story of the Phocaeans abandoning their city when Harpagus was besieging it, and declaring that they would not return till a bar of iron they threw into the sea should float, is told by Herodotus (i. 165). It must have been familiar to educated men, and the form of oath may have become proverbial. 'Exsecrata' is used in a middle sense, 'binding themselves under a curse,' ἐποιήσαντο ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας. So, 'agros' is governed by 'profugit' not by 'exsecrata.' "Praeeuntibus exsecrabile carmen sacerdotibus jure jurando adacti" (Liv. xxxi. 17).

23. *Sic placet*] 'Placetne?' a usual formula. The poet fancies himself addressing the citizens. 'Habet suadere' is another Greek construction, πείθειν ἔχει.

[27. *conversa domum*] 'Turned homewards' indicates a change in the 'lintea' for the purpose of causing a change in the direction of the course, which is homewards, as it was at first from home. 'Conversa' alone with 'signa' or 'lintea' expresses a change in direction. Caesar, B. G. i. 25; ii. 26.—'Matina cacumina:' see C. i. 28. 3.]

[31. *Mirus amor, juvet ut*] 'A passion so strange that tigers will delight,' &c. This is a common position of a Latin adjective followed by 'ut.' 'Mirus' is emphatic without the addition of 'ita.'—'Adulteretur' is probably the passive, though it is generally taken as a deponent verb.]

33. *ravos*] C. iii. 27. 3 n. This is the reading of the oldest MSS., the Berne and Blandinian. Many have 'flavos;' others 'saevos;' Lambinus 'fulvos.' "Levis hircus amet," "the goat become sleek, and love the salt water."

Haec et quae poterunt reditus abscindere dulces
  Eamus omnis exsecrata civitas,
Aut pars indocili melior grege; mollis et exspes
  Inominata perprimat cubilia.
Vos quibus est virtus muliebrem tollite luctum,
  Etrusca praeter et volate litora.
Nos manet Oceanus circumvagus: arva, beata
  Petamus arva divites et insulas,
Reddit ubi Cererem tellus inarata quotannis
  Et imputata floret usque vinea,
Germinat et nunquam fallentis termes olivae,
  Suamque pulla ficus ornat arborem,
Mella cava manant ex ilice, montibus altis
  Levis crepante lympha desilit pede.
Illic injussae veniunt ad mulctra capellae,
  Refertque tenta grex amicus ubera;
Nec vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovile,
  Neque intumescit alta viperis humus.
Pluraque felices mirabimur, ut neque largis
  Aquosus Eurus arva radat imbribus,
Pinguia nec siccis urantur semina glebis,
  Utrumque rege temperante caelitum.
Non huc Argoo contendit remige pinus,
  Neque impudica Colchis intulit pedem;
Non huc Sidonii torserunt cornua nautae,
  Laboriosa nec cohors Ulixei.
Nulla nocent pecori contagia, nullius astri
  Gregem aestuosa torret impotentia.
Juppiter illa piae secrevit litora genti,
  Ut inquinavit aere tempus aureum;
Aere, dehinc ferro duravit saecula, quorum
  Piis secunda vate me datur fuga.

[42. *divites*] Compare C. iv. 8. 27.]

51. *vespertinus*] See C. i. 2. 45. Georg. iii. 538: "Nocturnus obambulat." [Horace, S. i. 3. 117, and ii. 4. 17.]

52. *intumescit alta*] Doering thinks the true reading is 'alma' or 'atra,' but 'alta' is a suitable word to accompany 'intumescit.'

[53. *ut neque*] See C. i. 9, 'vides ut alta . . . stet.' Ritter compares C. iii. 4. 13, 'mirum . . . ut tuto . . . dormirem.']

[59. *cornua*] 'Cornua . . . antennarum,' Virg. Aen. iii. 549. Ritter.—'Laboriosa:' 'suffering,' 'laboribus exercitata.'—'Ut inquinavit:' 'ever since he debased the golden age with bronze.']

65.] 'Quorum' depends on 'fuga.' Vv. 63, 64, Doering transposes to 53, 54, to complete the picture; but he admits they are not quite in their place there, and redundant any where; so he supposes them to be from another hand, though not unworthy of Horace. I do not doubt their genuineness.

CARMEN XVII.

Franke considers this to be the latest of the Epodes, written with the ironical purpose of making peace between the poet and Canidia, whom he had so unmercifully lampooned, before the publication of the poems in which she figures. Certainly the recantation is not less severe than the diatribes. I do not think it necessary or feasible to assign it a date, and am not disposed to agree with those who from v. 23, "Tuis capillus albus est odoribus," infer that this Epode was not written, and therefore the book was not published, till Horace was advanced in years, or till after the composition of C. iii. 14 (A.U.C. 729 or 730), because there he says his hair is beginning to turn grey. If his hair was perfectly black, it would only enhance the satire of the above assertion. The whole subject of this quarrel (as might be expected) is so obscure that it is useless to offer any conjectures upon it; but no one, I think, can read this Epode and suppose that the affair was altogether fictitious. There is too much vigour and genial humour in these verses to admit of such a notion. Admitting therefore the existence in some shape of Canidia, I only deprecate the inferences derived from a too literal interpretation of particular expressions, as noticed in the former odes referring to this same woman (Ep. iii. 8 n.; v. Introd. &c.).

ARGUMENT.

I yield, I yield; I pray thee by Proserpine, by Diana, by thine own mighty spells, Canidia, cease thy charms; stay, stay thy wheel. Achilles had compassion upon Telephus, and healed him. He was entreated and gave back the body of Hector, and the matrons of Troy anointed him for burial. Circe restored the companions of Ulysses. Surely I have been punished enough, O thou that art loved of sailors and of hucksters! The complexion of youth is gone from me; my hair is white; I rest not day or night, and sighs give me no relief. I now believe what I once denied, that Sabine spells are shaking my breast, and my head is splitting with Marsic charms. What wouldst thou more? O sea and earth, I am on fire, like Hercules with Nessus' blood, and Aetna's everlasting flame. As a crucible filled with Colchian drugs thou wilt burn till I shall be consumed, and my ashes scattered to the winds. What death or what penalty awaits me? Speak, and I will offer a hundred oxen, or praise thy chastity in lying song. The brothers of Helen were entreated and gave the poet back his eyes; and do thou, for thou canst, loose me from my madness. Indeed thou art *not* debased by thy parents' sins; thou dost *not* scatter the new buried ashes of the poor; thy heart is kind, thy hands are pure, thy son is thine own, and thy births are no pretence.

Why waste thy prayers upon ears that are deaf as the rock lashed by the waves? To think thou shouldst publish and laugh with impunity at our mystic rites, and fill the town with my name! What profit then have I of the skill I have learnt? Thus shalt thou live with strength ever renewed for fresh endurance, as Tantalus vainly seeks to be at rest, Prometheus to be delivered from his vulture, and Sisyphus to plant his stone on the top of his mountain. Thou wilt seek death in every form, and it shall not come. I will bestride thee, and spurn the earth in my pride. What! must I, who can move images, bring down the moon or raise the dead,—I the mingler of love-charms,—must I see my spells of no avail for such as thee?

Jam jam efficaci do manus scientiae,
Supplex et oro regna per Proserpinae,
Per et Dianae non movenda numina,
Per atque libros carminum valentium
Refixa caelo devocare sidera,
Canidia, parce vocibus tandem sacris
Citumque retro solve, solve turbinem.
Movit nepotem Telephus Nereïum,
In quem superbus ordinarat agmina
Mysorum et in quem tela acuta torserat.
Unxere matres Iliae addictum feris
Alitibus atque canibus homicidam Hectorem,

1. *Jam jam*] The repetition denotes haste and eagerness, 'see, see I yield.' They are said 'dare manus' who give their hands to the chains of a conqueror. See Virgil (Aen. xi. 568): "neque ipse manus feritate dedisset." Caesar (B. G. v. 31): "tandem dat Cotta permotus manus; superat sententia Sabini." The speaker invokes Proserpina and Hecate as the divinities with whom the witch has most communication.

4. *Per atque libros*] This position of 'atque' is peculiar to the poets.

5. *Refixa*] This word, which gives the only true sense here (unfixed) has given place in some respectable MSS. to 'defixa,' which has no suitable meaning. Virgil says (Aen. v. 527): "Caelo ceu saepe refixa Transcurrunt crinemque volantia sidera ducunt."

7. *solve, solve turbinem*] All the MSS. have 'solve;' Lambinus has 'volve,' without authority. 'Turbo' is a wheel of some sort used by sorceresses: *ῥόμβος* is the Greek name for it; and Theocritus introduces the witch Simaetha using it, and saying (ii. 30):—

χὡς δινεῖθ' ὅδε ῥόμβος ὁ χάλκεος ἐξ 'Αφροδίτας,
ὣς κεῖνος δινοῖτό ποθ' ἁμετέρῃσι θύρῃσι.

Ovid also (Am. i. 8. 7); "Scit bene quid gramen, quid torto concita rhombo Licia;" and Propertius (iii. 6. 26): "Staminea rhombi ducitur ille rota;" and Martial (xii. 57): "Cum secta Colcho Luna vapulat rhombo." Threads of various colours arranged artificially were spun round the wheel, and formed a magical web supposed to involve the affections or fortunes of him who was the object of the spell. 'Retro solvere' means to relax the onward motion of the wheel, which will then of itself roll back. 'Volve' is too obvious an emendation, and not required.

8. *Movit nepotem*] Telephus, the king of Mysia, was wounded and afterwards healed by Achilles, the son of Thetis, and so grandson of Nereus. Propertius refers to the story (ii. 1. 63):

"Mysus et Haemonii juvenis qua cuspide vulnus
Senserat, hac ipsa cuspide sensit opem."

See also Ovid (Trist. i. 1. 99 sqq.):

"Namque ea vel nemo vel qui mihi vulnera fecit,
Solus Achilleo tollere more potest."

11. *Unxere*] This is the reading of the greater number of MSS., including the Blandinian; also of Cruquius' Scholiast, who says, "unxere—sepeliere." There is also good authority for 'luxere,' and Bentley warmly defends it; he has no doubt whatever it is Horace's word. Lambinus has a long note in defence of it, but in his second edition has 'unxere' in deference to the MSS. Bentley says any common person might have thought of 'unxere,' of 'luxere' "nemo nisi apprime eruditus." I agree with most modern editors in thinking 'unxere' has more meaning here than 'luxere.' It is Horace's purpose to show that Achilles, moved by the entreaties of Priam (Il. xxiv. 510), gave back Hector's body, which he had threatened the dogs should devour (Il. xxiii. 182). 'Unxere' would show that the body had been returned, which 'luxere' would not. That Homer does not mention the fact that the Trojan women anointed Hector's body is an idle argument. Horace only makes them do what the Greeks did for Patroclus (Il. xviii. 350) *καὶ τότε δὴ λοῦσάν τε καὶ*

Postquam relictis moenibus rex procidit
Heu pervicacis ad pedes Achilleï.
Setosa duris exuere pellibus
Laboriosi remiges Ulixeï
Volente Circa membra; tunc mens et sonus
Relapsus atque notus in vultus honor.
Dedi satis superque poenarum tibi,
Amata nautis multum et institoribus.
Fugit juventas et verecundus color
Reliquit ossa pelle amicta lurida;
Tuis capillus albus est odoribus;
Nullum ab labore me reclinat otium;
Urget diem nox et dies noctem, neque est
Levare tenta spiritu praecordia.
Ergo negatum vincor ut credam miser,
Sabella pectus increpare carmina

ἤλειψαν λίπ' ἐλαίῳ. 'Homicidam' is a literal version of *ἀνδροφόνον*, the Homeric epithet for Hector. The rhythm of the line in which it occurs is without a precedent in Horace.

16. *Laboriosi*] This epithet is repeated from the last Epode (v. 60). In the next verse most editors since Bentley have followed his example, and given the Latin rather than the Greek termination to Circe's name. Bentley founds his adoption of this form (which had before been so corrected by Broukhusius on Propert. ii. 7. 18) on the statement of Valerius Probus, whose authority, as he justly says, is of great weight, as being far anterior to any known MSS. of Horace. Probus says (p. 1446): "'E' nomina terminata Graeca sunt, ut Danae, Euterpe, Circe, Agave. In genitivo 'es,' in accusativo 'en;' hujus Danaes, hanc Danaen. Ablativum enim, quia Graecum est, non habent, et convertuntur. Sic ex 'e' litera 'a' facit et dicitur 'Circa,' unde est illud Horatii, 'volente Circa.'" Bentley adds, that in the Epodes, Satires, and Epistles, Horace uses the Latin forms, and in the Odes only the Greek, which might be expected.

18. *Relapsus*] This is the reading of most MSS. Three of the Berne have 'relatus,' which is Lambinus' reading and Cruquius'. Bentley says the MSS. are apt to vary between the compounds of 'lapsus' and 'latus.' Except the preponderance of MSS. authority, I do not see much reason for preferring either to the other.

19. *tibi, Amata*] Bentley thinks that by inserting 'o' between these words the sentence "quae prius languida et hiulca erat novas vires novamque juncturam acquirit." The quiet irony in the sentence gives it the best force. "Hoc urbanissima contumelia dicit" (Porph.). (Compare C. iii. 6. 30 n.) Bentley changes 'ossa' to 'ora,' quoting Julius Scaliger: "Quis dicat colorem reliquisse ossa? Non igitur debuit dicere ossa amicta pelle sed reliquisse pellem amicientem ossa;" and adding "nihil hac censura justius clariusve dici potest;" and going on to prove that men's bones do not blush, or if they do it is a disease which has escaped the notice of the profession, and more of the same sort. The MSS. all agree, and we may suppose the poor man to say that he is nothing but skin and bone and has lost his colour. Whether Horace does not sufficiently express this by the words as they stand, plain men may judge. On v. 23 see Introduction.

[23. *tuis—odoribus*] The 'odores' of Canidia, 'unguents' which had turned his hair grey.]

24. *ab labore*] This preposition is used like *ἀπό*, 'after,' and 'est' in the next verse like *ἔστι* for *ἔξεστι*.

28. *Sabella*] The Sabine, Pelignian, and Marsic women had credit above others for witchcraft. See S. i. 9. 29: "Namque instat fatum mihi triste, Sabella Quod puero cecinit divina mota anus urna." See below, v. 60, and Epod. v. 76. "Increpare: dirumpere, sive incitare" (Acron). ['Ergo negatum vincor' &c., means 'I am

Caputque Marsa dissilire nenia.
Quid amplius vis? O mare, o terra, ardeo,
Quantum neque atro delibutus Hercules
Nessi cruore, nec Sicana fervida
Virens in Aetna flamma; tu donec cinis
Injuriosis aridus ventis ferar
Cales venenis officina Colchicis.
Quae finis aut quod me manet stipendium?
Effare; jussas cum fide poenas luam,
Paratus expiare, seu poposceris
Centum juvencos, sive mendaci lyra
Voles sonari: Tu pudica, tu proba

compelled then to admit what I denied, that Sabine charms disturb' &c.] 'Nenia' is used for a charm, as in Ovid (A. A. ii. 102): "Mixtaque cum magicis nenia Marsa sonis." (Fast. vi. 142): "Neniaque in volucres Marsa figurat anus." It is also used by Horace for a night-song (C. iii. 28. 16); for the melancholy poetry of Simonides (C. ii. 1. 38); and in its proper sense of a dirge for the dead (C. ii. 20, 21). Cicero (de Leg. ii. 24): "Honoratorum virorum laudes in contione memorentur easque etiam cantu ad tibicinem prosequantur, cui nomen nenia."

31. *Quantum neque atro*] See Epod. iii. 17.

33. *Virens*] Forcellini interprets this, with Lambinus and Cruquius, 'nunquam intermoriens, sed perpetuis vigens ignibus,' and I am inclined to adopt that interpretation rather than that of Orelli and Dillenbr., who explained it by the sulphurous green flame issuing from the mountain. I doubt whether there is any thing in the colour of the flame to authorize such an epithet, and Bentley makes the same remark. Orelli quotes the authority of his Zürich and oldest Berne MSS. for 'virens,' and Lambinus found it in the oldest MSS.: in the others was 'urens,' which he calls 'longe ineptissimum.' No doubt it arose out of 'virens,' and is so far a confirmation of that reading. Cruquius' Scholiast had 'virens,' and he interprets it 'aestuans,' which means nothing, but it shows what was his reading. Bentley prefers 'furens,' which Lambinus mentions as resting only on conjecture, but which has since been found in a few MSS. of no great weight. Like some other emendations it is too easy to be admitted against the vast majority of MSS. 'Furere' is commonly applied to flames, but that only makes it less likely that such a word should have been superseded by one so unusual as 'virens.'

35. *Cales*] Bentley changes this into the third person: to do which he is obliged to change 'tu' into 'tua,' to the great detriment of the verse, and to introduce the possessive pronoun where it is not wanted. The received reading is as old at least as Porphyrion, who says "ipsam mulierem officinam venenorum diserte dixit," and so we must take it till some better emendation than Bentley's is offered. [Ritter puts an interrogation after 'Colchicis.']

36. *stipendium*] Forcellini explains this as "quaevis multa aut poena," and quotes Catullus (lxiv. 173): "Indomito nec dira ferens stipendia tauro Perfidus in Cretam religasset navita funem;" but there the word comes more under the sense of 'tributum,' of which he gives several instances, the reference being to the tribute or sacrifice of one hundred youths paid yearly to the Minotaur. As an equivalent for 'poena' I do not find that 'stipendium' is used elsewhere. It is possible it may mean 'service,' which is its military sense. I have used the word 'penalty' in the argument, but the meaning is doubtful. 'Quae finis' means 'what death?' (See ii. 18. 29 n.) Captives led in triumph were put to death. See Ep. vii. 8 n.

39. *Centum juvencos*] This is the reading of the MSS., but Bentley prefers 'juvencis,' as in C. i. 4. 12 he preferred 'agna' and 'haedo.' I prefer the accusative in both places. 'Sono' is used as an active verb only by the poets, after the manner of ἠχεῖν. The satire of what follows is very amusing. In his plea for forgiveness he repeats his offence, implying that to call her chaste he must lie, which however he is willing to do. The following words are the

Perambulabis astra sidus aureum.
Infamis Helenae Castor offensus vicem
Fraterque magni Castoris victi prece
Adempta vati reddidere lumina.
Et tu, potes nam, solve me dementia,
O nec paternis obsoleta sordibus,
Neque in sepulcris pauperum prudens anus
Novendiales dissipare pulveres.

substance of what he promises to say in her praise, placing her, like Ariadne and other virtuous women, among the constellations.

42. *Infamis Helenae*] The story of Stesichorus losing his sight as a punishment for a libel on Helen, and recovering it after writing an apology and recantation, has been referred to C. i. 16, Introduction. Other writers attribute the restoration to Helen herself, Horace to her brothers. The story is mentioned, besides Plato, by Isocrates (Helen. Encom. c. 28), Chrysostom (Orat. ii. p. 77), Pausanias (iii. 19), Suidas (sub verbo), Lucian (Ver. Hist. ii. 15). Other writers refer to Stesichorus' recantation or palinode, as it is called, most of whom are mentioned in Bergk's note on the only fragment of it that has been preserved. There can be no doubt Horace was well acquainted with the whole poem. Why he should have a different version of the story from that of others who must also have known it does not appear. The poem must have contained a prayer to the Dioscuri. Much has been written on the subject by modern scholars, some of whom are mentioned by Estré. Acron attributes the blinding and the restoration to the brothers, but he evidently only follows Horace, while professing to explain him. Instead of 'vicem,' nearly all the MSS. appear to have 'vice.' Dacier prefers 'vicem,' which he says is found "dans quelques manuscrits," but he does not mention which they are. Bentley knew of only one, which is quoted by Torrentius, but on the authority of that one he adopts 'vicem,' I think rightly. Fea mentions four other MSS., but no diligence is sufficient to trace Fea's MSS., for he gives a very imperfect list of them. He opposes 'vicem' very sharply, and nearly all the editors read 'vice.' 'Vice' and 'prece' form an ill-sounding ὁμοιοτέλευτον. Professor Key (Lat. Gr. 917 n.), referring to the independent use of 'vicem,' says it is perhaps the equivalent in form and meaning of the German 'wegen' [as 'deinetwegen' 'on thy account,' 'à cause de toi']. It occurs repeatedly in Livy, as Bentley has shown. [Ritter and Keller have 'vice.'] There is a like usage in χάριν and μοῖραν, which occur together in a fragment of Simonides (περὶ γυναικῶν, 103. Fr. 6 Bergk):—

ἀνὴρ δ' ὅταν μάλιστα θυμηδεῖν δοκῇ
κατ' οἶκον ἢ θεοῦ μοῖραν ἢ ἀνθρώπων χάριν.

45. *potes nam*] This is a common formula in entreaties both in Greek and Latin. Of what follows Porphyrion says, "urbanissime obscura dicitur ironia: in contrarium namque accipienda haec: quis enim sic laudet qui simpliciter agit? 'o quae non es sordidi generis! nec ossa humana ad maleficia colligis!' et reliqua." This sufficiently explains the spirit of the passage (see Argument), and what is meant by 'novendiales dissipare pulveres.' It appears, if we are to believe the old commentators, to have been the practice to bury the ashes nine days after death. Servius (on Aen. v. 64) says the body was kept at home seven days, on the eighth it was burnt, and on the ninth buried, and then he quotes this passage. Cruquius' Scholiast says as much, with a little variation as to the time of burning, which, he says, was on the third day; and this is more probable, at least as regards the poor, who could not afford the ointments necessary to preserve their dead any time (see Becker's Gallus, Exc. on the "Interment of the Dead"). Heyne, on the above passage of Virgil (which refers to the games instituted in memory of Anchises), and on v. 762 of the same book, may be consulted. Sacred ceremonies appear to have been observed (but we cannot suppose this was general) for nine days in honour of the dead (see besides Virgil, l. c., Stat. Theb. vi. 238 sqq.). But this has nothing to do with Horace's meaning, who says that the witch dug up the ashes of the dead immediately after their burial, while they were fresh and better suited on that account for magical ceremonies. The ashes of the poor are fixed upon, says Cruquius' commentator,

Tibi hospitale pectus et purae manus,
Tuusque venter Pactumeius, et tuo
Cruore rubros obstetrix pannos lavit,
Utcunque fortis exsilis puerpera.
  Quid obseratis auribus fundis preces?
Non saxa nudis surdiora navitis
Neptunus alto tundit hibernus salo.
Inultus ut tu riseris Cotyttia
Vulgata, sacrum liberi Cupidinis,
Et Esquilini pontifex venefici
Impune ut Urbem nomine impleris meo!
Quid proderat ditasse Pelignas anus,

because they were not watched as the rich man's were. 'Novendiales' usually signifies 'of nine days' continuance,' but in cannot have that meaning here. Hector was buried after nine days (Il. xxiv. 784):

ἐννῆμαρ μὲν τοί γε ἀγίνεον ἄσπετον ὕλην·
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτη ἐφάνη φαεσίμβροτος Ἠὼς
καὶ τότ' ἄρ' ἐξέφερον θρασὺν Ἕκτορα δακρυχέοντες.

'Obsoleta' is applied in an unusual sense. It usually signifies that which is gone to decay (out of use), as clothes, houses, faded pictures, &c, and so it comes to mean generally that which is spoilt and worthless. See C. ii. 10. 6.

50.] *Tuusque venter Pactumeius*] In Epod. v. 5 it is insinuated that Canidia is childless, that the children she pretends to have are not hers, and her childbirths are a fiction, perhaps to extract money from her lovers on whom her pretended children were affiliated. Here the libel is withdrawn, but in such a way as to leave it untouched, for in the last line he insinuates that her travail is at least not very difficult. 'Venter' is used by the law-writers to signify the child in the womb, or a woman with child. ("De Ventre in Possessionem Mittendo," Dig. 37, tit. 9.) Quintilian also (Declam. 177): "Illa igitur prior damnavit ventrem suum: victurus autem fuit ille si ego adulteram non occidissem." Tacitus uses 'uterus' for the child after birth (Ann. i. 59; xv. 23). The name 'Pactumeius' appears as 'Partumeius' in some MSS., which Bentley calls "malae notae codices." Fea quotes many more, and defends the reading strongly. Lambinus adopts it, Turnebus, Torrentius, Dacier, and others [and Ritter], Ascensius too, much earlier than any of them. But the Scholiasts and the editions of the fifteenth century knew nothing of that word, which is founded on a filthy notion, though its defenders think it a clever joke. [Ritter rejects this filthy interpretation and explains Partumeius in his own way.] 'Pactumeius' is a Roman name, as Bentley has shown from the jurists and inscriptions. Ven. has 'pactum ejus,' and that I suppose to be the reading of all the editions descended from the same stock and bearing Landinus' commentary: but it will neither scan nor construe, and is only an argument for 'Pactumeius,' though Dacier says that name has "ni grâce ni sens."

56. *ut tu riseris*] 'Ut' is an exclamation of scorn. 'To think that you should.' It is generally taken as a question by the editors, and followed by a note of interrogation. It occurs again (S. ii. 5. 18): "Utne tegam spurco Damae latus!" The festival in honour of Cotys or Cotytto was of Thracian origin, and transferred to Corinth and other Greek states with all its impurities. It found its way into Sicily, whence one of the priestesses of that goddess comes to be mentioned by Theocritus (vi. 40): *ταῦτα γὰρ ἁ γραία με Κοτυτταρὶς ἐξεδίδαξεν.* The festival was never introduced into the Italian States, and was unknown at Rome except to the learned. The rites of this goddess, like other works of darkness, professed secrecy, as Juvenal says (ii. 91):—

"Talia secreta coluerunt orgia taeda
Cecropiam solit Baptae lassare Cotytto."

On the connexion of the title Baptae with the worship of Cotytto, the reader may consult Buttmann's Mythol. vol. ii. art. 19, 'Ueber die Kotyttia und die Baptae.'

58. *Et Esquilini pontifex venefici*] She charges him with thrusting himself upon

Velociusve miscuisse toxicum?
Sed tardiora fata te votis manent:
Ingrata misero vita ducenda est in hoc
Novis ut usque suppetas laboribus.
Optat quietem Pelopis infidi pater,
Egens benignae Tantalus semper dapis,

the orgies as if he were the priest who alone of men might attend them. As to the Campus Esquilinus, where the witches held their midnight meetings, see Ep. v. 100, and S. i. 8. 8. [Ritter infers from comparing this passage and Sat. i. 8 that this epode was written after the satire; but this is no just conclusion.]

60. *Quid proderat ditasse*] 'What good then did I get by spending money upon the old Pelignian witches (i. e. to teach me my craft), and mingling for thee a more quick and potent draught? But, though it be quick and potent, yet the death that awaits thee shall be slower than thou wouldest have it.' There is another reading, 'Quid proderit' and 'Si tardiora,' supported by good MSS., and the first of the two by the authority of Porphyrion, who says the sense is uncertain; but he inclines to render it thus: 'What will it profit thee to have paid the witches for antidotes more quick and powerful than my charms? But,' &c. He had the reading 'sed.' I am not aware that 'proderat' appears in any edition before Bentley's; but it has good MS. authority, and if the witch be speaking of herself the imperfect is preferable with 'sed.' Fea retains 'proderit' and 'si,' and makes 'votis' the witch's prayers. 'What will it profit me . . . . if a death awaits thee slower than I would have it?' For that sense we should have 'maneant.' The old editions, Ven. and Ascensius', follow the Scholiast in reading 'sed.' Lambinus and the editors of his day have 'si.' I prefer the reading and interpretation I have given, which is that of Bentley and Orelli, and now of Dillenbr., who has been converted. [Keller has 'proderit.'] 'In hoc,' 'for this purpose.'

64. *laboribus*] The MSS. vary between 'laboribus' and 'doloribus.' The former is the stronger word of the two, and was probably the reading of the Scholiasts, one of whom (Cruq.) explains 'suppetas' "sufficias ad novos dolores et labores perferendos et poenas." 'Labores' is the word elsewhere used for the punishment of Tantalus (C. ii. 13. 38), and I think it has been properly restored to the text. Ascensius has it, but none I believe between him and Bentley. 'Infidus' and 'infidi' both have support from the MSS. But the latter has the best, according to Torrentius, Bentley, and Orelli. Fea's references I cannot follow, but he reads 'infidus.' The old editions have 'infidus,' and I know of none but Torrentius' that has 'infidi' till Bentley's. As father and son each earned the epithet, it is not easy to judge in this conflict of authority to which of them it should be given. The poets of the Augustan age, in relating the punishment of Tantalus, refer only to that legend according to which, standing in the midst of water, with fruit-trees over his head ('benigna daps'), he is not able to reach either. The other story, followed by Pindar and the Greek poets, of a great stone suspended over his head and ever threatening to fall on him, the Roman poets do not allude to. But Cicero does, and only to that (de Fin. i. 18; Tusc. Disp. iv. 16). In the Barberini Palace at Rome there is a rilievo containing a very striking group of the three sufferers, Ixion, Sisyphus, and Tantalus, in which the last is represented with a stream of water pouring from his hands, which are joined and raised to his mouth. The expression of pain and disappointment approaching to despair is admirably represented, to judge by the engraving given by Spence. In the same group Sisyphus is represented as carrying a huge stone on his shoulders up a steep mountain, which seems to agree with Ovid's expression: "Aeoliden saxum grave Sisyphon urget" (Met. xiii. 26). There is however but one story about Sisyphus' punishment, which Horace refers to (C. ii. 14. 20) as a 'longus labor.' Nor is he inconsistent in respect to Prometheus, whom in C. ii. 13. 37, 18. 35, he places in Tartarus. The story, as related prophetically by Hermes in Aeschylus' play (P. V. 1016 sqq.), is, that the Scythian rock on which Prometheus was first bound by Hephaestus was struck down, with him upon it, by Zeus into Hades, and that he was brought thence after a long time (*μακρὸν μῆκος ἐκτελευτήσας χρόνον*) to undergo upon earth the punishment awarded to Tityos in hell, of having his liver devoured by an eagle.

Optat Prometheus obligatus aliti,
Optat supremo collocare Sisyphus
In monte saxum; sed vetant leges Jovis.
Voles modo altis desilire turribus,
Modo ense pectus Norico recludere,
Frustraque vincla gutturi nectes tuo
Fastidiosa tristis aegrimonia.
Vectabor humeris tunc ego inimicis eques,
Meaeque terra cedet insolentiae.
An quae movere cereas imagines,
Ut ipse nosti curiosus, et polo
Deripere lunam vocibus possim meis,
Possim crematos excitare mortuos
Desiderique temperare pocula,
Plorem artis in te nil agentis exitus?

72. *gutturi nectes tuo*] Authority seems in favour of 'innectes.' But nevertheless Orelli edits 'nectes' with Bentley, who says Horace, if he had written 'innectes,' would have said 'vinclis' and 'guttur.' GVTTVRINECTES might easily, as Orelli says, be read 'gutturi innectes;' but he is not sure which Horace wrote, and is not much inclined to desert his best MSS. B and the Zürich. Dillenbr. has 'innectes.' The steel of Noricum (Carinthia and Styria) is mentioned C. i. 16. 9.

74. *Vectabor humeris*] She threatens to bestride his shoulders in triumph, and to spurn the earth in the pride of her revenge. I doubt the correctness of Forcellini's interpretation of 'insolentiae,' which Orelli adopts: "novis ausis, insolitis ac novis viribus, quibus ulciscar et deprimam omnes."

76. *movere cereas imagines*] To give life to waxen images made to represent an absent youth, and inspired with the tenderness or the pains he should feel. In S. i. 8. 30, such an image is introduced (see note), and the witch in Theocritus (ii. 28) melts a waxen image, and says:

ὡς τοῦτον τὸν καρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω,
ὡς τάκοιθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μύνδιος αὐτίκα Δέλφις,

which Virgil has imitated in his eighth Eclogue (v. 81):—

"Limus ut hic durescit, et haec ut cera liquescit
Uno eodemque igni, sic nostro Daphnis amore."

And Hypsipyle says of Medea (Ovid. Heroid. vi. 91):—

"Devovet absentes simulacraque cerea figit,
Et miserum tenues in jecur urget acus."

78. *Deripere*] The variations of the MSS. in the last lines are numerous. There is as usual 'diripere' for 'deripere,' of which the latter alone can be admitted; and 'possum' for 'possim.' Most of the MSS., and all the old editions of the thirteenth century, have the subjunctive, which is right. ["Shall I, who have the power ('quae possim'), or though I have the power, &c., bewail the results of an art ineffectual towards thee?"] 'Poculum' is the reading of some MSS. of weight, and of all the editions I have seen, till Bentley introduced 'pocula.' [Keller has 'poculum.'] I see no particular reason for preferring either; one reason which weighed with some, though I see no force in it, is removed by the reading 'exitus' for 'exitum,' which was supposed to jingle with 'poculum.' The plural 'exitus' appears in Orelli's three Berne MSS., and is the reading, among others, of Torrentius, who has 'habentis' for 'agentis.' 'Nullum habentis exitum' is Lambinus' reading; 'Nil habentis exitum' that of the Venetian (1483). 'Nil valentis exitum' is that of Sanadon and others; 'nil agentis' of the three Berne and Zürich and others. [Ritter has 'exitum.'] This is a common expression in Horace, and it appears to me the most suitable reading here, with at least as good authority as any other.

Q. HORATII FLACCI

SATIRARUM

LIBER PRIMUS.

SATIRE I.

The professed purpose of this Satire, or that with which Horace seems to have begun, may be gathered from the first two lines. Discontent with the condition that Providence has assigned them; disappointment with the position many years' labour and perhaps dishonesty have gained them; envy of their neighbours' circumstances, even if they are worse than their own; dissatisfaction in short with what they have and are, and craving for something they have not and are not,—these are features common to the great majority of men. For this vice of discontent the Greeks had the comprehensive name *μεμψιμοιρία*. It affords a wide field for satire, and could only be touched lightly, or in one or two of its many parts, in the compass of one short poem. It will be seen that after propounding the whole subject in the shape of a question to Maecenas, Horace confines himself to one solution of it, and that, it must be admitted, not the most comprehensive (see notes on vv. 28, 108). Nor has he managed the connexion between his question and the only answer he gives it with very great skill. Avarice is the only reason he assigns for the universal disease, and any one will see that hereby he leaves many untouched who are as culpably restless as the avaricious, but not in their sordid way. However, when he is upon this subject he writes, as he almost always does, with elegance and truth, and this is among the most popular of Horace's Satires.

The chronologists extract a date from the verses 114, 115:

> "Ut, quum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,
> Instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, ——"

which are a little like the last three verses in the first Georgic of Virgil:

> "Ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae,
> Addunt in spatia, et frustra retinacula tendens
> Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas."

These verses Horace is said to have imitated; and as this Georgic is supposed by some writers to have been published A.U.C. 719, the Satire could not have been written before that year. But even if 719 be correctly assigned as the date of the first Georgic, which there are no sufficient arguments to prove, it is not at all impossible that the above verses are imitated by both poets from some common original, as Orelli suggests. The likeness is not great.

The Satire is put first in the order of this book, not as an introduction as some say (of which it bears no signs), but because it is addressed to Maecenas.

ARGUMENT.

Maecenas, why is it that no man is content with his own lot, but every one envies his neighbour? The weary soldier envies the trader; the trader on the stormy deep envies the soldier; the jurisconsult, impatient of his early client, envies the countryman, who dragged up to town by a law suit envies the inhabitants of the town. There is no end to the instances. Well, suppose some god were to offer them their wish, and bid them change places,—they would refuse it! What hinders the wrath of heaven from visiting these murmurers, and the ears of Jove being closed against them for ever? But to be serious (though truth may be told in jest), the toiling ploughman, the cheating host, the soldier, the venturous trader, pretend their only object is to secure a provision for old age, like the ant provident of the future. But she retires when the winter comes, and enjoys her store; while winter and summer, fire, sword, and waves obstruct not your pursuit of wealth. What is the use of treasure which you hide like a coward in the ground? "O, but if you take from it you will soon reduce it to nothing." Be it so; but if you do not, what charm has the pile of coin? If you thresh thousands of bushels of corn, you cannot eat more than I can. The slave that carries the bread eats no more than he who carries none. Live within the bounds of nature, and a hundred acres are as good as a thousand. "But it is so pleasant to take what you want from a huge heap!" Nay, I do not see why my baskets are not as good as your barns, if I can take as much from my store as you from yours. You might as well prefer to draw a cup of water from the swollen Aufidus rather than from the little stream by your side; but so you may find that your life is the penalty of your greediness, while another gets his water clear, and keeps his life from drowning. But most men think they never can have enough. The more you have, say they, the more you will be thought of. Now what is to be done with a man of this sort? You can only leave him in the misery he prefers; as the miser at Athens, when the people hissed him, said, "Never mind; I look at my money-box when I get home, and applaud myself." Tantalus catches at the retreating waters—why smile? Change the name, and the story belongs to you. Even thus you gloat over your money as you would gaze at a lovely picture, but you dare not use it. What is the use of money? To buy the necessaries of life. To lie awake and tremble for thieves, is this your happiness? Save me from such happiness! "But if you are rich you have anxious friends to nurse you in sickness." Nay, you have not one. Your wife and children, your neighbours, and all the town detest you. How should it be otherwise? You prefer your money to them. Suppose you were to bestow a little pains in keeping the affections of your kindred—a blessing nature has given you at no cost of yours—would it be all lost labour? In short, cease your getting: having more than enough, enjoy what you have got, and remember the fate of Ummidius the miser. "Well, but what does all this mean? am I to be a spendthrift like some we know?" Nay, this is only to bring opposite extremes into comparison: all things have their limits, on either side of which right cannot stand. So I go back to what I began with—that greedy men are always dissatisfied and envy others; and instead of comparing themselves with those who are poorer, are always hastening to overtake some one ahead of them, like the driver in the chariot race; so that few retire from life as satisfied guests from a banquet, acknowledging with thankfulness the blessings they have enjoyed. But enough, or you will say I have ransacked Crispinus' desk.

Qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo quam sibi sortem
Seu ratio dederit seu fors objecerit, illa
Contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentes?
"O fortunati mercatores!" gravis annis
Miles ait multo jam fractus membra labore.
Contra mercator, navem jactantibus Austris:
"Militia est potior. Quid enim, concurritur: horae

1. *quam sibi sortem*] See note on C. i. 9. 14, as to 'sors' and 'fors.' These two are opposed as effect and cause, the condition and that which produces it. 'Fors' and 'ratio' are opposed as accident and design,—that which a man cannot help, and that which he carves out for himself. [Cic. ad Att. xiv. 13. 3.]

2. *illa*] Fea quotes several MSS. which have 'ulla' for 'illa,' and he adopts that reading as 'elegantius et plenius vulgato,' quoting Cicero in Verr. Act. ii. 5, c. 3: "Neque ego ullam in partem disputo," where he says 'ullam' is for 'alterutram.' But Cicero means that he in no way disputes the fact. 'Illa' is better than 'ulla' in every way, particularly, as Orelli says, as referring to 'quam.'

3. *laudet*] 'Laudare' is 'felicem praedicare,' *μακαρίζειν*. It is repeated below, v. 9, and in v. 109, where it occurs in combination with, and as equivalent to, 'probare.' Heindorf quotes Silius (i. 395): "Felix heu! nemorum et vitae laudandus opacae;" (iv. 260) "laudabat leti juvenem." So Cicero (de Am. c. 71) says, "Ex quo illorum beata mors videtur, horum vita laudabilis."

— *laudet diversa sequentes*] This is briefly expressed for 'sed quisque laudet,' as Heindorf remarks. The irregularity is almost imperceptible; the absence of a nominative is so little felt in such a position that any language will allow of its omission. See Plato) Rep. ii. p. 366 D): *τῶν γε ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ἑκὼν δίκαιος ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνανδρίας— ψέγει τὸ ἀδικεῖν ἀδυνατῶν αὐτὸ δρᾶν.* In the transition from negative to positive statements, the positive element which is contained in the former is often carried on in the mind so as to affect the latter, as in those sentences which are coupled by 'nec' and 'et,' *οὔτε* and *τε*.

4. *gravis annis*] I see no reason for adopting, with Orelli, Jahn's limitation, "Significat poeta non annos vitae sed annos militiae." Virgil says (Aen. ix. 246): "Hic annis gravis atque animi maturus Aletes." 'Gravis' is one of the commonest words applied to old age, and *βαρύς* is equally common in the same sense. That Augustus' soldiers got their discharge before they were fifty is nothing to the purpose. A hard-worked soldier would feel the advance of age sooner than a man of peace and ease. Horace, in his own campaigning, had heard many a veteran no doubt grumbling at his condition; and if he wrote 'annis,' he meant age, not service. Lucan puts such complaints into the lips of Caesar's soldiers (v. 273 sqq.):

"—— Finis quis quaeritur armis?
Quid satis est, si Roma parum? jam respice canos,
Invalidasque manus, et inanes cerne lacertos.
Usus abest vitae: bellis consumpsimus aevum."

'Armis' is a conjectural reading which some editors have adopted, and Heindorf says it is specious (schmeichelnd), but it is not general enough to be admitted, and the MSS. are unanimously against it. ['Fractus membra:' see C. i. 2. 31 n.]

7. *Quid enim, concurritur*] I have not inserted the usual note of interrogation after 'enim.' 'Quid' and 'quid enim' are each used as introductory to something that illustrates, or explains, or accounts for what has just been said. They introduce an example, or they carry on an argument, or something of that sort. It is not difficult to see how that conventional sense may have become connected with the word 'quid,' but to explain it by an ellipse, as "quid est enim quod contradici queat? nonne concurritur?" (Heindorf,) and so to point the words as to indicate that meaning, even if that explanation were correct, which I doubt, is no more desirable than to break up any other sentence and reduce it to its possible elements. Any language would be spoilt by such a process. (See C. ii. 18. 23 n.) What Orelli says, that in Cicero the formula 'quid enim' is always followed by another question, only shows how little necessity there is for interrupting the sentence as he does, by an interrogation after those words. Fea's reading,

Momento cita mors venit aut victoria laeta."
Agricolam laudat juris legumque peritus,
Sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat.
Ille datis vadibus qui rure extractus in urbem est

'quid ni?' which was suggested to Lambinus by a friend of his, and which he liked, but supposed it to want authority, which has since been supplied by four of Fea's MSS., is as bad as possible. Acron has the following note "quid enim: quare non: et est comicum," from which it is inferred his reading was 'quidni?' Whether that be so or not, the reading is a bad one.

8. *Momento cita mors venit*] 'Horae momento' is a common phrase in Livy and other writers. Horace has 'puncto mobilis horae' (Epp. ii. 2. 172). Punctum' is perhaps a little more precise than 'momentum,' which signifies the progress of time, though conventionally its smallest division. Pliny draws a distinction between them (Panegy. c. 56. 2): "quod momentum, quod immo temporis punctum aut beneficio sterile aut vacuum laude?" Lambinus, on the authority of four of his MSS., but against all the best, reads 'momento aut cita;' and Bentley follows him, saying, that without the disjunctive particle the reading is "ominosum plane et infaustum." Heindorf puts in the particle, but I think it is better omitted. It gives too much precision to the sentence, considering the position of the speaker, as Reisig observes.

9. *juris legumque peritus*] "Jura dabat legesque viris" (Aen. i. 507). "Haec nos juris, legum, urbium societate devinxit" (Cic. de N. D. ii. c. 59). On the distinction between 'leges' and 'jus' see Dict. Ant., article 'Jus,' and Mr. Long's Excursus on Edicta Magistratuum (Cic. in Verr. i. 177, 2nd ed.). Cicero (de Or. i. 48) thus defines a jurisconsultus: "Sin autem quaereretur quisnam jurisconsultus vere nominaretur, eum dicerem qui legum et consuetudinis ejus qua privati in civitate uterentur, et ad respondendum et ad agendum et ad cavendum peritus esset; et ex eo genere Sex. Aelium, M'Manilium, P. Mucium nominarem." L. Crassus (de Or. iii. 33) says that he had seen M'Manilius "transverso ambulantem foro, quod erat insigne eum qui id faceret facere civibus omnibus consilii sui copiam; ad quos olim et ita ambulantes et in solio sedentes domi sic adibatur, non solum ut de jure civili ad eos, verum etiam de filia collocanda, de fundo emendo, de agro colendo, de omni denique aut officio, aut negotio, referretur." The same he says was the practice of P. Crassus, Ti. Coruncanius, and Scipio, all Pontifices Maximi, who gave their advice on the Jus Pontificium and matters not only of law, but of private interest, on all questions of daily life and religion. At the time Horace wrote, the Jus respondendi, whatever it meant (Puchta, i. 559. 1st ed. Inst., and art. 'Jurisconsultus,' Dict. Ant.), was not established, and the number of those who gave legal advice was probably large, but they were always distinct from the professors and teachers, and 'advocati,' and others, who were paid for their services, and from 'oratores,' though the 'consultus' sometimes was an 'orator' or 'patronus,' which is included in the word 'agere,' used by Cicero above. If we are to believe this statement of Horace, and another to the same effect (Epp. ii. 1. 103),

"Romae dulce diu fuit et sollenne reclusa
Mane domo vigilare, clienti promere jura,"

and that of Cicero (pro Muren. c. 9), "Vigilas tu (that is, Servius Sulpicius) de nocte ut tuis consultoribus respondeas; ille (that is, a general) ut eo quo intendit cum exercitu perveniat; te gallorum, illum buccinarum cantus exsuscitat,"—we must suppose that these learned persons, who gave their 'responsa' gratuitously, sacrificed their own convenience to the anxiety of their clients, and received them at a very early hour in the morning. On 'laudat' see v. 3 n. ['Sub galli cantum:' 'about cock-crow.' See Epod. ii. 44 n.]

11. *datis vadibus*] The term 'vades dare,' or more exactly 'promittere,' is explained clearly in Mr. Long's note on Cic. in Verr. Act. ii. 3. 15. 'Vades' were sureties provided by the defendant, to secure his appearance before the praetor at a time agreed upon between the plaintiff and himself. If he did not appear, he forfeited the amount of the 'vadimonium' or agreement, and his 'vades' were liable to pay it if he did not. (See S. i. 9. 36 n.) The person here represented therefore is the defendant in an action going up reluctantly to Rome, to appear before the Praetor according to his agreement. 'Ille' is as if the man were before us.

Solos felices viventes clamat in urbe.
Cetera de genere hoc, adeo sunt multa, loquacem
Delassare valent Fabium. Ne te morer, audi
Quo rem deducam. Si quis Deus, "En ego," dicat,
"Jam faciam quod vultis: eris tu, qui modo miles,
Mercator; tu, consultus modo, rusticus: hinc vos,
Vos hinc mutatis discedite partibus: Eia!
Quid statis?" nolint. Atqui licet esse beatis.
Quid causae est merito quin illis Jupiter ambas
Iratus buccas inflet, neque se fore posthac
Tam facilem dicat votis ut praebeat aurem?
Praeterea ne sic, ut qui jocularia, ridens
Percurram (quamquam ridentem dicere verum
Quid vetat? ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi
Doctores elementa velint ut discere prima);
Sed tamen amoto quaeramus seria ludo.
Ille gravem duro terram qui vertit aratro,

[13. *Cetera de genere hoc*] This expression, says Ritter, shows that Horace was fresh from the reading of Lucretius; and it is a fair suggestion. Ritter refers to Lucretius iv. 460, 742, and other passages.]

14. *Delassare valent*] Though 'delasso' does not occur elsewhere, there is no reason to suspect the word or to alter it. The intensive force of 'de' is well added to 'lasso.' It corresponds to κατά, which has the same force. By making 'adeo sunt multa' parenthetical, the construction is plain. Acron says that Fabius was a Roman 'eques' of Narbo, who wrote some books on the Stoic philosophy; that he was of Pompeius' party, and that he often disputed with Horace, whence he calls him 'loquax;' which looks very like an invention derived from the text. Porphyrion and Cruquius' Commentator both tell the same story, and the former gives him the cognomen Maximus. Supposing him to be the Fabius we meet with below (2. 134), we learn nothing more of him from that passage. One of the Scholiasts (Comm. Cruq.) there calls him a 'jurisconsultus,'—probably invented, Estré says, from the word 'judice,' though no two words could be much more different in meaning,—and adds that he was detected in adultery. ['Valere' with an infinitive is usual in Horace, S. i. 9. 39, &c.]

15. *Si quis Deus*] This is not a Roman way of speaking, but Greek, εἰ δαίμων τις. 'En ego' does not belong to 'faciam,' but is absolute: 'Here am I.' 'Eia' is an exclamation of haste, 'Away!' 'Nolint,' 'they would not' (οὐκ ἐθέλοιεν ἄν), is the apodosis to 'si quis Deus dicat.' Compare S. ii. 7. 24: "Si quis ad illa deus subito te agat, usque recuses." A small number of MSS. and editions have 'nolunt,' which is clearly wrong.

21. *Iratus buccas inflet*] An obvious but not very reverential representation of passion. Heindorf quotes Dem. de F. L. p. 442: διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πορεύεται θοιμάτιον καθεὶς ἄχρι τῶν σφυρῶν, ἴσα βαίνων Πυθόκλει, τὰς γνάθους φυσῶν.

27. *Sed tamen amoto*] 'Sed,' 'sed tamen,' 'veruntamen' are often used, and especially by Cicero, not to express opposition but after a parenthesis or digression, as here and C. iv. 4. 22. See for another instance, Cic. in Verr. (ii. 3. 2): "Atque ego hoc plus oneris habeo quam qui ceteros accusarunt, si onus est id appellandum quod cum laetitia feras et voluptate, veruntamen ego hoc amplius suscepi quam ceteri."

28. *Ille gravem*] The cause of that discontent which was spoken of at the beginning is here traced to the love of money, each man thinking that his neighbour is getting it faster than he is, and wishing therefore to change places with him. But Horace does not mean that to be the only solution of the universal discontent. That would be absurd, and one at least of his own examples would contradict his theory,

Perfidus hic caupo, miles, nautaeque per omne
Audaces mare qui currunt, hac mente laborem
Sese ferre, senes ut in otia tuta recedant,
Aiunt, quum sibi sint congesta cibaria: sicut
Parvula, nam exemplo est, magni formica laboris
Ore trahit quodcunque potest atque addit acervo,
Quem struit haud ignara ac non incauta futuri.
Quae, simul inversum contristat Aquarius annum,
Non usquam prorepit et illis utitur ante
Quaesitis sapiens; quum te neque fervidus aestus
Demoveat lucro, neque hiems, ignis, mare, ferrum,

the jurisconsultus, who did not pursue his laborious vocation for pay. He therefore shifts or limits his ground a little, and dwells upon that which he supposes to be the most prevalent cause of discontent; and with his ground he changes his examples. There is no reason, therefore, to suspect the reading 'perfidus hic caupo,' which has caused the critics a vast deal of trouble ever since Markland first suggested that it was wrong. Orelli has quoted nine different conjectural readings, not one of which seems to me to have any merit. Fea has found in a few MSS. the word 'campo' for 'caupo,' but that is not surprising. There are no other variations in the MSS. or Scholiasts, and this gives no sense at all. 'Nauta' and 'mercator' here are the same person, the trader navigating his own ship. (C. i. 28. 23, and Intr.) 'Perfidus caupo' appears again in 'cauponibus atque malignis' (S. i. 5. 4). 'Per omne Audaces mare qui currunt' is repeated from C. i. 3. 9 sqq. ['Caupones et stabularios eos accipimus qui cauponam vel stabulum exercent institoresve (their agents) eorum.' The 'caupo' is an innkeeper; the 'stabularius' is a 'stable-keeper' 'qui permittit jumenta apud eum stabulari.' Their liabilities to those who lodged with them or entrusted their beasts to them were defined by rules of law, which are the origin of our rules. Dig. 4. tit. 9.]

32. *cibaria*] This word, which is generally used for the rations of soldiers or slaves, is used here ironically for the humblest provision that can be made for the latter years of life, as if that was all that these men set before their minds.

35. *haud ignara ac non incauta futuri*] Experience tells her that times will change, and instinct teaches her to provide against that change; she knows what is coming, and provides accordingly. This is what Horace means; but the ant is torpid in the winter, and lays up no store in her house for that season, though no error is more common than to suppose that she does. These animals work hard during the warmer months of the year, but the food they gather is consumed before the winter. 'Quae' is opposed to 'quum te:' 'now she.' 'Inversum annum' is compounded of the two notions 'inversum caelum' and 'mutatum annum.' The sun enters Aquarius in the middle of January. Virgil uses the word 'contristat' (Georg. iii. 279): "unde nigerrimus Auster Nascitur, et pluvio contristat frigore caelum." The MSS. are divided between 'sapiens' and 'patiens.' The Scholiasts too are divided. Acron had 'patiens,' and interpreted it 'contenta,' while Porphyrion's reading, and that of Cruquius' Commentator, was 'sapiens.' The editions before Lambinus I believe, with scarcely any exceptions, have 'patiens.' He restored 'sapiens,' which Cruquius found in all his MSS., and I have no doubt it is the right word. It suits the context, and corresponds to what Horace says elsewhere (C. iv. 9. 45):—

"deorum
Muneribus sapienter uti."

The question at issue is not one of patience, but of prudence in the pursuit and the use of wealth, both of which, according to the vulgar error, the ant is famous for. She is one of the "four things which are little upon the earth, but they are exceeding wise"—the ants, the conies, the locusts, and the spiders. (Prov. xxx. 24 sqq.)

39. *ignis, mare, ferrum*] This is a mere proverbial way of speaking, common to all languages. No obstacles are too great for a man who has a selfish purpose to serve, if he has set his heart upon it.

Nil obstet tibi dum ne sit te ditior alter.
Quid juvat immensum te argenti pondus et auri
Furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?
"Quod si comminuas vilem redigatur ad assem."
At ni id fit quid habet pulchri constructus acervus?
Milia frumenti tua triverit area centum,
Non tuus hoc capiet venter plus ac meus: ut si
Reticulum panis venales inter onusto
Forte vehas humero, nihilo plus accipias quam
Qui nil portarit. Vel dic quid referat intra

The second person is used to give force to the language. The self-deceiver is confronted with his own illustration.

42. *Furtim*] Orelli says that 'furtim' belongs only to 'defossa;' but 'defossa deponere terra' cannot be taken too closely together, as Dillenbr. justly remarks.

43. *Quod si comminuas*] The miser is supposed to interrupt, and say, "but if you were to take from it, it would soon dwindle to a paltry 'as.'" Bentley and some others put a comma after 'quod,' and make the same person speak the whole. Though 'quod' is always the neuter of the relative, whether it be translated 'that,' 'because,' or 'but,' here it is "used to connect a new sentence with what precedes" (Key's L. G. 1454 *i*), and is not connected with 'pondus' as its antecedent. [I think it is: but the explanation is right.]

45. *Milia frumenti*] 'Modiorum' must be supplied. As to 'millia,' 'mille,' see S. ii. 3. 197 n. On 'area,' see C. i. 1. 18 n. 'Triverit,' 'suppose that it threshes.' On this concessive use of the subjunctive, see Key's L. G. 1227 b. The practice of putting a note of interrogation in such sentences as this is bad. The older editions generally have it. See Cic. in Verr. Act. ii. 3. 2: "Furem aliquem aut rapacem accusaris: vitanda tibi semper erit omnis avaritiae suspicio," &c., with Long's note and Heindorf's on this passage. Similar constructions are S. 10. 64: "Fuerit Lucilius inquam Comis et urbanus; fuerit limatior—sed ille," &c. S. 3. 15: "Decies centena dedisses:—quinque diebus nil erat in loculis." Epp. i. 1. 87: "Lectus genialis in aula est; Nil ait esse prius, melius nil coelibe vita." Epp. i. 6. 29: "Vis recte vivere: quis non?" v. 31, "virtutem verba putas ut lucum ligna: cave ne portus occupet alter." Horace uses the ablative 'hoc' for 'propter hanc rem' in other places. S. i. 3. 93: "Minus hoc jucundus amicus Sit mihi?" 9. 7, "Hic ego, Pluris hoc mihi semper eris." See the passage of Cicero quoted on v. 27. Lambinus says, incorrectly, that 'hoc' is to be taken δεικτικῶς, 'by so much,' "verbi gratia, pilo et similibus." 'Plus ac' occurs again S. i. 6. 130, "victurum suavius ac si." S. i. 10. 34, "non ligna feras insanius ac si." S. i. 10. 59, "Mollius ac si quis." S. ii. 3. 270, "Nihilo plus explicet ac si Insanire paret." Cicero likewise uses 'ac' with the comparative (Ad Att. xiii. 2), "Diutius abfuturus ac vellem." See Key's L. G. § 1439. 'Plus quam' occurs immediately below. The scene that follows is that of a rich man's household preceding him to the country, a pack of slaves (venales), some carrying provisions and particularly town-made bread in netted bags (reticula), and others with different burthens, and some with none at all. The man who carried the bread would not get any more of it on that account when the rations were given out, but all would share alike. ['Venales' may mean a gang of slaves for sale: Krüger.]

49. *quid referat—viventi*] This is a very natural construction. 'Rēfert' is 'rem fert' (Key's L. G. 910), and the construction 'mea,' 'tua,' &c., 'refert,' is no more, as Professor Key shows, than a corruption of 'meam,' 'tuam,' &c., 'rem fert.' So 'magni refert' is 'rem magni fert,' 'it brings with it a matter of great price' and 'refert viventi' signifies 'it brings something that concerns him who lives,' that is, it affects him, and 'quid refert' is 'wherein does it affect him?' The bounds of nature can only be explained relatively. Artificial wants are natural wants in some conditions of life, but this second nature also has its limits, which there are few that do not transgress who can. The man who can live upon the produce of a hundred acres might live upon fifty and still satisfy the wants of nature, though in some conditions of society, in which the wants of

Naturae fines viventi jugera centum an
Mille aret? "At suave est ex magno tollere acervo."
Dum ex parvo nobis tantundem haurire relinquas,
Cur tua plus laudes cumeris granaria nostris?
Ut tibi si sit opus liquidi non amplius urna,
Vel cyatho, et dicas, "Magno de flumine malim
Quam ex hoc fonticulo tantundem sumere." Eo fit
Plenior ut si quos delectet copia justo
Cum ripa simul avulsos ferat Aufidus acer.
At qui tantuli eget quanto est opus is neque limo
Turbatam haurit aquam neque vitam amittit in undis.
At bona pars hominum decepta cupidine falso,

nature become confused with the wants of fashion, he would find it hard to do so; and the fault lies in a great degree, though not entirely, with the social laws or habits which create that difficulty. The case supposed is that of a man who professes to wish to live reasonably, and has greater wealth than a reasonable mode of life requires. What value, Horace asks, has the surplus for the owner? The answer (introduced as usual by 'at') sounds irrational, and even extravagant, but it is the only solution of avarice in its simple form.

[50. *centum an mille*] This is one of the forms of expressing an alternative, which is expressed at length by 'utrum an,' and 'ne an.']

53. *cumeris*] Acron explains 'cumerae' as large baskets of wicker-work or earthenware vessels like a 'dolium,' in which farmers kept their wheat. He says that 'cumerae' were also vessels of smaller capacity containing five or six 'modii,' called in the Sabine language 'trimodiae.'

54. *liquidi*] This word is used for 'aqua' by Ovid (Met. v. 454): "Cum liquido mixta perfundit diva polenta." The 'urna,' one of the Roman liquid measures, contained half an 'amphora,' or twenty-four 'sextarii.' The 'cyathus' contained one-twelfth of a 'sextarius. (C. iii. 19. 14 n.). ['Non amplius:' 'a pitcher of water, not more.' This form occurs in Caesar: B. G. i. 41, 'milium amplius quinquaginta circuitu.' 'Amplius' in such cases is independent of the grammatical construction.]

55. *malim*] All the editions before Bentley had 'mallem,' which he changed to 'malim,' not without MS. authority. Fea, Cunningham, Sanadon, Meineke, and others have the present. 'Malim' simply means 'I would rather;' 'mallem,' 'I would have done it if I could, but the time is past.' Heindorf defends 'malim.' The 'violens Aufidus' (C. iii. 30. 10) represents the copious stream, because it is Horace's purpose to represent a river rapid as well as broad. Swinburne ('Travels in the two Sicilies,' vol. i. p. 165) says of this river, which he visited in the summer of 1778, "there was but little water in it, and that whitish and muddy; but from the wideness of its bed, the sandbanks and buttresses erected to break the force of the stream, it is plain that it still answers to Horace's epithets of fierce, roaring, and violent." See C. iv. 14. 25 n. [Orelli and Ritter have 'mallem.' Ritter has the following note: 'mallem' si fieri posset: at fieri nunc non potest, quippe ad fonticulum est, ut ostendunt verba 'ex hoc fonticulo,' non in fluminis ripa. Recte igitur se habet "mallem" non "malim." He seems to suppose that the river is almost dry, and is then called a 'fonticulus' and opposed to a river which is 'magnum' or full. This is ingenious, but perhaps not the true explanation.]

59. *tantuli eget quanto est opus*] From some unknown MSS. which Lambinus says have 'quantum,' Bentley adopts that reading. All the editions before him and all other MSS. have 'quanto.' The nominative 'quantum' is admissible, as Bentley has shown (see also Key's L. Gr. § 999 note), and if the weight and existence of Lambinus's MSS. were more certain, there would be something in Bentley's argument (the common one) that the copyists were more likely to change 'quantum' into 'quanto' than, *vice versa*, the ablative into the nominative.

61. *bona pars*] "Bona pars: major" (Acron). "Bona nunc pro magna dictum, ut saepe Ennius et alii veteres" (Porph.).

"Nil satis est," inquit; "quia tanti quantum habeas sis."
Quid facias illi? Jubeas miserum esse, libenter
Quatenus id facit; ut quidam memoratur Athenis
Sordidus ac dives, populi contemnere voces
Sic solitus: "Populus me sibilat; at mihi plaudo
Ipse domi simul ac nummos contemplor in arca."
Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat
Flumina . . . . Quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur: congestis undique saccis
Indormis inhians et tamquam parcere sacris
Cogeris aut pictis tamquam gaudere tabellis.
Nescis quo valeat nummus? quem praebeat usum?
Panis ematur, olus, vini sextarius, adde
Quîs humana sibi doleat natura negatis.

See Terence (Eun. i. 2. 43): "Nam hic quoque bonam magnamque partem ad te attulit." A. P. 297: "Bona pars non ungues ponere curat." On 'cupido,' see C. ii. 16. 15 n.

62. *tanti quantum habeas sis*] This appears to have been a proverb. Lambinus quotes Plutarch (περὶ φιλοπλουτίας, c. 7) ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν ἃ παραινοῦσι καὶ διδάσκουσι· κέρδαινε καὶ φείδου καὶ τοσούτου νόμιζε σαυτὸν ἄξιον ὅσον ἂν ἔχῃς. Jacobs (Lect. Ven. p. 383) has restored the last words thus as taken from some comic poet:—

> κέρδαινε, φείδου, καὶ τοσούτου γ' ἄξιον
> νόμιζε σαυτὸν . . . . ὅσον ἂν ἔχῃς.

Jacobs also refers to Seneca (Ep. 115. 14), "Ubique tanti quisque quantum habuit fuit," which is taken from a tragic poet of Greece. Two verses of Lucilius are quoted by the Scholiast on Juvenal, iii. 143 ("Quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca Tantum habet et fidei"):—

> "Aurum atque ambitio specimen virtutis ubique est;
> Tantum (quantum?) habeas tantum ipse sies tantique habearis."

63. *illi*] 'Such a man as this;' but Bentley, taking it to refer to 'pars,' reads 'miseram' on his own conjecture. Orelli quotes one MS. in its favour. 'Quatenus' signifies 'since,' not 'quamdiu,' as Acron says and others following him. See C. iii. 24. 30. The story that follows may have been picked up by Horace at Athens or invented by him. Acron says it refers to Timon, who hating man retired to his money-bags for consolation, which is nonsense; but Lambinus has repeated it. [The construction 'Quid facias illi?' 'what would you do with such a man?' is common; and the ablative is also used in the same sense.]

69. *Quid rides*] The miser is supposed to laugh at Horace's trite illustration and the solemn way it is announced; perhaps, Orelli says, in imitation of some poet of the day, but I think more likely from his own head. [Wieland in his translation of the Satires explains 'Quid rides,' thus. The covetous man smiles when Horace solemnly begins to talk of silly stories which nobody at that time believed. See Cicero, Pro Cluentio, c. 61, Juvenal, Sat. ii. 149. But the Satirist shows him the application of the fable.] This version of the legend of Tantalus is taken from Homer (Odyss. xi. 582). Pindar (Ol. i. 57) and other poets give a different one, that a stone was kept always hanging over and threatening to fall upon him. See Euripides, Orest. v. 5; Lucretius, iii. 993 sq. See also Epod. xvii. 66 n.

71. *tamquam parcere sacris*] This appears to have been a proverbial expression. Compare Isocrates (Panath. c. 66): τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἀπέχεσθαι σφόδρα δεδογμένον ἦν ὥσπερ τοῖς εὐσεβέσι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀνακειμένων. See also S. ii. 3. 109 sq.: "Nescius uti Compositis metuensque velut contingere sacrum?"

[73. Ritter writes this line without the (?), and perhaps he does right.]

74. *sextarius*] See v. 54 n. A 'sextarius' of wine would be quite enough for one temperate man's consumption in a day. [Ritter writes 'holus.']

An vigilare metu exanimem, noctesque diesque
Formidare malos fures, incendia, servos
Ne te compilent fugientes, hoc juvat? Horum
Semper ego optarim pauperrimus esse bonorum.
"At si condoluit tentatum frigore corpus,
Aut alius casus lecto te adfixit, habes qui
Adsideat, fomenta paret, medicum roget ut te
Suscitet ac gnatis reddat carisque propinquis."
Non uxor salvum te vult, non filius; omnes
Vicini oderunt, noti, pueri atque puellae.
Miraris, quum tu argento post omnia ponas,
Si nemo praestet quem non merearis amorem?
An si cognatos, nullo natura labore
Quos tibi dat, retinere velis servareque amicos,
Infelix operam perdas, ut si quis asellum
In Campo doceat parentem currere frenis?

[78. *compilent*] See v. 121. 'Compilare' means 'to rob.' Asconius, commonly called Pseudo-Asconius, explains the word thus, p. 167 (Cic. Verr. ii. 1. 13): 'Pilos pervellerit, sic fraudaverit furto ut ne pilos quidem in corpore spoliatis reliquerit.']

79. *pauperrimus—bonorum*] C. iii. 30. 11, "Pauper aquae Daunus." S. ii. 3. 142, "Pauper Opimius argenti positi intus et auri." 'Tentatum' in the next line is a word used in connexion with diseases.

80. *At si condoluit*] This may be an argument urged by the avaricious man: 'if you have money you will have anxious friends to nurse you in sickness.' Orelli puts a (?) after 'propinquis,' and supposes the meaning to be, 'if you are sick will any one nurse you and pray for your recovery? Not one.' But 'at' seems to be the introduction of a reply, which use it so often serves. [Ritter also says that 80—83 are to be assigned to the poet; and then the sense may be, 'Well, you will say,' &c.; and the answer will be 'Non uxor,' &c. But Ritter also puts a (?) after 'propinquis.']

81. *lecto te adfixit*] The old editions nearly all have this reading. Most MSS., and among them those of the Berne, have 'afflixit,' which Lambinus and Cruquius adopt, and the former declares the correctness of that reading is not to be doubted. He adopts the same in S. ii. 2. 79. He takes it to have the same meaning here as there, 'illidere.' But it is not suitable in either place. Bentley has aptly quoted Seneca (Ep. 67): "Ago gratias senectuti quod me lectulo affixit;" and Cicero (in Verr. Act. ii. 5. 7): "Pater grandis natu jam diu lecto tenebatur."

85. *pueri atque puellae*] This proverbial sort of expression occurs S. ii. 3. 130.

[86. *argento post*] There seems no explanation of this except that 'argento' depends on the preposition 'post.' Ritter quotes a similar use of 'ante' from Cicero (De Off. iii. 13): 'malitia—mala bonis ponit ante.']

88. *An si cognatos*] 'But say, if you would retain and keep the affection of those relations whom nature gives you without any trouble of your own, would you lose your labour, like the luckless fool that tries to turn an ass into a racer?' 'Nullo labore' cannot go with 'retinere,' as Dacier and others take it. The position of the words forbids it, and 'operam perdas' would have no meaning. 'Sine labore tuo' is Porphyrion's explanation, and 'gratuitos' is Acron's, though he notices the other. 'At si' is the reading of the Scholiasts, of the old editions, and most MSS. 'Ac si' is in others, and Heindorf adopts it. Various other readings have been proposed, but 'at' or 'an' are the best. Orelli (2nd ed.) adopts 'an' on the authority of his two oldest MSS. With either the sentence should be pointed interrogatively. [Orelli, 3rd ed. 'At si . . . frenis.'] Training an ass to run in the Campus among the horses (C. i. 8. 5; iii. 12. 7) was perhaps a proverbial way of expressing lost labour.

Denique sit finis quaerendi, quumque habeas plus
Pauperiem metuas minus et finire laborem
Incipias, parto quod avebas, ne facias quod
Ummidius quidam, non longa est fabula, dives
Ut metiretur nummos; ita sordidus ut se
Non unquam servo melius vestiret; adusque
Supremum tempus, ne se penuria victus
Opprimeret metuebat. At hunc liberta securi
Divisit medium, fortissima Tyndaridarum.
"Quid mi igitur suades? ut vivam Maenius aut sic

92. *quumque habeas plus*] This is the reading of all the MSS. Some editors have adopted 'quoque' on the conjecture of Muretus. 'The more you have you may fear poverty less,' would be an encouragement to hoarding instead of a dissuasion. What Horace says is, 'Since you have more than others, you should fear poverty less.' ['Denique,' 'to conclude,' 'kurz und gut,' or 'ut brevi praecidam,' as Ritter says.]

95. *Ummidius quidam*] The orthography of this name (for which the coined name Nummidius has been substituted by some to suit the occasion, and Fufidius by others, from the next satire, v. 12) is decided by Bentley from inscriptions and a passage from Varro (de Re Rust. iii. 3. 9), where one of this name is mentioned, who Bentley thinks may be Horace's Ummidius. He also says that a man so rich must have been very celebrated, and would not have been spoken of as 'a certain Ummidius;' and for this and other reasons he changes 'quidam' into 'qui tam' on his own conjecture. The end of this worthy was that he was murdered by one of his freedwomen (his mistress probably), who Horace says was as stout-hearted as Clytemnestra, the bravest of her family. 'Tyndaridarum' is masculine: 'Tyndaridum' would be the feminine form. The sons of Tyndarus, therefore, as well as his daughters, must be included, as Lambinus, Bentley, and others observe. 'Facias' is equivalent to πράσσειν, 'to fare.' ['Dives ut metiretur:' 'so rich that he measured, not counted his money.' This is a common formula, both in prose and verse; and Bentley's emendation is very bad. See Epod. xvi. 31.]

97. *adusque*] Forcellini gives only two other instances of this word from writings of Horace's day. Virgil (Aen. xi. 262), "Menelaus adusque columnas Exsulat," and Horace himself (S. i. 5. 96), "adusque Bari moenia piscosi." It is only an inversion of 'usque ad,' 'every step to.'

101. *ut vivam Maenius*] The construction is the same as "discinctus aut perdam nepos" (Epod. i. 34 n.). Maenius and Nomentanus appear to have been squanderers of money and good livers, according to the obvious meaning of this passage, which the Scholiasts mistaking make Maenius a sordid fellow and Nomentanus a prodigal. They are united again in S. i. 8. 11; ii. 1. 22, where the former appears under the name Pantolabus, one who lays his hands on any thing he can get. He spent his money and turned parasite. This is in accordance with what the Scholiasts Acron and Comm. Cruq. affirm on Epp. i. 15. 26:—

"Maenius ut rebus maternis atque paternis
Fortiter absumptis."

But on S. i. 8. 11 they tell a different story, and say that the real name of Pantolabus was Mallius, to which Acron and Porphyrion add Verna, whether as a description or a cognomen is uncertain. Comm. Cruq. for 'Verna' has 'Scurra.' It has been proposed accordingly to change Maenius into Mallius in the above Epistle. (Heusdius, Studia Crit. in C. Lucilium, p. 230.) But we had better admit some confusion to exist in the Scholiasts' statements or text. Both Maenius and Nomentanus are names used by Lucilius for characters of the same kind, and Horace may have only borrowed the names to represent some living characters whom he does not choose to mention. Nomentanus (whom the Scholiasts on this passage call L. Cassius) was the name of one of the guests at Nasidienus' dinner (S. ii. 8. 25), and the Scholiasts tell us a story of the historian Sallust hiring his cook for an enormous sum of money. Cruquius' Commentator (on the passage last quoted) says he was a 'decumanus,' one who farmed the 'decumae,' and therefore an 'eques'

Ut Nomentanus?" Pergis pugnantia secum
Frontibus adversis componere: non ego avarum
Quum veto te fieri vappam jubeo ac nebulonem.
Est inter Tanaïn quiddam socerumque Visellî.
Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.
Illuc unde abii redeo, nemo ut avarus
Se probet ac potius laudet diversa sequentes,
Quodque aliena capella gerat distentius uber
Tabescat, neque se majori pauperiorum
Turbae comparet, hunc atque hunc superare laboret.
Sic festinanti semper locupletior obstat,
Ut, quum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,

(Cic. in Verr. Act. ii. 2. 71, and 3. 6, Long's notes). He appears again S. ii. 3. 224 sqq. Seneca (de Vit. be. c. 11) compares one of this name with Apicius. The Scholiasts have confounded Maenius with him in whose honour the Maenia columna was raised, C. Maenius, the conqueror of the Latins (Livy viii. 13). [Ritter says that 'Maenius' is not in the MSS., and he writes 'Naevius,' as Cruquius and Fea do.]

103. *Frontibus adversis componere*] These words go together, 'to bring face to face, and compare or match.' Some take 'frontibus adversis' with 'pugnantia,' but that would appear to mean that the man was reconciling two things at issue with one another, which is not Horace's meaning. [Comp. S. i. 2. 73, 'pugnantiaque istis.']

104. *vappam*] "Vappa hic dicitur perditus et luxuriosus, stultus, insulsus, qui nihil sapit; a vino corrupto et evanido quod saporem perdidit. Nebulones autem vani et leves ut nebulae; nam cum sine certo consilio vitam degant, nebulis sunt et umbris hominum similes." These are the clear definitions given by Cruquius' Commentator. [See S. i. 5. 16.]

105. *Tanaïn—socerumque Visellî*] All that can be said of these persons now is contained in the words of Porphyrion and Comm. Cruq. The words of the latter are "Tanaïs spado fuit, Maecenatis libertus; at Visellii socer herniosus;" and Porphyrion adds that some say that he was a freedman of L. Munatius Plancus. He also says that Horace has conveyed under these names a well-known Greek proverb.

108. *nemo ut avarus*] 'I return to that point from whence I have digressed, how that no covetous man is satisfied with himself.' I adopt this reading with some misgiving. The hiatus is different from other hiatuses by which Orelli defends it. 'Nemo' appears (Fea says) in the Editio Princeps printed at Milan in 1476. It is in the Venetian edition of 1483, and some of Cruquius' MSS., and some others referred to by Fea. The best MS. reading is 'nemon',' which would imply that Horace had broken out again, as at the first, "can it be that no covetous man," &c. That does not read pleasantly. ["Vetus Blandinius, qui in Sermonibus omnes codices superat, clare sic scriptum habet, 'nemo ut.'" Ritter.] But Lambinus, Bentley, Fea, Heindorf, and many others have 'nemon';' and Heindorf argues, from the harshness of the transition, that the Satire is an early production;—a bad argument. Other readings there are, as 'nemo ut sit avarus' (which was that of the Scholiasts), 'qui nemo ut avarus;' but they do not give a clear meaning. 'Redeamus,' or 'redeundum,' would get rid of the difficulty; but they have no authority. I do not agree with Dillenbr. that the fear of the hiatus in this place which has led to the above corrections is "ineptus timor." I do not like it at all. Horace qualifies the general assertion he made at the outset by limiting his remark to the avaricious. See note on v. 28; and on 'laudet' see v. 3.

110. *Quodque aliena capella*] Porphyrion calls this a proverbial saying, quoting Ovid (A. A. i. 349):—

"Fertilior seges est alienis semper in agris;
Vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet."

Instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum
Praeteritum temnens extremos inter euntem.
Inde fit ut raro qui se vixisse beatum
Dicat, et exacto contentus tempore vita
Cedat uti conviva satur, reperire queamus.
Jam satis est. Ne me Crispini scrinia lippi
Compilasse putes, verbum non amplius addam.

114. *Ut, quum carceribus*] See Introduction.

119. *Cedat uti conviva satur*] These are so like the words of Lucretius (iii. 938), that perhaps Horace remembered them:—

"Cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis,
Aequo animoque capis securam, stulte, quietem?"

also Lucretius iii. 960. [There is (v. 119) a reading 'vitae.']

120. *Crispini scrinia lippi*] Crispinus serves as a deus ex machina, and helps Horace to bring his homily to an end. But we know nothing about him. The fertility of his pen, as Estré observes, has profited him nothing. He was more anxious to write much than to write well. (S. i. 4. 14). The Scholiasts say he was called 'aretalogus,' and that he wrote verses on the Stoic doctrines. The word 'aretalogus' occurs in Juvenal (S. xv. 16: "mendax aretalogus"), and in Sueton. (Octav. c. 74), where Casaubon has this note: "vox est Romae nata: et ni fallor Crispino illi primum attributa haec appellatio." Suetonius introduces these 'aretalogi' along with the lower sort of actors, and it appears that they were jesters, who affected to discourse upon the Stoic doctrines of virtue, and made mirth for the rich. They were kept by the wealthy to amuse them as the court fools of later days. In this character Crispinus appears in the third Satire of this book (v. 139), where he is the only attendant of the would-be 'rex.' Crispinus appears again in S. ii. 7. 45. That he may have been called in contempt 'aretalogus' is not impossible. That he was actually a person of that condition is not likely. That he wrote as a Stoic may be true, but it is only gathered probably from this passage, riches being a favourite topic with the philosophers of that sect. Bentley cannot endure the reading of all the MSS., Scholiasts, and editions, 'lippi.' Horace (says he) was himself afflicted with sore eyes, and he was not so wanting in decency as to ridicule another person for that defect. This argument against all authority is not worth discussing. The reader may refer to Cunningham, Anim. c. xi. p. 165. Persius has 'lippus' twice for the mental blindness which, as Cruquius' Commentator says, is what Horace means to charge upon Crispinus. See Pers. (S. i. 79): "Hos pueris monitus patres infundere lippos." And S. v. 77: "Vappa et lippus et in tenui farragine mendax." Persius was an imitator of Horace. [Bentley has 'lippum' in place of 'lippi.']

SATIRE II.

This Satire appears to have been written on the death of Tigellius, a musician of great repute, who, as we learn from the opening verse of the next Satire, had been on terms of familiar intimacy with C. Julius Caesar. The Scholiasts who call him M. Hermogenes Tigellius say that he afterwards became a favourite with Cleopatra, and then again with Augustus. Acron says Horace quarrelled with him because he found fault with the rhythm of his verses. It is probable that this Tigellius is miscalled M. Hermogenes, and that this name belongs only to another Tigellius who was also a singer mentioned in S. 3. of this book, 129; 4. 72; 9. 25; 10. 18, 80, 90. These persons had never been separated till Dacier distinguished them. Heindorf adheres to the old opinion, which I think has been satisfactorily disposed of by Kirchner in his treatise "De Utroque Tigellio" (Quaest. Hor. p. 42 sqq.). The Tigellius of this Satire is called Sardus, a Sardinian, in the next (v. 3). It appears from the Scholiasts that he was attacked by Licinius, from whom they quote this verse: "Sardi Tigelli putidum caput venit." He was probably therefore a libertinus. Cicero had a quarrel with this person, whose influence with Caesar was such that it made him rather anxious, though he affects in some of his letters to hold the man cheap. Compare Epp. ad Fam. vii. 24. Ad Att. xiii. 49, 50, and 51. He too alludes to Licinius' verse, and calls Tigellius "hominem pestilentiorem patria sua (the climate of Sardinia was counted very bad), eumque addictum jam dudum Calvi Licinii Hipponacteo praeconio" (Ad. Fam. l. c.). The character of Tigellius is drawn cleverly in the opening verses of the next Satire.

The statement of the Scholiasts on v. 25 of this Satire, that some supposed (so Porph. and Comm. Cruq. put it; Acron says at once "Maecenatem tangit") that, under the name Malchinus, Horace means to satirize Maecenas, seems to me unworthy of the least credit. But it has had warm defenders, and upon this assumption the date of the Satire is fixed, both Kirchner and Franke placing it in A.U.C. 714, in order to allow sufficient time between the composition of the libel and the introduction of Horace to his patron. I will not trouble the reader by going into the argument, except to say that, if the libel was keen enough to offend, it is as improbable Horace would have published as that he would have written it after his introduction to Maecenas; and if (as appears to me) there is nothing to offend in the verse, it was as probably written after as before their acquaintance began. But I do not believe Maecenas had any thing to do with the verse at all. An early date must be assigned to the Satire, because it certainly preceded the 4th, and that again was composed before the 10th of this Book. Whether the coarseness of the ideas and language, and the want of artistic arrangement and connexion, may not be an argument for an early date, deserves consideration. (See Introduction to S. 4.) It is without exception the coarsest of all Horace's Satires, and, with reference to the point it professes to turn upon, the least to the purpose. I can trace no connexion between the text which is contained in v. 24 ("fools trying to avoid one class of vices run into their opposites") and the licentious language and advice contained in the latter half of the Satire, which in brief amounts to this: 'do not let a false ambition lead you into intriguing with married women, but make yourself happy with prostitutes.' The examples which appear to be to the purpose are not so in reality. Tigellius, we may be sure, did not give his money to harlots and impostors in order to avoid the character of a miser; nor did Fufidius drive hard usurious bargains, cheat young men with good expectations, and deny and torment himself, in order to avoid the charge of extravagance. If one man wore his tunic down to his ancles, it was because he was slovenly or effeminate; if another tucked his up so as to expose his person, it was because he was

an immodest fellow; the man who smelt of perfumes was a coxcomb; and he who stunk like a goat was dirty and offensive by nature or habit, or both. It was not in either case because the man was trying to avoid the opposite extreme. Each man follows his own taste and propensities, whether it be in such cases or in the quality of his amours; and the instances in no way bear out the promise of the text. It is difficult, indeed, to see how they grow out of it at all.

AMBUBAIARUM collegia, pharmacopolae,
Mendici, mimae, balatrones, hoc genus omne

1. *Ambubaiarum collegia*] The reduction of Syria to the condition of a Roman province (A.U.C. 690), while it opened to the Romans the trade of the East, was the means of introducing into Italy many evils from the same quarter; among others, the class of women known by the above name, of whom Acron and Comm. Cruq. say that they were so called in the Syrian language, from an instrument of music they played upon: "etenim lingua eorum tibia sive symphonia ambubaia dicitur." These women, whose profession was that of prostitutes, Horace speaks of jocularly as if they had formed themselves into colleges or clubs such as at this time were common in Rome, some sanctioned by law, others not. (See art. 'Collegium,' in Smith's Dict. Ant.) Juvenal refers to these women (S. iii. 62):

"Jam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes,
Et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas
Obliquas, nec non gentilia tympana secum
Vexit, et ad Circum jussas prostare puellas."

— *pharmacopolae*] These were itinerant dealers in nostrums and vendors of medicines, who were to be seen in the forum and all places of public resort. They do not appear to have got much custom. M. Cato, in his speech against M. Caelius, inveighs against him as an inveterate talker, and says he was so greedy of speech that he would hire people to listen to him; and that you rather heard than listened to the man, like a 'pharmacopola' who could make his voice heard, but no sick person ever thought of putting himself into his hands (Gellius, i. 15). Cicero (pro Cluent. c.14) makes mention of one L. Clodius, who practised this trade. Such persons may have been seen in the suburbs of Paris with a cart and horse and a man to make music. They would stop at fit places, make their music or their speech, give advice, hand out pills and other medicines, receive their money, and move on.

2. *Mendici*] This word includes beggars of all sorts, of whom a great variety appeared as religious mendicants, priests for instance of Isis or of Cybele (known by the Greeks under the title of *μητραγύρται*) and Jews, who made gain of their law, inventing charms perhaps from it, and persuading the foolish to purchase phylacteries. Juvenal mentions this class of beggars in his sixth Satire (v. 543 sq.): "Arcanam Judaea tremens mendicat in aurem Interpres legum Solymarum." There were also fortune-tellers all over the town. See C. i. 11, Introd. Street musicians were as common and as discordant at Rome as among ourselves. Of jugglers likewise there were swarms, and many other sorts of impostors.

— *mimae*] The regular actors at Rome, as in Greece were men; but the dancing and pantomimic parts were sustained also by women. Horace mentions one of this class named Arbuscula (S. i. 10. 77), who was a celebrated 'mima' in Cicero's time (Ad Att. iv. 15. 6, written A.U.C. 700): "quaeris nunc de Arbuscula. Valde placuit. Ludi magnifici et grati." They were persons of loose character, as the woman Origo mentioned below (v. 55), and the before-mentioned Arbuscula, and the woman Cytheris, whom M. Antonius carried about with him under the name of Volumnia (Cic. ad Att. x. 10; Phil. ii. 24).

— *balatrones*] The meaning and etymology of this word are hopelessly lost. Cruquius' Scholiast gives three different derivations; from Servilius Balatro (mentioned S.ii. 8. 21), who, as Forcellini observes, more probably got his name from the species than the species from him; 'a balatu,' from an affected ridiculous way of speaking, which is against prosody; 'a blatiendo,' from their senseless babble; and some he says read 'barathrones,' as from 'barathrum,' because they were gluttonous livers who devoured their substance, according to Horace's expression "barathrumque macelli" (Epp. i. 15. 31). It is not necessary to go

Maestum ac sollicitum est cantoris morte Tigelli.
Quippe benignus erat. Contra hic, ne prodigus esse
Dicatur metuens, inopi dare nolit amico
Frigus quo duramque famem propellere possit.
Hunc si perconteris avi cur atque parentis
Praeclaram ingrata stringat malus ingluvie rem,
Omnia conductis coëmens obsonia nummis,
Sordidus atque animi quod parvi nolit haberi,
Respondet. Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis.
Fufidius vappae famam timet ac nebulonis,
Dives agris, dives positis in fenore nummis:
Quinas hic capiti mercedes exsecat atque

so far back as the age of the Scholiasts to get at least as good guesses at the meaning as these. Festus derives the name from 'blatea,' which he says signifies mud that sticks to the shoes in dirty weather. There are no means of arriving at a nearer interpretation than that of the Scholiasts, who say Horace means profligate persons in general. See S. ii. 3, 166 n.

3. *Tigelli*] See Introduction.

6. *propellere*] The greater part of the MSS. favour this reading, as Bentley admits, though he reads 'depellere.' I think 'propellere' is the least likely of the two to have been substituted. Cicero (de Finibus, iv. 25) says, "Vacemus an cruciemur dolore; frigus famem propulsare possimus;" and Tacitus (Ann. xiv. 24): "Carne pecudum propulsare famem adacti," which comes very near to 'propellere,' as Bentley admits. Ven. (1483) has 'propellere.' Nearly all the editions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have the other word. There is not much to choose between them.

8. *ingrata stringat malus ingluvie rem*] "Ingrata: sine gratia: quia quicquid ei praestiteris gratiam tibi habere non potest. Ingluvies autem dicitur voracitas gulae." (Acron.) An ungrateful belly is an insatiable one. So Lucretius uses the word (iii. 1003):

"Deinde animi ingratam naturam pascere semper,
Atque explere bonis rebus satiareque nunquam."

Forcellini says 'stringere' here is 'paullatim absumere.' Orelli adopts the interpretation of Cruquius' Scholiast, who says the metaphor is taken from the stripping of trees of their leaves. But 'stringere' means 'to grasp,' and Horace says this man put all his estate in his belly.

9. *conductis—nummis*] This is not a common use of 'conductus,' for 'foenori sumptus.' Juvenal has it (S. xi. 46): "Conducta pecunia Romae Et coram dominis consumitur." The opposite term to 'conducere,' 'locare,' is only once found in this connexion (Plaut. Mostell. iii. 1. 4): "locare argenti nemini nummum queo." 'Animi parvi' corresponds to 'inopis pusillique animi' in S. 4. 17. [Ritter interprets 'conductis' thus, 'a variis avi parentisque debitoribus conductum et receptum argentum,' and he adds 'nam mutuo pecuniam sumere is non cogitur cui praeclaram rem majores reliquerunt.' But when the man had spent his estate, he would borrow if he could.]

12. *Fufidius*] Of this person the Scholiasts tell us only what the Satire tells, that he was "avarus quidam foenerator." 'Vappa' and 'nebulo' have been explained (S. 1. 104).

14. *Quinas hic capiti mercedes exsecat*] He contrived to squeeze out of the principal of the money he lent interest ('mercedes,' equivalent to 'usuras') at 60 per cent. by the year,—that is, 5 per cent. by the month, which was five times the legal rate. 'Centesima,' or 1 per cent. by the month, was the regular rate of interest at this time; and 'quinas' means 'quinas centesimas.' Verres lent public money on his own account to the 'publicani' in Sicily 'binis centesimis,' which was double the usual rate (Cic. in Verr. ii. 3. 70). That was bad enough. Juvenal (ix. 7) mentions a man who was ready to give 'triplicem usuram,' but found no one foolish enough to trust him. Fufidius contrived to get this enormous interest ('sanguinolentae centesimae,' as Seneca says, Benef. vii. 10) out of men of loose lives, and young per-

Quanto perditior quisque est tanto acrius urget;
Nomina sectatur modo sumpta veste virili
Sub patribus duris tironum. Maxime, quis non,
Juppiter! exclamat simul atque audivit?—At in se
Pro quaestu sumptum facit hic.—Vix credere possis
Quam sibi non sit amicus, ita ut pater ille Terenti
Fabula quem miserum gnato vixisse fugato
Inducit non se pejus cruciaverit atque hic.
Si quis nunc quaerat, Quo res haec pertinet? illuc:
Dum vitant stulti vitia in contraria currunt.
Maltinus tunicis demissis ambulat; est qui

sons under age. Persons under twenty-five were protected by the 'lex Plaetoria' (not 'Laetoria,' as the Scholiasts and others have it) from the consequences of their own act if they were enticed into any engagement of this oppressive kind. Suetonius, in a fragment preserved in Priscian, says of this law, "vetabat illa minorem annis xxv stipulari;" but that can only mean that it gave such persons power of escaping from fraudulent transactions into which they had been trepanned, and punished those who had cheated them; for the power of making contracts was possessed by every Roman citizen after he had attained the age of puberty. (See Smith's Dict. Ant., art. 'Curator.') As to 'nomina' see C. iii. 21. 5. 'Nomina sectatur,' &c. means that he seeks to get into his books boys about fifteen or sixteen whose fathers were strict with them, and did not allow them as much pocket-money as they wished. He was a bold man to begin with them so early, for at any time till they were twenty-five they might claim the protection of the above-mentioned law. 'Tiro' which in military language signified a recruit, and therefore one who was not under seventeen, was applied also to youths who had lately taken the 'toga virilis,' which act was called 'tirocinium fori,' the boy's introduction to public life.

[18. *simul atque*] Horace often omits the 'atque' as in C. i. 12. 27, and ii. 8. 5.]

18. *At in se pro quaestu*] But, you will say, or it may be said, he spends his money largely on himself in proportion to his gains. Not so, says Horace; you would scarcely credit the way in which he pinches himself.

20. *pater ille*] Menedemus in Terence's play Hautontimorumenos. ['Pejus atque:' see S. i. 1. 45 n.]

25. *Maltinus*] The MSS. and editions vary between Maltinus, Malthinus, and Malchinus. Of these the first is the only historical name, having been the surname, according to Justin (xxxviii. 3), of Manlius, who went as ambassador to Mithridates. This is of no great importance, for Horace did not confine himself to real names, though Madvig (Opusc. 74) says he did. The oldest Berne MS. has Maltinus, and Orelli adopts it. The Scholiasts had Malthinus, which is Heindorf's [and Ritter's] reading. Judging from Fea's list and Bentley's assertion, the majority of MSS. have Malchinus. That is the reading of Ven. (1483) and nearly all the earliest editions. Bentley adopts it against Malthinus, which was the common reading at that time. He derives it from Malchus, which was an eastern name, or a corruption of one. The Scholiasts say that the name is derived from μαλθακός, and that Horace alludes to Maecenas because he was said to wear his tunic long, a sign of effeminacy as it was generally regarded; but in his case it was, says Acron, to hide varicose veins with which he was troubled. That Maecenas was spoken of as effeminate in his habits is well known, and the circumstance of his wearing long tunics is mentioned by Seneca (Ep. civ. § 6): "Hunc esse qui solutis tunicis in urbe semper incesserit? nam etiam quum absentis Caesaris partibus fungeretur signum a discincto petebatur;" and by the unknown author of the elegy on his death:—

"Quod discinctus eras animo quoque, carpitur unum,
Diluitur nimia simplicitate tua.
Sic illi vixere quibus fuit aurea virgo,
Quae bene praecinctos postmodo pulsa fugit.
Invide, quid tandem tunicae nocuere solutae?
Aut tibi ventosi quid nocuere sinus?"

Inguen ad obscoenum subductis usque facetus;
Pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum.
Nil medium est. Sunt qui nolint tetigisse nisi illas
Quarum subsuta talos tegat instita veste;
Contra alius nullam nisi olenti in fornice stantem.
Quidam notus homo cum exiret fornice, "Macte
Virtute esto," inquit sententia dia Catonis.
Nam simul ac venas inflavit tetra libido,
Huc juvenes aequum est descendere, non alienas

Cicero charges Verres with the same effeminacy: "Quum iste cum pallio purpureo talarique tunica versaretur in conviviis muliebribus, non offendebantur homines" (Act. ii. 5. 12). A great deal has been written upon the identification of Maecenas with this person (whatever the name may have been), and of Agrippa with the opposite character in the next verse. But either notion appears to me equally improbable. See Introduction. The idea of Maecenas being the strutting coxcomb of Horace's Satire is incredible (see v. 64). The tunic was worn down to a little below the knees by civilians not entitled to wear the 'latus clavus:' women wore it down to the ancles: military officers not so low as the knee (Quintil. xi. 3. 138). 'Facetus' is what we might call 'fine' [or a fine fellow, as he thinks: Krüger.] Plautus applies it to dining as Horace to dressing (Mostell. i. 1. 41):—

"Non omnes possunt olere unguenta exotica
Si tu oles,—
Neque tam facetis quam tu vivis victibus."

27. *Pastillos Rufillus olet*] 'Pastillus' is a diminutive of 'panis,' and signifies a small roll; whence in a derived sense it means small balls of something sweet. Horace quotes this verse of his own in S. 4. 92 of this book, as showing the harmless quality of his satire. Who Rufillus and Gargonius (which name appears as Gorgonius in the old editions) may have been we cannot tell. That they were persons of some note Orelli infers from the fact that Horace's ridicule of them had made him enemies, as appears from the passage quoted above from the fourth Satire. But it does not appear that in that place Horace means more than to illustrate the inoffensive character of his satirical writings, nor can Orelli's inference I think be sustained. Rufillus is probably only a diminutive of the common name Rufus, invented for this fop, though we meet with the name Rufilla in Tacitus (Ann. iii. 36).

29. *Quarum subsuta*] The ordinary dress of the Roman ladies was an under tunic without sleeves, called 'intusium;' over this they wore another tunic called 'stola,' at the bottom of which ran a flounce, 'instita,' called by one of the Scholiasts (Com. Cruq.) 'tenuissima fasciola' (which description of its width, however, has been disputed. See Becker's Gallus, Exc. 'on the dress of the women'). The 'stola' was longer than the wearer, and after forming several folds under the breast fell to the feet. 'Instita veste subsuta' is a 'vestis cui subsuta est instita;' [and as Krüger says, is a like construction to 'toga praetexta.'] The same Scholiast says the 'instita' was called by the Greeks περιπέδιλον. Out of doors the women wore a 'palla' corresponding to the male 'toga.' See S. 8. 23 n.

31. *Macte virtute esto*] In this phrase (for examples of which see Forcell.) 'macte,' the vocative of 'mactus' ('magis auctus'), is put where the nominative would be more regular, and 'virtute' is the ablative of the means. [As in Cicero's expression 'filio auctus.'] 'May thy virtue prosper thee!' (see Key's L. G. 1004). 'Sententia dia Catonis' is equivalent to 'Cato divine sapiens.' Compare S. ii. 1. 72: "Virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli," and C. i. 3. 36 n. Acron tells this story: that Cato (the elder) was passing the door of a brothel, when a young man (who, according to Horace, was 'notus homo,' a man of rank or standing in some way) came out: when he saw Cato he tried to get out of his way, but the censor called to him and commended him; but afterwards seeing him often issuing from the same place, he said, "Adolescens, ego te laudavi tanquam interdum huc venires non tanquam hic habitares." The reason of his commendation is explained in the two next verses on very loose principles of chastity.

Permolere uxores. "Nolim laudarier," inquit,
"Sic me," mirator cunni Cupiennius albi.
Audire est operae pretium, procedere recte
Qui moechos non vultis, ut omni parte laborent,
Utque illis multo corrupta dolore voluptas,
Atque haec rara, cadat dura inter saepe pericla.
Hic se praecipitem tecto dedit; ille flagellis
Ad mortem caesus; fugiens hic decidit acrem
Praedonum in turbam; dedit hic pro corpore nummos;
Hunc perminxerunt calones; quin etiam illud
Accidit, ut quidam testes caudamque salacem
Demeteret ferro. Jure omnes; Galba negabat.
Tutior at quanto merx est in classe secunda,
Libertinarum dico, Sallustius in quas
Non minus insanit quam qui moechatur. At hic si
Qua res, qua ratio suaderet, quaque modeste

36. *Cupiennius*] This person is identified by the Scholiasts with C. Cupiennius Libo of Cumae, a favourite of Augustus. The name, according to them, and in the old editions, was Cupennius. Lambinus and most editors after him have Cupiennius. As to 'albi,' see v. 63 n.

38. *Qui moechos non vultis*] Most of the MSS. and editions have the dative 'moechis.' The accusative is found in the following verses of Ennius, quoted by Acron:—

"Audire est operae pretium procedere recte
Qui rem Romanam Latiumque augescere vultis."

[But if Horace did imitate Ennius, that is no argument for 'moechos' here, though Orelli thinks that it is. Ritter has 'moechis.']

46. *Jure omnes; Galba negabat*] 'Every one else said they richly deserved it: Galba said nay.' This person, whom the Scholiasts call a 'jurisconsultus,' is by most modern interpreters, following Torrentius (to whom Weichert, quoted by Orelli as the author of the notion, was indebted for it), identified with A. Galba, a parasite of Augustus of loose character, of whom Plutarch tells a well-known anecdote in regard to Maecenas' partiality for his wife (Erot. c. 16). Having little regard for his own honour as a husband, he thought, Horace says, that the retribution described in the preceding verses was more than the crime deserved. A man of this name is mentioned by Juvenal (S. v. 3):—

"Si potes illa pati quae nec Sarmentus iniquas
Caesaris ad mensas nec vilis Galba tulisset."

[Ritter thinks, that is, he guesses that this Galba is Servius Galba, who butchered the Lusitani and was tried for it in B.C. 149.]

47. *classe secunda*] Servius Tullius divided the men into classes, and Horace does the same with the women, as Torrentius says. He is wrong however in referring 'tutior' to the legal consequences of adultery arising out of the 'lex Julia de adulteriis,' which was not in existence when this Satire was written.

48. *Sallustius in quas*] See C. ii. 2. What Horace says of him is this: If he chose to be liberal to that extent that his means and good sense would suggest, without any extravagant munificence, he might give to the needy and not injure or disgrace himself, that is, he would gain credit by it; whereas he is content to pride himself on this one merit, that he does not meddle with married women. 'Hoc' (v. 53) is 'on this account,' and 'se' is governed by each of the three verbs. ['Hoc' refers to what he is supposed to say. 'He prides himself on this.' Some critics suppose the second 'hoc' to be the accusative.]

Munifico esse licet, vellet bonus atque benignus
Esse, daret quantum satis esset nec sibi damno
Dedecorique foret. Verum hoc se amplectitur uno,
Hoc amat et laudat: "Matronam nullam ego tango."
Ut quondam Marsaeus, amator Originis ille,
Qui patrium mimae donat fundumque laremque,
"Nil fuerit mi," inquit, "cum uxoribus unquam alienis."
Verum est cum mimis, est cum meretricibus, unde
Fama malum gravius quam res trahit. An tibi abunde
Personam satis est, non illud quidquid ubique
Officit evitare? Bonam deperdere famam,
Rem patris oblimare, malum est ubicunque. Quid inter
Est in matrona, ancilla, peccesne togata?
Villius in Fausta Sullae gener, hoc miser uno

55. *Marsaeus, amator Originis*] Origo, the mima, is referred to above (v. 2 n.). Of Marsaeus, her lover, we know nothing even from the Scholiasts. As Estré observes, the name is not Latin.

[60. *Personam*] 'A woman of a particular class,' here a 'matrona,' as it is generally explained. L. Doederlein has suggested that Horace means 'personam moechi:' "is it enough for you to avoid the reputation (character) of an adulterer, &c.?" and this, I think, is the meaning. 'Persona' is the legal 'character,' 'office,' 'condition' of a person in a community. 'Jus personarum,' one of the divisions of law (Gaius, i. 89), is that part of law which relates to the condition of persons as objects of the rules of law, as husband, wife, child, and so on.]

62. *oblimare*] Forcellini derives this from 'lima,' and renders it to waste or wear away. [Doederlein maintains that this is the sense of 'oblimare.' Comp. Epp. i. 14. 37, which he quotes 'commoda inquisquam oblimat.' 'To bury in mud' is not a satisfactory explanation of 'oblimare' here.] 'Ubicunque' means 'wherever you do it.'

63. *ancilla, peccesne togata*] While women of birth wore the 'stola' and 'instita' (v. 29), freedwomen wore the 'stola' without the 'instita,' and 'meretrices' wore a 'toga' instead of a 'stola,' which explains the text. 'Ancilla' is a female slave, and I do not think Orelli is right in taking it with 'togata.' There are three persons, the 'matrona,' the 'ancilla,' and the 'togata' or 'meretrix.' Cruquius' Scholiast says that ladies divorced for adultery were compelled to exchange the 'stola' for the 'toga,' the only difference between them and common prostitutes being that they wore a white, while the latter wore a dark-coloured 'toga.' This is confirmed by v. 36, and Martial:—

"Coccina famosae donas et ianthina moechae.
Vis dare quae meruit munera? mitte togam" (ii. 39).

Also "matrisque togatae filius" (Mart. vi. 64. 4). See Becker's Gallus (l. c. on v. 29). ['Ancilla peccesve togata:' Ritter. There appears to be little authority for 'peccesne.' He says 'distinguendi particula a nomine suo ad verbum trajecta esse videtur:' cf. Serm. ii. 3. 180, 'uter aedilis fueritve vestrum praetor.']

64. *Villius in Fausta Sullae gener*] The preposition is here used as in Tacitus (Ann. iii. 24), "D. Silanus in nepti Augusti adulter." Fausta was the daughter of the dictator Sulla, and a woman of infamous character, like her mother Metella (S. ii. 3. 239 n.). The husband of Fausta was Annius Milo, and the Scholiast Acron says that Villius is put for Annius, as Malthinus for Maecenas (see above, v. 25), Licinia for Terentia (see C. ii. 12, Introduction). But, as Bentley rightly observes, Horace is not speaking of husbands here. He adds also, that if any name were to be supposed concealed under Villius, it would be Fulvius, for Macrobius (Sat. ii. 2) relates that Fausta had a lover of that name. Cicero (Ad Fam. ii. 6) speaks of one Villius, an intimate friend of Milo. Horace calls him ironically Sulla's son-in-law, because of his intimacy with his

Nomine deceptus, poenas dedit usque superque
Quam satis est, pugnis caesus ferroque petitus,
Exclusus fore cum Longarenus foret intus.
Huic si mutonis verbis mala tanta videntis
Diceret haec animus: "Quid vis tibi? numquid ego a te
Magno prognatum deposco consule cunnum
Velatumque stola mea cum conferbuit ira?"
Quid responderet? "Magno patre nata puella est."
At quanto meliora monet pugnantiaque istis
Dives opis natura suae, tu si modo recte
Dispensare velis ac non fugienda petendis
Immiscere. Tuo vitio rerumne labores
Nil referre putas? Quare, ne poeniteat te,
Desine matronas sectarier, unde laboris
Plus haurire mali est quam ex re decerpere fructus.
Nec magis huic inter niveos viridesque lapillos
(Sit licet hoc, Cerinthe, tuum) tenerum est femur aut crus
Rectius, atque etiam melius persaepe togatae est.
Adde huc quod mercem sine fucis gestat, aperte
Quod venale habet ostendit, nec si quid honesti est
Jactat habetque palam, quaerit quo turpia celet.
Regibus hic mos est, ubi equos mercantur; opertos
Inspiciunt, ne si facies ut saepe decora
Molli fulta pede est emptorem inducat hiantem,
Quod pulchrae clunes, breve quod caput, ardua cervix.
Hoc illi recte: ne corporis optima Lyncei
Contemplere oculis, Hypsaea caecior illa
Quae mala sunt spectes. O crus! o brachia! Verum
Depugis, nasuta, brevi latere ac pede longo est.
Matronae praeter faciem nil cernere possis,
Cetera, ni Catia est, demissa veste tegentis.

daughter [; and it was the notion of intimacy with so great a man's daughter that led him astray (hoc uno nomine deceptus)]. Longarenus may be any body. 'Fore' is the ablative of 'foris.'

[68. *videntis*] The best reading according to the MSS. is 'videnti.' Ritter, who has 'videnti,' makes a jocular remark on 'videntis,' which Heindorf defended. Both notes are curious.]

81.] This part of the Satire is rather obscure, partly from the variation of the MSS. I hope I shall not be considered over fastidious if I decline entering upon the merits of the several readings, and the sense of the passage.

86. *Regibus*] See note on C. i. 4. 14. In some MSS. this line is the beginning of a new Satire.

91. *Hypsaea caecior illa*] To this woman Porphyrion gives the name Plotia or Plautia. We know no more of her than what the text tells us. Of Catia Cruquius' Scholiast tells us an anecdote in confirmation of her shameless impurity, which appears to have been proverbial, as Hypsaea's blindness seems also to have been.

Si interdicta petes, vallo circumdata (nam te
Hoc facit insanum), multae tibi tum officient res,
Custodes, lectica, ciniflones, parasitae,
Ad talos stola demissa et circumdata palla,
Plurima quae invideant pure apparere tibi rem.
Altera nil obstat: Cois tibi paene videre est
Ut nudam, ne crure malo, ne sit pede turpi;
Metiri possis oculo latus. An tibi mavis
Insidias fieri pretiumque avellier ante
Quam mercem ostendi? "Leporem venator ut alta
In nive sectetur, positum sic tangere nolit,"
Cantat et apponit: "Meus est amor huic similis; nam
Transvolat in medio posita et fugientia captat."
Hiscine versiculis speras tibi posse dolores
Atque aestus curasque graves e pectore pelli?
Nonne cupidinibus statuat natura modum quem,
Quid latura, sibi quid sit dolitura negatum,
Quaerere plus prodest et inane abscindere soldo?
Num tibi cum fauces urit sitis aurea quaeris
Pocula? num esuriens fastidis omnia praeter
Pavonem rhombumque? Tument tibi cum inguina, num si
Ancilla aut verna est praesto puer impetus in quem
Continuo fiat, malis tentigine rumpi?
Non ego: namque parabilem amo venerem facilemque.
Illam, "Post paulo," "Sed pluris," "Si exierit vir,"
Gallis; hanc Philodemus ait sibi quae neque magno

98. *ciniflones*] These persons' business was to heat the women's curling irons, and they were otherwise called 'cinerarii.' The name is compounded of 'cinis' and 'flare.' 'Parasitae' were what we should call 'toadies,'—women who made themselves agreeable to ladies of wealth, and attached themselves to them as companions.

101. *Cois*] Thin textures of some sort from the island Cos. See C. iv. 13. 13.

105. *Leporem venator*] These four lines are from an epigram of Callimachus, which appears to have been a popular song:—

ὡγρευτής, Ἐπίκυδες, ἐν οὔρεσι πάντα λαγωὸν
διφᾷ καὶ πάσης ἴχνια δορκαλίδος,
στίβῃ καὶ νιφέτῳ κεχρημένος· ἢν δέ τις εἴπῃ
Τῆ, τόδε βέβληται θηρίον· οὐκ ἔλαβεν.
χοὐμὸς ἔρως τοιόσδε· τὰ μὲν φεύγοντα διώκειν
οἶδε, τὰ δ' ἐν μέσσῳ κείμενα παρπέταται.

This explains 'positum tangere nolit,' where however some commentators understand 'positum' in the same sense as in S. ii. 2. 23, 'posito pavone,' and Turnebus says it means 'appositum in ferculo.' [Doederlein says that a Dessau MS. has 'si positum,' which means 'though he would not eat it on the table.' 'Positum sic:' see C. ii. 11. 14; Persius, Prolog. v. 3.]

[111. *Nonne, &c.*] The construction is 'Nonne quaerere plus prodest quem modum statuat natura, &c., quid latura, quid sibi negatum dolitura sit.' Comp. S. i. 1. 75.]

113. *inane abscindere soldo*] To separate what is useless from what is of real value.

121. *Gallis; hanc Philodemus ait*] The Galli, or priests of the Galatian Cybele, whose worship was introduced into Rome

Stet pretio neque cunctetur cum est jussa venire.
Candida rectaque sit; munda hactenus ut neque longa
Nec magis alba velit quam dat natura videri.
Haec ubi supposuit dextro corpus mihi laevum
Ilia et Egeria est: do nomen quodlibet illi,
Nec vereor ne dum futuo vir rure recurrat,
Janua frangatur, latret canis, undique magno
Pulsa domus strepitu resonet, vepallida lecto
Desiliat mulier, miseram se conscia clamet,
Cruribus haec metuat, doti deprensa, egomet mî.
Discincta tunica fugiendum est ac pede nudo,
Ne nummi pereant aut puga aut denique fama.
Deprendi miserum est; Fabio vel judice vincam.

from Pessinus during the second Punic War (Liv. xxix. 11. 14; Juv. ii. 116; vi. 513; Ovid Fast. iv. 361), were eunuchs. The construction is 'Illam Philodemus ait Gallis, hanc sibi.' Philodemus was a Greek and an Epicurean. He lived at Rome on terms of great intimacy with L. Piso, against whom there is an oration of Cicero. Philodemus wrote poetry, and some of the epigrams in the Anthology are his. Cicero describes him (in Pisonem, c. 28) as "ingeniosum hominem atque eruditum." "Est autem hic (he continues) non philosophia solum sed etiam litteris, quod fere ceteros Epicureos negligere dicunt, perpolitus. Poema porro facit ita festivum, ita concinnum, ita elegans, nihil ut fieri possit argutius." He charges Philodemus with having corrupted Piso.

129. *vepallida*] On this Bentley has a long note and edits 'ne pallida,' which spoils the rapid accumulation of images from which the passage derives its expression. So does that of Acron, 'vae! pallida' adopted by Fea. 'Ve' in composition seems to have the force of 'male.' See Forcell., 'Vesculus.' Gellius (v. 12) says it has the force "augendae rei et minuendae;" and so it has some resemblance to the use of 'male' with an adjective (S. i. 4. 66 n.). See Persius S. i. 97) 'praegrandi subere coctum,' and the note.

130. *conscia*] The 'ancilla' who was privy to her mistress' adultery. Torture by breaking the legs was not unusual in the case of slaves. 'Deprensa' means the mistress caught in her crime, who feared for her marriage portion, of which she was liable to lose a considerable part: one-sixth might be retained by the husband, and two-sixths for the children; but not more than three-sixths could be taken away, if (which is doubtful) this law existed when Horace wrote. If not, we do not know the particulars of the law which then affected such cases; but that adultery involved the forfeiture of part of the 'dos,' is clear from the text. (See Ulpian. Fr. Tit. de Dot. vi. 12.)

134 *Fabio vel judice vincam*] As to Fabius, see S. i. 14 n. ['Vincam' means 'I will prove.' If Fabius had been caught himself, it would be easy to prove to him that 'deprendi miserum esse:' but, as Ritter truly remarks, Horace says, 'Fabio vel judice,' which must mean something else. Ritter explains it thus: 'Nimirum Stoicus Fabius, ut ceteri ejusdem sectae satellites, nihil miserum esse dicere solebant, quod extrinsecus accidat.' If Fabius was a Stoic, this may be the meaning of the passage.]

SATIRE III.

Horace appears to have brought enemies upon himself by the last Satire, and perhaps by others, which have not been published. His amiable temper was not very well qualified for that sort of writing, and we may infer from the present poem that he wished to clear himself from the imputation of a censorious spirit, and so to set himself right with Maecenas and his friends. The connexion between the two Satires is seen in the opening of this, in which Tigellius is again introduced and the peculiarities of his character described, for no other reason, as it would seem, but to serve as a text for the discourse that follows, on the duty of judging others charitably as we wish to be judged ourselves. In the course of his remarks on this subject Horace comes across two of the Stoic absurdities: one that all faults are alike (v. 96 sqq.), which he meets by the doctrine that expediency is almost the mother of justice and equity; and the other that every wise man (that is, every Stoic) is endowed with all the gifts of art and fortune from the skill of the mechanic to the power of a king. With a jest upon this folly the Satire closes.

The character of Tigellius is happily described ("Not one, but all mankind's epitome"), and a tone of good feeling runs throughout the Satire. The language is genial, and the sentiments amiable. The style is Horace's own, as we may suppose. That of Lucilius, it is clear, was more after the fashion of the second Satire, in which his freedom of speech and licentious language appear to me to be aimed at without the power which he possessed of giving them point and severity. No one who reads this Satire would wish to see Horace in the disguise of the other.

If there is between the two the connexion above supposed, the third Satire must have been written at no great distance of time after the other. But it appears from v. 63 that he was now well acquainted with Maecenas, though not on the terms of intimacy which afterwards grew up between them. On these grounds it seems probable that the Satire was written about the end of A.U.C. 716, as Kirchner supposes.

ARGUMENT.

Singers have all one fault—that they will never sing to their friends when they are asked, and never leave off when they are not. This was the case with Tigellius, the most inconsistent man in the world. Caesar himself could not induce him to sing unless he chose; when the fit was on him he would keep it up from the first course to the dessert; one moment in a hurry, another absurdly slow; now with 200 slaves, now with but ten; one while talking big, another all humility; one while content with a little, another squandering millions; up all night, snoring all day.

But what, have you no faults? Yes, but perhaps not so bad as his. And yet I am not like Maenius, who, while he exposed his neighbour's faults, coolly declared he made excuses for his own. Why should a man be blind to his own defects and have an eagle's eye for his fellows'? He may presently find them turning the tables upon him. Your friend we will say is a little hasty, and sensitive, and perhaps not very polished; but he is a good man, and kind to you, and a man of genius withal. In short, examine yourself, and see what faults nature or neglect has sown in your own breast before you pass judgment on others.

Let us think of this, how the lover overlooks or even loves the deformities of his mistress. So let us err in friendship and not be too fastidious; even as the fond father finds pretty names for his ugly boy's defects. Let the close be called thrifty; the silly man who is a little too prone to boast, say he is anxious to please; the rude and off-

handed, let him be natural and manly; the passionate, high spirited;—this is the way to make friends and to keep them. But we do just the reverse, turning virtues into defects. An honest man is a driveller; the slow and sure is a hog; the prudent and cautious, a liar and a fox; the unsophisticated, a fool.

What rashness thus to establish a rule which must react upon ourselves. All have their faults; he is best who has fewest. Let my friend weigh my good with my bad, and I will do the same by him. If he would not have his great deformities offend my eye, let him learn to overlook my little ones: who would have indulgence must show it.

In short, since the defects of fools, according to your Stoic theory, cannot be got rid of, it is reasonable we should judge others as we judge ourselves, and visit each fault with no more than its due censure. The man who should crucify his slave for eating the remnants of his fish must be mad; but he is not less mad who for some trifling fault hates his friend. Because a friend breaks my old-fashioned dish, or helps himself before me at table, am I to love him the less for that? What if he were to commit theft, or embezzlement, or fraud? They who declare that all faults are alike, are refuted by common sense, experience, and expediency. Expediency is the parent of justice: therefore men when they were in their first rude state fought like beasts for their food; but when they became civilized, expediency taught them to make laws, which every one must admit were framed to put down injustice. Nature cannot draw the distinction between right and wrong; nor will any argument convince us that a petty theft is as bad as sacrilege. Let us visit each fault then with its proper meed of punishment; that is, let us not use the scourge where the whip is only due; for I have no fear of your reversing this and substituting the whip for the scourge, though you do say you would cut up all vices alike if men would but make you king.

But are you not a king? Is not the wise man rich and handsome, a cobbler and a king? Don't you know what our founder Chrysippus said? "The wise man never made himself a shoe in his life, yet is the wise man a cobbler." How is this? Why just as Hermogenes is the best of singers, even when his lips are closed, and Alfenius continued to be a clever shoemaker after he had changed his trade and shut up his shop; even so the wise man is the best and only workman, and a king. And yet thou king of kings, the little boys mob thee and pluck thy beard! To make a long story short: while your kingship goes down to a cheap bath with no body-guard but Crispinus the blockhead, my friends shall make allowance for my faults, and I will make allowance for theirs, and I shall live as a subject more blest than you or any other king.

Omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus, inter amicos
Ut nunquam inducant animum cantare rogati,
Injussi nunquam desistant. Sardus habebat
Ille Tigellius hoc: Caesar, qui cogere posset,
Si peteret per amicitiam patris atque suam, non
Quidquam proficeret; si collibuisset ab ovo

[2. *inducant animum*] The Romans also said 'inducere in animum.']

4. *Tigellius*] See Sat. 2, Introduction.

[— *Caesar*] 'Caesar Octavianus:' 'patris,' is C. Caesar, the great uncle of Octavianus, and his father by testamentary adoption.]

6. *ab ovo usque ad mala*] The dinner began with egg. Thus Cicero, writing to his friend Paetus (Ad Fam. ix. 20), tells him he has taken to a better style of living. "At quem virum? non eum quem tu es solitus promulside conficere. Integram famem ad ovum affero. Itaque usque ad assum vitulinum opera perducitur." The 'promulsis,' otherwise called 'gustus,' with which Cicero says his appetite used to be satisfied, preceded the regular meal, and

Usque ad mala citaret, Io Bacche! modo summa
Voce, modo hac resonat quae chordis quattuor ima.
Nil aequale homini fuit illi; saepe velut qui
Currebat fugiens hostem, persaepe velut qui
Junonis sacra ferret; habebat saepe ducentos,
Saepe decem servos; modo reges atque tetrarchas,

consisted of things calculated to provoke the appetite, of which a list is given in the eighth Satire of the second book, v. 8 sq., where however eggs are not mentioned. These things were eaten with a draught of 'mulsum' (S. ii. 2. 15 n.) sometimes before they sat down, or even before they left the bath. So Martial (xii. 19) says,—"In thermis sumit lactucas, ova, lacertum." See Becker's Gallus, Exc. 'The Meals.'

7. *citaret, Io Bacche*] This use of 'citare,' 'to shout,' is not common. Forcellini only quotes Cic. de Oratore, i. 59, "Citare Paeanem." Bentley says that 'citare Io Bacche' is not Latin, and he asks where we shall meet with such a phrase as 'citare cantilenam.' He overlooked the above passage of Cicero. He conjectures and adopts 'iteraret,' quoting C. ii. 19. 12, "lapsa cavis iterare mella." There were convivial songs among the Greeks to which they gave the name *ἰόβακχοι*. Several fragments of such songs by Archilochus have been preserved in Athenaeus and elsewhere (see Bergk's Poet. Lyr. p. 490 sqq.). The final syllable in Bacche is lengthened, and should properly be pronounced as the singer might be supposed to pronounce it. The caesural place in the verse is not enough to account for the lengthening of the syllable, as Orelli says it is. 'Io Bacchae' is found in some MSS., being introduced evidently to save the metre. [Ritter has 'Bacchae.'] Such was the cry in Euripides' play of the Bacchae, v. 576,—

ἰώ, κλύετ' ἐμᾶς κλύετ' αὐδᾶς,
ὦ βάκχαι, ἰὼ βάκχαι.

The strings in the tetrachord, from which the low notes proceeded, were uppermost as the player held it in his hand, and the notes of the voice which corresponded with these are expressed by 'summa voce.' For the same reason the high notes would be those which harmonized with the lowest of the strings. The 'summa chorda' was called in Greek *ὑπάτη*, and the 'ima' *νήτη*. I understand 'chordis' to be the dative case, the literal translation being 'that voice which is the lowest (where for the above reason those notes are called the lowest which we should call the highest), and that echoes to the four strings.'

11. *Junonis sacra ferret*] This refers to the 'canephoroe,' damsels who carried the basket of sacred instruments on their head at sacrifices. Those of Juno are mentioned here; but the practice was observed at all sacrifices. A woodcut from an antefixum in the British Museum, representing two girls carrying the basket, will be found in Smith's Dict. Ant. art. 'Canephoroe.' See also Cic. in Verr. ii. 4. 3, Long's note; and Cicero (De Off. i. 36): "ne tarditatibus . . . utamur ut pomparum ferculis similes esse videamur."

— *habebat saepe ducentos*] Bentley substitutes 'alebat' for 'habebat;' but though 'alere servos' and *βόσκειν οἰκέτας* are expressions in use, there is no reason for deserting the MSS. Ten slaves were a very small household for a rich man, and Tigellius was rich. In respect to the number of slaves usual in wealthy houses, which in primitive times was small, but latterly grew to an extraordinary number, see Becker's Gallus Exc. 'on the Slave Family.'

12. *modo reges atque tetrarchas*] 'Modo,' as an adverb of time, signifies 'now,' or some time not far from the present. It is the ablative of 'modus,' 'measure,' and 'modo' is within measure, and therefore its sense is confined to limited quantities. Compare the use of 'modo' and 'admodum' in Terence (Hec. iii. 5. 8): "Advenis modo? Pam. Admodum." 'Are you coming now?—Just now.' 'Modo,' thus comes to have the meaning of 'nunc,' and to be used in the same combinations, as here 'nunc reges—loquens; nunc, sit mihi mensa tripes' would have the same meaning; and likewise in S. 10. 11:—

"Et sermone opus est, *modo* tristi, *saepe* jocoso;
Defendente vicem, *modo* rhetoris atque poetae;
Interdum urbani."

See Key's L. G., 794, and Mr. Long's Excursus on 'Non modo,' Cicero's orations,

Omnia magna loquens; modo, "Sit mihi mensa tripes et
Concha salis puri et toga quae defendere frigus
Quamvis crassa queat." Decies centena dedisses
Huic parco paucis contento, quinque diebus
Nil erat in loculis. Noctes vigilabat ad ipsum
Mane, diem totum stertebat; nil fuit unquam
Sic impar sibi.—Nunc aliquis dicat mihi: "Quid tu?
Nullane habes vitia?" Immo alia et fortasse minora.
Maenius absentem Novium cum carperet, "Heus tu,"
Quidam ait, "ignoras te, an ut ignotum dare nobis
Verba putas?" "Egomet mi ignosco," Maenius inquit.
Stultus et improbus hic amor est dignusque notari.

vol. i. Tetrarchs were properly governors of a fourth part of a province or other territorial division; but the title was not so limited in practice. It was a title originally confined to some of the petty princes of Asia Minor; the Romans gave it to different members of Herod's family. Describing the troops assembled at Pharsalia, Lucan says (vii. 226):

"Sicci sed plurima campi
Tetrarchae regesque tenent magnique tyranni,
Atque omnis Latio quae servit purpura ferro."

and Cic. (pro Mil. c. 28): "Omitto socios, exteras nationes, reges, tetrarchas."

13. *mensa tripes*] This was the simplest and most old-fashioned shape, and the tables were small, only suited to a person dining by himself or with one or two companions. The wealthy Romans were very extravagant about their tables. See S. ii. 2. 4 n. The salt-cellar was usually, except among the poorest sort, of silver, and an heir-loom. It stood in the middle of the table, and had a sacred character (C. ii. 16. 14). 'Puri' only means 'clean.' ['Purum sal' may be 'sal simplex, non conditum.' . . Pliny, H. N. 31. c. 41, says "conditur etiam sal odoribus additis.' Ritter says that this explanation is far-fetched, and perhaps it is—'defendere,' 'keep off.' Comp. C. i. 17. 3.]

15. *Decies centena*] 'Ten millions of sesterces,'—a common way of expressing the largest number. On the construction, see above, S. 1. 45 n. 'Erat' is used in an uncommon way. ἦν ἄν would be the Greek equivalent. It is a loose conversational way of speaking.

[18. 'Mane' is a neuter noun indeclinable. Persius, S. iii. 1, 'clarum mane.']

20. *Immo alia*] Orelli says 'immo' here expresses wonder at a man asking a question on a matter where there is no doubt. I do not see how that meaning can be got from it. Professor Key has given the interpretation of it here (L. G. 1429): "'Imo' seems to have signified properly an assent with an important qualification." This explanation is borne out by the etymology of the word, which is compounded of 'in' and 'modo.' (The subject is discussed in Mr. Long's note on Cic. Verr. ii. 1. 1.) The qualification is found in 'et fortasse minora,' which some editors have corrupted into 'haud fortasse minora,' destroying the sense and turning it into cant. A man does not qualify himself for a censor by proclaiming that his own faults are as bad as those he is blaming. 'At' for 'et' is unauthorized and unnecessary. The qualification it conveys is contained in 'immo.' The correction is Baxter's, and arose out of the Scholiasts' paraphrase (Comm. Cruq.): "confiteor me habere vitia sed fortasse minora." Horace means to say he admits he has his faults, and is not so selfish and foolish as Maenius (see S. 1. 101 of this book), who reviled the man Novius behind his back, and, when told to look at his own faults, said he made excuses for himself which he would not make for others. Whether Novius has any connexion with the Novius in the sixth Satire of this book, v. 40, the plebeian tribune, or the usurer in v. 121 of the same Satire, it is impossible to say. 'Dare verba' means to give words in the place of facts, to deceive.

24. *improbus*] See C. iii. 24. 62 n. 'Amor' means 'self-love.' 'Pervideas' in the next line was altered by Bentley, on the authority of one MS., to 'praevideas,'

Cum tua pervideas oculis mala lippus inunctis,
Cur in amicorum vitiis tam cernis acutum
Quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius? At tibi contra
Evenit, inquirant vitia ut tua rursus et illi.
Iracundior est paulo, minus aptus acutis
Naribus horum hominum; rideri possit eo quod
Rusticius tonso toga defluit et male laxus
In pede calceus haeret: at est bonus ut melior vir
Non alius quisquam, at tibi amicus, at ingenium ingens
Inculto latet hoc sub corpore. Denique te ipsum
Concute num qua tibi vitiorum inseverit olim

which Rutgersius had conjectured. He quotes a MS. of Acron as having 'provideas,' which Fea found in two Vatican MSS. The received texts of the Scholiasts give 'pervideas.' The sense in which 'praevideas' is understood is that of 'praetervidere,' *παραβλέπειν*, 'to overlook,' in support of which the following verses of Menander are quoted from Plutarch:—

τί τἀλλότριον, ὤνθρωπε βασκανώτατε,
κακὸν ὀξυδερκεῖς, τὸ δ' ἴδιον παραβλέπεις;

But there is no authority for that use of the word 'praevidere.' The reading of nearly all the MSS. and editions, 'pervideas' gives the best sense, 'while you see through your own faults as well as a blear-eyed man might do.' Bentley would like to read 'cum tua tu videas,'—a very unfortunate suggestion. He also changes 'mala' into 'male,' upon little authority, and that construction occurs often enough in this Satire. The MSS. and editions are nearly unanimous in reading 'mala.' Fea mentions 'pervideas mala' as the reading of Hildebert at the end of the eleventh century. (Mor. Phil. Oper. 996). [Ritter has 'per videas,' with this remark: "Correxi *per videas*, quo facto 'tua per mala' e regione posita sunt proximis 'in amicorum vitiis.'" Doederlein compares 'pervidere' with 'perfidus,' 'perjurus,' 'perfuga,' 'perdere,' 'perire,' and explains 'pervideas' by 'overlook,' which is a better explanation. See Key's Philological Essays, p. 109.]

27. *serpens Epidaurius*] The serpents of Epidaurus (on the Sinus Saronicus) were proverbial, in consequence of Aesculapius having been conveyed from that place, where above others he was worshipped, to Rome, in the form of a serpent, to avert a pestilence. (Liv. x. 47. Epit. xi. [; and Ovid, Met. 622–744].)

29. *Iracundior est paulo*] Horace is illustrating here the tendency of those quick-sighted critics of their neighbours' characters to magnify the faults they find. The first instance is of a man who is sensitive under (not suited for) the sharp judgment of the men of that day ('horum hominum'), men who had the keenness of a bloodhound's scent in finding out defects, and no delicacy in proclaiming them. So I understand 'minus aptus,' &c. with the Scholiasts. In respect to the next instance of a person of slovenly habits, Acron says "hic dicitur pulsare Virgilium qui indecori corporis et habitus fuit." He had no doubt met with that statement, which is repeated by Cruquius' Scholiast, but how much reliance is to be placed upon it cannot easily be determined. Weichert supports it. Madvig (Opusc. p. 60) rejects it. 'Rusticius' belongs to 'tonso,' and 'defluit' is absolute, 'hangs down.' 'Male' belongs to 'laxus.' (See v. 45, and C. i. 17. 25 n.). To be slipshod (*μείζω τοῦ ποδὸς ὑποδήματα φορεῖν*, Theophr. Char. 4) has always been the proverbial characteristic of a sloven. "Nec vagus in laxa pes tibi pelle natet" (Ovid, A. A. i. 516). 'At' is repeated in the same way as here by Cicero, in his eighth letter to Caelius (Ad. Fam. ii. 15): "Puerum, inquis? At quaestorem, at nobilem adolescentem, at omnium fere exemplo." In Verr. ii. 5. 1: "at est bonus imperator, at felix;" ii. 3. 4: "at sermone, at literis, at humanitate ejus delectamini." ['Iracundior est.' A supposition is sometimes put in this form. 'Suppose he is too sensitive.' Compare v. 49, 'Parcius hic vivit:' 'suppose he lives rather frugally.' Other examples occur after v. 49. Compare C. i. 28. 38, 'negligis,' &c.]

35. *Concute*] The metaphor is probably derived from the shaking of a cloak, or any thing of that sort, to see if there is any

Natura, aut etiam consuetudo mala; namque
Neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris.
Illuc praevertamur, amatorem quod amicae
Turpia decipiunt caecum vitia, aut etiam ipsa haec
Delectant, veluti Balbinum polypus Hagnae.
Vellem in amicitia sic erraremus; et isti
Errori nomen virtus posuisset honestum.
At pater ut gnati sic nos debemus amici
Si quod sit vitium non fastidire: strabonem
Appellat paetum pater, et pullum male parvus

thing hid in it. Orelli calls this "imaginem desumptam ab eo qui furem concutit," that is, it means 'to search,' as suspected persons are searched by the police. 'Excutio' is so used in Plautus (Aulul. iv. 4. 18): "Dî me perdant si ego tui quicquam abstuli — agedum, Excutedum pallium." Phaedrus (Fab. v. 5. 17):

" —— Sic porcelli vocem est imitatus sua
Verum ut subesse pallio contenderent
Et excuti juberent."

37. *Neglectis urenda filix*] This, as Orelli says, has the appearance of a proverb. Virgil calls the fern "curvis invisam aratris." (Georg. ii. 189).

38. *Illuc praevertamur*] 'Before we go further let us first turn our attention to this, namely, how lovers are blind to the faults of their mistresses.' Balbinus and Hagna are persons unknown. The former is a Roman name. A person so called was included in the proscription of Octavianus and M. Antonius (Appian, B. iv. c. 50), and this person has, without any authority, been identified with the man of this Satire. (Spohn in Jahn's 2nd Edit. in Horace, p. 253.) Another of the same name is mentioned by Cicero (Ad Att. xiii. 21). Estré suggests that Hagna may have made up to Balbinus by her money for the ugly defect in her nose, which is a libel on the worthy lover, the blindness of whose affection is held up to imitation. Bentley has shown from inscriptions and etymology that Hagna, derived from ἁγνή, cannot properly be written 'Agna,' which is the reading of many of the old editions. The first syllable of 'polypus' is long, though the common Greek form is πολύπους.

42. *nomen virtus posuisset*] The Romans used 'ponere nomen,' after the Greek ὄνομα τιθέναι.

[43. *At pater*] 'Ac pater,' Ritter, 'ex melioribus libris.']

44. *strabonem appellat paetum*] The difference between 'strabo' and 'paetus' is only one of degree; a slight cast of the eye is by some considered a beauty, whence Venus had the epithet 'paeta' applied to her. Ovid (A. A. ii. 659): "Si paeta est Veneri similis, si flava Minervae." Both these words passed into cognomens, which Pliny mentioning, observes that man is the only animal that squints (N. H. xi. 37. 55). 'Pullus,' 'Varus,' 'Scaurus' were also cognomens. Sisyphus was the name of a dwarf kept by M. Antonius. "Sisyphus M. Antonii triumviri pumilio fuisse dicitur intra bipedalem staturam ingenio tamen vivax" (Porphyrion). Cruquius' Scholiast adds a story about his delighting Antonius and Cleopatra by his dexterity in handling a boat, which looks very like a blunder from the word 'velificari,' which is used for 'flattering' and 'doing homage,' and so forth; but never (as a deponent verb) in the sense in which this story-teller uses it. If it be, as I suppose, that the commentator's original merely told how the little man paid court to his master and mistress (ut iis velificaretur), it is a curious specimen of the way in which Scholiasts' anecdotes are manufactured. He says "ipse (M. Antonius) Sisyphum appellabat ob ingenii calliditatem; hic aliquando in Alexandrino mari cum, inspectantibus Antonio et Cleopatra, in scapha velificaretur cum aequalibus, tanta dexteritate antevertit alios ut eis quidem esset delectamento aliis vero admirationi." Torrentius believes Sisyphus to be the true reading in that passage of Suetonius (Octav. c. 43): "Adolescentulum *Lucium* honeste natum exhibuit: tantum ut ostenderet quod erat bipedali minor, librarum septemdecim ac vocis immensae." Dwarfs were kept by the rich to amuse them and play to them, for they were generally instructed in music. Propertius (iv. 8) in-

Si cui filius est, ut abortivus fuit olim
Sisyphus; hunc varum distortis cruribus; illum
Balbutit scaurum pravis fultum male talis.
Parcius hic vivit, frugi dicatur. Ineptus
Et jactantior hic paulo est, concinnus amicis
Postulat ut videatur. At est truculentior atque
Plus aequo liber, simplex fortisque habeatur;
Caldior est, acres inter numeretur. Opinor
Haec res et jungit junctos et servat amicos.
At nos virtutes ipsas invertimus, atque
Sincerum cupimus vas incrustare. Probus quis
Nobiscum vivit, multum demissus homo: illi

troduces such a one at a supper, dancing grotesquely to the sound of the flute:—

"Nanus et ipse suos breviter concretus in artus
Jactabat truncas ad cava buxa manus."
(v. 41 sq.)

That 'varus' is a soft term for those who have bent legs, and 'scaurus' for one whose ankles are rickety, we may gather from this passage, not from the dictionaries. No one would like to have a child either 'varus' or 'scaurus' according to Forcellini's definitions. Celsus (viii. 20) defines 'varus' as one whose foot turns in; and Heindorf says it represents the shape of the letter V. From this word is derived 'praevaricari,' 'to shuffle.' Lucretius describes the blindness of lovers much as Horace does that of fathers (iv. 1156 sqq.).

49. *Ineptus*] This word signifies want of what the French know well by the name of 'tact.' Cicero thus defines the word (de Or. ii. 4): "qui aut tempus quid postulet non videt, aut plura loquitur aut se ostentat—aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinnus aut multus est, is ineptus dicitur." Such a man's failing is to be softened down, Horace says, into a wish to make himself agreeable (concinnus) to his friends. 'Truculentior' means coarse and approaching to brutality in his behaviour.

56. *Sincerum cupimus vas incrustare*] 'We are ready and even anxious to foul the clean vessel.' This is the original meaning of 'sincerus.'

57. *multum est demissus homo*] 'Demissus' is used in a bad sense. Bentley says this passage is a rock of bad name for the shipwreck all interpreters have made upon it. "Scopulus interpretum omnium naufragiis infamis." His reading is—

"—— probus quis
Nobiscum vivit, multum demissus homo ille:
Tardo ac cognomen pingui damus."

'Ille' for 'illi' has the authority of the oldest Blandinian MS., according to Cruquius. 'Ac' is Bentley's own conjecture. The translation will then be: 'suppose we have an honest man living among us, a very humble man he.' Moreover, every MS. but the above is said to have 'illi.' which must agree with 'tardo,' and that must be taken in a good sense as slow and steady. That 'demissus' may be used in a good sense, and is so used by Cicero in connexion with 'probus,' is quite true (Orat. ii. 43): "eaque omnia quae proborum, demissorum, non acrium—non acerborum sunt;" but it is also used in a disparaging way. Bentley says it may be doubted whether 'multum' belongs to 'vivit' or 'demissus.' There cannot, I think, be much doubt that it belongs to 'demissus,' and it strengthens the common interpretation—'a very abject man.' Compare S. ii. 3. 147, "multum celer atque fidelis." "Multum similis metuenti" (S. ii. 5. 92). Lambinus, with some authority, inserts 'est' before 'demissus.' It does not appear in the best MSS., but is understood. Heindorf's interpolation of 'et' after 'pingui' is unauthorized and awkward. The dative 'pingui' like "cui nunc cognomen Iulo Additur" (Aen. i. 267), is the common construction. Cicero (Verr. ii. 4. 53) has "cui nomen Arethusa est;" but there Professor Key (L. G. 984 note) thinks "we should probably read Arethusaest, i. e. Arethusae est." Some MSS. have 'pinguis' in the text. [Ritter and Krüger: 'multum demissus homo ille:']

Tardo cognomen pingui damus. Hic fugit omnes
Insidias nullique malo latus obdit apertum,
Cum genus hoc inter vitae versetur ubi acris
Invidia atque vigent ubi crimina: pro bene sano
Ac non incauto fictum astutumque vocamus.
Simplicior quis et est, qualem me saepe libenter
Obtulerim tibi, Maecenas, ut forte legentem
Aut tacitum impellat quovis sermone molestus,
Communi sensu plane caret, inquimus. Eheu,
Quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam!
Nam vitiis nemo sine nascitur; optimus ille est
Qui minimis urgetur. Amicus dulcis ut aequum est
Cum mea compenset vitiis bona, pluribus hisce

59. *malo*] This is masculine: he lays himself open to no malignant person, gives him no handle. 'Hoc' is like 'horum hominum' (v. 30). Bentley adopts and defends 'versemur,' the reading of the oldest Blandinian MS. But the other is at least as good a reading, and better supported. In connexion with what follows, the commentators quote Livy: "Pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, affingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat." By 'simplicior' Horace means 'unsophisticated:' one who in the simplicity of his feelings may perhaps sometimes obtrude himself upon those he likes, thinking he must be welcome because he is himself pleased to meet them. He says he has often acted in that way with Maecenas. This Satire therefore was not written very early in their acquaintance.

65. *impellat*] Forcellini gives no other instance of 'impellere' in the sense of 'interpellare,' but gives it that sense here. Lambinus reads 'appellet;' Cruquius 'appellem;' Bentley conjectures 'impediat,' at the same time calling Lambinus' conjecture ingenious and learned. The Scholiasts' interpretation is 'interpellet;' the reading of every MS. is 'impellat,' and I do not feel inclined to adopt Bentley's emendation or his explanation of the received reading, which, for the benefit of those who have more scruple than himself in deserting the MSS., he tells us must mean nudging your friend with your elbow, or pushing him, to draw his attention. The instrument is plainly not 'cubito' or 'manu,' as he suggests, but 'sermone,' and the meaning is that he breaks in upon one when reading or meditating [disturbs him] with some irrelevant talk. Fea separates 'molestus' from the preceding words, and reads "Molestus! Communi sensu plane caret, inquimus." [Ritter and Krüger have it thus: 'molestus, Communi . . . caret,' which means the same as Fea's text.] 'Common sense,' for which the Greeks had the expression ὁ κοινὸς νοῦς, is so called, not as being exercised upon common every-day things, but as being supposed to be common property, and not confined to the learned. [Juvenal, S. viii. 73.]

67. *legem sancimus*] 'Sancire legem' is properly to give effect to a law by adding a penalty for the breach of it. See Cic. de Am. c. 13: "Haec igitur prima lex amicitiae sanciatur."

70. *Cum mea compenset vitiis bona*] There is a strife here among the commentators. The Scholiasts interpret 'cum' as a preposition. Some editors take it as a conjunction. Bentley, Heindorf, Orelli, and Dillenbr. follow the Scholiasts, I think with good reason. Fea, Meineke [Ritter], Duentzer are on the other side. The last says with much confidence that Horace would have put the substantive next to 'cum' if he had meant it for a preposition. But Horace perhaps preferred bringing together the words that are opposed to one another, 'vitiis' and 'bona.' There is no more abruptness arising out of the absence of a conjunction between 'bona' and 'pluribus' than the character of the discourse renders natural. Heindorf takes 'hac lege' with 'amari si volet.' I do not see any objection to that punctuation; but the common way is at least as good. 'Compensare' is a legal term. 'Compensatio' is a 'set-off.' ['Let him set off my good qualities against the bad.']

(Si modo plura mihi bona sunt) inclinet, amari
Si volet: hac lege in trutina ponetur eadem.
Qui ne tuberibus propriis offendat amicum
Postulat, ignoscet verrucis illius; aequum est
Peccatis veniam poscentem reddere rursus.
Denique, quatenus excidi penitus vitium irae,
Cetera item nequeunt stultis haerentia, cur non
Ponderibus modulisque suis ratio utitur ac res
Ut quaeque est, ita suppliciis delicta coërcet?
Si quis eum servum patinam qui tollere jussus
Semesos pisces tepidumque ligurierit jus
In cruce suffigat, Labeone insanior inter
Sanos dicatur. Quanto hoc furiosius atque
Majus peccatum est: paulum deliquit amicus,

72. *trutina*] This word applies equally to the 'libra,' a balance with two scales ('lances'), and to the 'statera,' or steelyard, both of which were in use among the Romans. 'In trutina ponetur eadem,' he shall be weighed in the same balance, is not a very exact way of saying, he shall be tried by the same standard, his character shall be estimated in the same way.

74. *ignoscet*] The MSS. vary between the future indicative and the present subjunctive. Perhaps the future is more after Horace's style.

76. *quatenus excidi penitus*] 'Inasmuch as (C. iii. 24. 30) the vice of passion and all other vices that cleave to fools cannot be entirely eradicated.' All were fools with the Stoics, as with most other sects, who were not wise after their fashion. [Doederlein correctly observes that 'suis' does not refer to 'ratio,' but to 'res;' and 'suis' means the rule and measure which properly apply to things (res).]

81. *ligurierit jus*] Orelli follows the analogy of other words formed like this (which has the same root, 'lig,' as 'lingo') and having the termination '-urio.' Most of the editions and of the MSS are said to have two 'r's'; and Heindorf, on their authority, adopts that way of writing the word. Mr. Long (Cic. in Verr. ii. 3. 76) prefers the single 'r.' 'Pisces patinarii' were boiled fish served up with sauce in an open dish.

82. *In cruce suffigat*] Cicero has the expressions 'in crucem sublatum' (Verr. ii. 5. 3), 'ad palum alligatos' (Ib. c. 6), which may not have the same meaning. In the latter place he has the construction "damnatis crucem servis fixeras."

— *Labeone insanior*] The Scholiasts speak of 'Labeo' as M. Antistius Labeo, a lawyer of eminence, who had attacked Augustus very freely, and was therefore set down as a madman by Horace to please his patron. Marcus Labeo was the son of Quintus, and both were eminent jurists. The father was of the party of Brutus and Cassius, was present at Philippi, and put himself to death after the battle. Tacitus (Ann. iii. 75) writing of the year A.U.C. 775, about sixty years after the composition of this Satire, says that in that year died Capito Ateius and Labeo Antistius, two rival lights of their age. If, then, he is the person Horace means, it could not have been for his boldness of speech towards Augustus that he calls him mad, for he could at the outside have been but a youth when this Satire was written. [As appears from the passage in the Digest, i. 2. 2. § 47, referred to by Ritter.] Either, therefore, some other Labeo [some real madman, probably,] is intended, or some other mad freak of M. Antistius Labeo. From the way the name is introduced, one might suppose it was proverbial. What Horace says is, that if a man were to do so, he would be called by all sane men more insane than Labeo, who must therefore have had the reputation of being mad, whoever he was.

84. *paulum deliquit amicus*] 'Say your friend has committed a fault so small that if you do not excuse it you must be looked upon as harsh; you hate him in your bitterness, and run away from him.' 'Concedo' is used in this way by other writers. Bentley would prefer 'quoi' for 'quod,' referring to the next Satire, v. 140,' 'cui si concedere nolis.' But he does not say why

Quod nisi concedas habeare insuavis, acerbus :
Odisti et fugis ut Rusonem debitor aeris,
Qui nisi cum tristes misero venere Kalendae
Mercedem aut nummos unde unde extricat, amaras
Porrecto jugulo historias captivus ut audit.
Comminxit lectum potus mensave catillum
Evandri manibus tritum dejecit, ob hanc rem
Aut positum ante mea quia pullum in parte catini
Sustulit esuriens, minus hoc jucundus amicus
Sit mihi? Quid faciam si furtum fecerit, aut si
Prodiderit commissa fide sponsumve negarit?
Quis paria esse fere placuit peccata laborant

Horace should adopt the old form here and the later there.

86. *Rusonem*] Nearly all the old editions have 'Drusonem,' because Porphyrion, according to the text of Ascensius, calls the person "Octavius Drusus, a usurer and writer of histories, to which he obliged his debtors to listen, which was the worst punishment they could suffer." Other variations are 'Riso,' 'Rufo,' 'Risso' (Ascens.), 'Ruffo,' 'Truso.' Cruquius first approved of 'Ruso,' but Bentley claims the merit of restoring that name. Philostratus (Vit. Polemonis) mentions one Varus, who followed the same calling as Ruso, and made a stipulation with his debtors that they should, besides paying interest, listen to his recitations of his own writings. Acron interprets 'historias' by 'contumelias' in one place, but contradicts himself within a few lines, calling Ruso "historiarum malum scriptorem." The text of these Scholiasts is very corrupt. 'Historias' I suppose to mean tales or narratives of some sort. See C. 2. iii. 7. 20. [The modern commentators, so far as I know, agree in taking 'historias' literally. Ruso did not, says Wieland, compel his debtors to listen to his historical writings, but they forced themselves to listen, when they could not pay, in order to conciliate the man. This is all, adds Wieland, that the reader needs to know in order to feel the wit and drollery of the passage. I don't see any wit in this explanation, and it is entirely inconsistent with the whole tenour of the passage. 'Bitter stories' are bitter words and abuse, such as a prisoner might be compelled to listen to from his captor with outstretched neck, or throat, like a man awaiting his death.]

87. *tristes Kalendae*] Epod. ii. 70 n.

[88. '*unde unde*'] These words are sometimes repeated; they mean 'from some quarter or other.' 'Extricat:' compare C. iii. 5. 31. An old grammarian explains 'tricae' to be hairs or threads which entangle the feet of young fowls. The sense of 'extricatus' appears clearly from a passage of Ulpian (Dig. 9. 2. 27 § 30) where 'margaritae extricatae' are unstrung pearls. 'Merces' is the interest, and 'nummi' the principal.]

90. *catillum Evandri manibus tritum*] The Scholiasts, spoiling the joke, have referred to a celebrated engraver and statuary as the Evander of this place, who is clearly the old king and ally of Aeneas, Porphyrion professes to quote from certain writers who had written on Horace's characters; so that there must have been a good deal of attention paid to that subject at a very early period. Compare S. ii. 3. 21 n. [Sillig, Catal. Artificum, Wieland, Ritter, agree in taking Evander to be an artist. Heindorf doubts, but inclines to the artist, notwithstanding the allusion to Sisyphus, S. ii. 3. 21. Orelli argues for the king. Those who can understand a joke, will be for the old Arcadian. Doederlein has proved that Evander cannot be the artist.]

[93. *hoc*] 'On this account.']

95. *fide*] A form both of the genitive and dative. C. iii. 7. 4: "Constantis juvenem fide."

96. *Quis paria esse fere*] This common doctrine of the Stoics is noticed by Cicero (de Fin. iv. 19) and condemned on the principles of common sense (sensus cujusque et natura rerum) and truth, as here. 'Laborant,' 'they are in a dilemma' ['when they come to reality,' to apply their doctrine. It is doubtful what word 'fere' qualifies. Doederlein connects

Cum ventum ad verum est; sensus moresque repugnant,
Atque ipsa utilitas, justi prope mater et aequi.
Cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,
Mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter
Unguibus et pugnis, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
Pugnabant armis quae post fabricaverat usus,
Donec verba quibus voces sensusque notarent
Nominaque invenere; dehinc absistere bello,
Oppida coeperunt munire et ponere leges,
Ne quis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis adulter.
Nam fuit ante Helenam cunnus teterrima belli
Causa, sed ignotis perierunt mortibus illi,
Quos venerem incertam rapientes more ferarum
Viribus editior caedebat, ut in grege taurus.
Jura inventa metu injusti fateare necesse est,
Tempora si fastosque velis evolvere mundi.
Nec natura potest justo secernere iniquum,
Dividit ut bona diversis, fugienda petendis;

it with 'laborant.' If it qualifies 'paria,' then it limits the doctrine of all faults being equal. But 'fere' may qualify 'placuit,' and then too the general doctrine appears to be limited. When Horace says of 'utilitas' that it is 'justi prope mater et aequi,' the value of his assertion depends on the sense which we give to 'utility.' If we take it to mean the advantage of every member of a community, he is certainly right, for utility is the measure by which we judge of the value of rules of law and the usages of society; and this is true whatever notions we may have of what is sometimes called a moral sense. Practically we form our estimate of 'justum' and 'aequum' by applying the measure of utility.]

[99. *primis terris*] 'The new-made earth' (S. ii. 2. 93). He assigns a beginning of some kind to the earth; but we need not suppose that he could have told us what he meant. Ritter says that 'animalia' are 'living beings:' "intelligit enim ea animalia tantum unde homines evaserint:" but he does not explain his meaning. Horace supposes that man at first could not speak, and this opinion has been revived in our time. Compare Lucretius v. 1026.]

102. *usus*] Here this signifies 'need.' It generally occurs (in this sense) in combination with 'est' or 'venit.' 'Verba nominaque' conventionally embraces all the parts of speech, like the Greek *ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα*. 'Notae' are symbols, as in short-hand writing for instance; and this line may perhaps be most accurately rendered, 'till they invented language whereby they could give a symbolical form to the sounds of their voice and to their feelings.'

[111. *Jura inventa metu injusti*] 'Jura' in the Roman sense comprehends all law: 'Constant autem jura ex legibus, plebiscitis, senatusconsultis, constitutionibus Principum, edictis eorum qui jus edicendi habent, responsis prudentium' (Gaius, i. § 2). It may be translated 'rules of law,' and must be distinguished from 'jus' in the sense of 'just,' or *τὸ δίκαιον*.]

112. *evolvere*] This word, which signifies 'to read,' is taken from the unrolling of a parchment 'usque ad umbilicum.' See Epod. xiv. 8 n.

114. *bona diversis*] 'Bona' means things which it is good to have and to get, not virtues, but the gifts of fortune and such like. [Here Horace has the much used and much abused word 'natura;' and again we may suppose that the poet would have had some difficulty in explaining his meaning. Perhaps 'natura' means man in his natural state; but then we must explain what man's natural state is. According to Horace it would be man's condition before experience had taught him the rules necessary for the conservation and progress of society.]

Nec vincet ratio hoc, tantundem ut peccet idemque
Qui teneros caules alieni fregerit horti
Et qui nocturnus sacra divum legerit. Adsit
Regula peccatis quae poenas irroget aequas,
Ne scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello.
Nam ut ferula caedas meritum majora subire
Verbera non vereor, cum dicas esse pares res
Furta latrociniis et magnis parva mineris
Falce recisurum simili te, si tibi regnum
Permittant homines. Si dives qui sapiens est,
Et sutor bonus et solus formosus et est rex,

115. *Nec vincet ratio hoc*] 'Nor will any reasoning prove this.' 'Vincere causam' is an ordinary expression for winning a cause. 'Idem' is explained by 'tantundem,' the same in degree of guilt. [Ritter in his note on 'caules,' refers to Draco's laws (Plut. Solon, c. 17). 'Qui sacra legerit' is a 'sacrilegus,' a stealer of 'sacra,' or of things appropriated to the service of religion.]

119. *Ne scutica dignum*] The epithet 'horribili' belongs to 'flagello,' which was a severer instrument than the 'scutica,' and was sometimes constructed with horrible cruelty, and fatal in its application (S. i. 2. 41, and Epod. iv. 11). The 'scutica' had one thong, of leather. 'Ferula' was a switch usually from the vine. The Latin derivatives from σκῦτος are short in the first syllable, and some have supposed the existence of a σκύτος with the υ short. But this is doubtful. There are other instances (as 'anchŏra' from ἄγκυρα, 'crĕpida' from κρηπῖς, &c.) in which the quantity of the Greek vowel is changed in the Latin.

120. *ut ferula caedas*] The rule in respect to verbs of fearing is that "the Latin inserts a negative where the English has none, and *vice versa*" (Key's L. G. 1186 note), i.e. 'vereor ne' means 'I fear it will;' 'vereor ut,' 'I fear it will not.' There appears at first to be a deviation from the rule here; but the position of 'ut' makes it independent of 'vereor.' 'For that you should beat,' or 'as to your beating with a switch one who deserves to undergo a severer flogging, of this I have no fear.' ['Ferula' is the schoolmaster's instrument of punishment. Juv. S. i. 15; Martial x. 62.]

122. *Furta latrociniis*] This is not strictly a technical distinction, nor is 'latrocinium' a technical term. All robbery was 'furtum,' whether attended with violence or not; but Horace means to distinguish between thefts without violence and robbery with violence ('rapina'). See articles 'furtum' and 'bona rapta' in Smith's Dict. Ant. Cicero distinguishes 'furtum' from 'rapina' (in Verr. ii. 5. 13). — ['*Magnis parva*'] These words come together because great and small are contrasted. The dative 'magnis' depends on 'simili,' but it is a careless way of writing, for the man means to say that he will apply the knife to great and small offences alike.]

125. *et est rex*] This notion of the Stoics is expressed again Epp. i. 1. 107. Plutarch alludes to it in his treatise περὶ Εὐθυμίας, c. 12: ἀλλ' ἔνιοι τοὺς μὲν Στωϊκοὺς οἴονται παίζειν ὅταν ἀκούσωσι τὸν σοφὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς μὴ μόνον φρόνιμον καὶ δίκαιον καὶ ἀνδρεῖον ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥήτορα καὶ στρατηγὸν καὶ ποιητὴν καὶ πλούσιον καὶ βασιλέα προσαγορευόμενον, αὐτοὺς δὲ πάντων ἀξιοῦσι τούτων, κἂν μὴ τυγχάνωσιν ἀνιῶνται. The absurdity of the doctrine, if such it may be called (it has no foundation in the reported opinions of Zeno, Cleanthes, or Chrysippus, being the invention of their followers), consists, not so much in the statement that the wise man's intelligence contains in itself the germ of all practical knowledge, and that such knowledge is power, as in the limitation of wisdom to the pale of a sect, and the attempt to give a practical application to a notion of this kind. The later Stoics looked to Chrysippus as the founder of their philosophy; but he adhered, with little essential deviation, to the doctrines taught him by his master Cleanthes, and Cleanthes was a devoted disciple of Zeno. 'Inquit' means that some Stoic says this, including from 'non nosti' to 'est sapiens,' and after 'qui?' to 'sic rex' (v. 133). What he

Cur optas quod habes? Non nosti quid pater, inquit,
Chrysippus dicat: Sapiens crepidas sibi nunquam
Nec soleas fecit, sutor tamen est sapiens. Qui?
Ut quamvis tacet Hermogenes, cantor tamen atque
Optimus est modulator; ut Alfenius vafer, omni

means to affirm in reply to the taunt 'cur optas quod habes?' is, that a man may be, in the Stoic sense, a king, and yet not be in a condition to exercise authority, as an artisan or a singer may still be great in his calling even when he has laid aside the practice of it.

127. *crepidas—soleas*] 'Crepida' (κρῆπις) was a low shoe or slipper taken from the Greeks and worn in undress: 'solea' was a plain sandal fastened over the instep by a strap, and worn by men as the 'sandalium' was worn by women. Gellius (xiii. 21) makes the 'crepida' and 'solea' identical, which they evidently were not in Horace's day at least. "Omne ferme id genus quibus plantarum calces tantum infimae teguntur, caetera prope nuda et teretibus habenis vincta sunt, 'soleas' dixerunt, nonnunquam Graeca voce 'crepidulas,'—ejusque calceamenti sutores 'crepidarios' dixerunt." The 'soccus' was not materially different from the 'crepida,' and the 'Gallica,' adopted from Gaul, was like the 'solea.' None of these were walking shoes ('calcei') fit for wet or dirty roads, but were ordinarily worn only in the house.

129. *Hermogenes*] It has been stated in the Introduction to the Second Satire that this person has been confounded with Tigellius whose death is mentioned in that Satire, and whose character is described at the beginning of this. Hermogenes is also called Tigellius in S. 4. 73; 10. 80, 90. But as he is always spoken of as alive, he cannot be Caesar's friend, Tigellius the Sardinian, to whom, as observed before, there are no grounds for giving the name Hermogenes, though the Scholiasts give it him. Hermogenes Tigellius was a teacher of music (S. 10. 90), and (whether ironically or not it is not easy to say) Horace calls him a first-rate singer here, and implies as much in S. 9. 25. But he had a contempt for him in other respects, as appears from S. 4. 72; 10. 18 (where he calls him a coxcomb), and 10. 79 (where he introduces him with a fool for his friend or parasite).

130. *Alfenius vafer*] I have adopted the orthography of this name which Orelli says is found in an inscription respecting P. Alfenius, who was consul A.D. 2. He is called Alphinius by Clinton (F. H. A.D. 2). Acron says on this passage, "Urbane satis Alfenum Vafrum (Varum?) Cremonensem deridet, qui abjecta sutrina quam in municipio suo exercuerat Romam venit; magistroque usus Sulpicio jurisconsulto ad tantam pervenit scientiam ut et consulatum gereret, et publico funere efferretur." Porphyrion has nearly the same words, and Comm. Cruq. has compounded the two, only changing 'Alfenum Vafrum' to 'Alfinium Varum,' and giving Sulpicius the name of Marcus. Estré (p. 187), agreeing with Weichert (Lect. Ven. pp. 45 sqq.), thinks there is nothing improbable in the Scholiasts' statements. They appear to me to be compounded of different elements, one of which is the passage before us. The Scholiasts, it is obvious, occasionally give as information that which they appear only to have gathered from the text. That the disciple of Servius Sulpicius, who died A.U.C. 710, was not the consul of A.U.C. 755, we may be pretty sure. I have little doubt the jurist, the consul, and Horace's ex-sutor (most probably a different person from either of them), have all been dragged in to make up the story of the Scholiasts. It should be said however that a jurist Alfenus Varus is reported by Pomponius (Dig. i. 2. 2. § 44) to have attained the consulship. But no consul of that name appears till the above Publius, who is with more probability supposed to have been the jurist's son than the jurist himself. In Cruquius' oldest Blandinian MS. 'sutor' in v. 132 appeared as a corrected reading for 'tonsor,' the original word. Cruquius likes 'tonsor' better than 'sutor,' and quotes Alexander ab Alexandro Genial. Dier. lib. vi., who says that Alfenius practised the trade of a barber till he took up the study of the law. Bentley prefers and edits 'tonsor.' He relies partly on a MS. of Acron, in which 'tonstrina' appears instead of the 'sutrina' of the above passage. He says there are no other means of deciding Alfenius's trade, but he had rather for Horace's sake it should be taken to have been a barber's, lest he should be convicted of repeating himself unnecessarily. From 'erat' it has been inferred

Abjecto instrumento artis clausaque taberna,
Sutor erat, sapiens operis sic optimus omnis
Est opifex solus, sic rex. Vellunt tibi barbam
Lascivi pueri; quos tu nisi fuste coërces,
Urgeris turba circum te stante miserque
Rumperis et latras, magnorum maxime regum.
Ne longum faciam: dum tu quadrante lavatum
Rex ibis neque te quisquam stipator ineptum
Praeter Crispinum sectabitur, et mihi dulces
Ignoscent si quid peccaro stultus amici,
Inque vicem illorum patiar delicta libenter,
Privatusque magis vivam te rege beatus.

that Alfenius was dead when the Satire was written. It merely means, that though he threw up his trade, he still continued to be (potentially) a 'sutor' or 'tonsor,' whichever is right. [Comp. Xenophon, Mem. iii. 4, *καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ὁ κιθαρίζειν μαθών, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ κιθαρίζῃ, κιθαριστής ἐστι*, &c.] Cunningham, Sanadon, Fea, Meineke [Ritter] have 'tonsor.'

133. *Vellunt tibi barbam*] The Romans of this period did not usually wear beards. But those who affected philosophy let them grow, and were hooted by the boys in the streets (S. ii. 3. 17).

137. *dum tu quadrante lavatum*] In the vestibule of the public baths of Pompeii was found a box, stated by Sir W. Gell to have been for receiving the bathers' fee. 'Quadrante lavari' (Juvenal, S. vi. 447) was an expression equivalent to taking a public bath, because a 'quadrans' was the ordinary sum paid by each visitor. But it may be inferred from Horace's words that they who paid this sum were not the richer sort of bathers; for he seems to say, 'while you, a fine king as you are, go and bathe for a quadrans.' The rich may perhaps have paid more and had more privacy and better bathing and attendance. The 'quadrans,' which was the fourth of an 'as,' and therefore the 64th part of a 'denarius,' after the reduction of the 'as,' to $\frac{1}{16}$ of that coin, was of the value of about half a farthing of our money, taking the value of the 'denarius' at $8\frac{1}{2}d$. [The passage in Juvenal, 'nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum aere lavantur' (Juvenal, S. ii. 152), has sometimes been misunderstood.] As Becker says, Juvenal means children who have not yet been sent to the public baths (Gallus, Exc. on the Baths). The Romans were great bathers. If bathing could be made for our poor a 'res quadrantaria' (Seneca, Ep. 86), the public health in large towns would be much benefited.

139. *Crispinum*] See S. i. 1. 120 n. The body-guards of kings were called 'stipatores.' Horace therefore uses the word ironically in that sense. For 'et mihi,' some MSS. have 'at mihi.' 'Et' is better; it joins 'ignoscent' with 'patiar' and 'vivam.'

[140. *stultus*] 'Stultus' is opposed to the Stoic 'rex.' 'If I, who am considered a madman (by the Stoics), shall commit any fault.']

SATIRE IV.

Here again Horace is at pains to defend himself from the charge of malevolence. That this charge was loudly brought against him is clear; and the second Satire of this book may have gone a long way towards making him enemies. But he must have written many more pieces than that, for he speaks of 'mea scripta' (v. 23), 'meos libellos' (v. 71). It is probable his other Satires were in the same strain as the second, which appears to have been published as a specimen of the style he here defends, but which he thought fit to abandon, for there are no other Satires of that kind. Independent of the above, Horace here shows something of an author's soreness in respect to the neglect his poems had met with, compared with others which he believed to have less merit; and though he attributes it entirely to the jealousy and fears of the multitude, every man apprehending that he may be attacked next, it is clear that he puts it down in some measure to a false taste which preferred a wordy flowing style to the terseness and accuracy of his own. The poems of Lucilius were popular in spite of the looseness of their composition and many defects, which a depraved taste had come to regard as merits. (See note on v. 6.) The virulence of Lucilius's Satires did not affect Horace's generation, who could afford to admire them, but had no liking for verses that came home to themselves. Horace began his career as a satirical writer with Lucilius for his model, and the second Satire is a specimen of the style resulting from that imitation. It sat uneasily upon him. Lucilius he found, with all his power and his merits, was not the model for him, and he was probably taunted with coming short of the vigour of his original, and this perhaps by the persons who were loudest in charging him with a malignant temper. He had therefore to set himself right in respect to Lucilius, and this he does both here and elsewhere (S. 10 and ii. 1) with much good temper, candour, and forbearance. He has also to contrast his own pretensions with those of the Crispini and Fannii of the day, as well as to quiet the apprehensions of his friends, and disarm the malignity of his enemies, and these are the objects of the Satire. Every body must admire the way in which he takes occasion, from the necessity of self-defence, to pay a tribute of grateful affection to his father's memory, and it would be difficult to find a more pleasing picture of paternal solicitude and sound sense, as applied to a boy's education, than Horace has drawn in the latter part of this Satire.

About the date, Franke says it must have been written before A.U.C. 716, when Asinius Pollio first introduced the practice of regular recitations of their works by authors. He says Horace would not have treated the reciters so contemptuously if their practice had come into fashion through the example of his friend Pollio. As I have said on v. 73, I do not think the practice alluded to by Horace has any thing to do with Pollio's practice; and as to Fannius' books and bust having been deposited, as some have said, in the library built by this same Pollio in A.U.C. 715, there is not the remotest reason to believe it. Franke says Horace could not at this time have been on good terms with Augustus, or he would not have mentioned "acerba irrisione" Petillius Capitolinus (94 sqq.), who was a friend of his. But the only bitterness in Horace's words is in the sneer which he puts into the mouth of Petillius' friend and condemns. In short, the Satire appears to me to contain no clue to the date; but it certainly concerns Horace's early reputation, and so must be placed early, and not very long after S. 2, which he quotes in v. 92.

ARGUMENT.

Great was the liberty wherewith those worthies of the Old Comedy set their mark upon the vicious, and them Lucilius has copied; a man of wit and perception, but a harsh versifier; caring less for the quality of his verses than the quantity; full of words and full of faults, which he was too lazy to avoid. As to your quantity, I care not for that; and when Crispinus challenges me at great odds to try which of us can write quickest, I decline the invitation, and thank heaven that I am a man of quiet temperament and few words. He may go on puffing and blowing like a pair of bellows, but that is not in my way.

(v. 21.) Fannius gets a testimonial from his admirers, while no one will read what I write (and I am too nervous to recite it in public), because men do not like to have their faults exposed, and there are few who are not open to blame. Take any man out of a crowd, he is avaricious, or ambitious, or lecherous, or he dotes upon fine plate or fine statues, or is running about the world to make his fortune. All such are afraid of verses like mine, and hate those who write them. "Take care of him; he is dangerous; all he cares for is to get up a laugh and amuse the old women and children at the expense of his friends."

(v. 38.) Now let me say a word in reply. In the first place I do not profess to be a poet. Six feet in a verse which otherwise is mere prose, this does not make a poet, but genius, inspiration, and sublime language. And this has led some to question whether comedy is poetry, seeing that the language and ideas are all those of common life. There are your fathers, for instance, scolding their sons, just as you may hear every day; moreover you may shuffle the words as you please in true poetry without altering the sense, but that is not the case with Lucilius' language and mine (you must read it as you would prose, or you make nonsense of it).

(v. 63.) But this question I may discuss elsewhere. My present purpose is to show that you have no reason to be afraid of this sort of writing. There are your informers who go about and are the terror of all rogues: the honest man may despise them. But, even supposing you are the rogue, I am no informer. I have no desire to have my books thumbed by the vulgar, or to read them to any but my friends, and that only when prest. There are many I grant you who bawl their verses in the forum and in the public baths, but they are mere blockheads. "But we know you love to annoy, and do it with malicious intent." How can you charge me with this? Nay, the man who slanders his friend behind his back, or fails to defend him from the slander of others, who aims only at being called a wit, who invents falsehood and blabs secrets, that man is a scoundrel; let every honest citizen avoid him. I have often been at table when one of the company has amused himself with breaking his wit upon the guests, not sparing the host himself when he gets warm; now this man you look upon as a funny fellow, while for my innocent satire I am called malignant, sarcastic, and so forth. When your friend Petillius is mentioned you defend him after your own fashion, that is, you damn him with a sneer, the veriest poison, which shall never be found, if I know myself at all, in any thing I may write.

(v. 103.) If I have spoken a little too freely of others, I may be pardoned on this ground: my excellent father always taught me by examples. If he would have me live frugally, he would say, "Look at the misery to which our friend Albius' son and Barrus have reduced themselves by their extravagance." When he would keep me from bad women, "Take Scetanius for a warning." "See what scandal attaches to Trebonius." "Wiser men may teach you by precept and theory: my care shall be to watch over your practice till you are able to take care of yourself." If he would have me do something that was right, he would take one of the judices and say, "There is an example for you." On the other hand, if he would prevent me from doing something

wrong, he would say, "Can you doubt about its impropriety when you see the disgrace it has brought upon so and so? As the intemperate are checked by seeing their neighbour carried to the grave, so young persons are often kept from crime by the shame it brings upon others." Such was the training that has made me what I am, free from grave faults, if not from venial, and even these will diminish with time and reflection, which I practise every day. When I have leisure I put my thoughts into writing, which is one of my little sins; for which sin, if you will not make allowance, I shall bring all my pack to help me, and we shall make a convert of you whether you will or no.

Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poëtae,
Atque alii quorum comoedia prisca virorum est,
Si quis erat dignus describi quod malus ac fur,
Quod moechus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui
Famosus, multa cum libertate notabant.

1. *Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque*] These three represent the Old Comedy, of which they were the acknowledged leaders. Quintilian (x. 1): "Plures ejus auctores: Aristophanes tamen et Eupolis Cratinusque praecipui;" and Persius (S. i. 123):—

"—— Audaci quicunque afflate Cratino
Iratum Eupolidem praegrandi cum sene palles."

The vigour and boldness of Cratinus' writings are described by Aristophanes (Knights, 526 sqq., and elsewhere), who was seventy-five years his junior, as it is said, though they were rivals the year before Cratinus' death, B.C. 423, when he won the first prize, and Aristophanes the third with the Clouds. The satire of Eupolis was also very unsparing, as we learn as well from other notices as from the story (true or false) that Alcibiades had him thrown overboard at sea for lampooning him. The other writers of the Old Comedy, whom Horace alludes to with respect, are very little known to us. Their names, with those of the writers of the Middle and New Comedy, are in Clinton (F. H. v. ii. pp. 36—47), and a few are noticed in Donaldson's Greek Theatre (pp. 106—114). The distinction was invented by the Alexandrine grammarians. The old ended with Aristophanes. The middle was supported chiefly by Eubulus, Antiphanes, Anaxandrides, and Alexis, and lasted over about fifty years of the fourth century B.C. Of the New Comedy, which the Romans imitated, the principal writers were Philemon, Menander, Diphilus (Prol. Adelphi), and Posidippus, who was the last of the Greek comic poets, and died about B.C. 230. Schlegel (Dram. Lit. Lect. vii.) denies the existence of a Middle Comedy, with which question we are not concerned here, but we need only observe that Horace fixes on the Comoedia Prisca, because the subsequent phases of the Greek Comic Drama were not of the same personally satirical cast, the licence granted to the old writers having been taken away by law. The New Comedy was like our own, using the language of daily life to show in an amusing way the manners of the day, the follies of society, and the lighter infirmities of human nature; while the old dealt in invectives against social, political, or individual vices dressed up in grotesque language and images. It is to the language of the New Comedy that Horace refers in this Satire, when he puts the question whether a comedy is or is not a poem. Between his own writings and the Old Comedy there is little or no analogy. The words 'poetae' and 'virorum' are used emphatically, as below in S. 10. 16: "Illi scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est."

[3. *dignus describi*] A poetical construction. Comp. S. i. 3. 24.]

5. *multa cum libertate notabant*] Cicero (de Re Publica iv. 10) says that to the Greeks "fuit etiam lege concessum ut quod vellet comoedia de quo vellet nominatim diceret." All he could mean was, that during the period of the Old Comedy, the law did not interfere with this liberty, except upon two occasions (only one of which occurred during the time Aristophanes was writing), when psephisms were passed prohibiting the introduction upon the stage of living characters as objects of satire by name,—a restriction of no great force, since the substitution of a feigned

Hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus
Mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque, facetus,
Emunctae naris, durus componere versus.
Nam fuit hoc vitiosus: in hora saepe ducentos
Ut magnum versus dictabat stans pede in uno.
Cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles;

name, slightly altered from the true, would make the allusions equally intelligible and more ridiculous. Neither of these psephisms lasted more than a couple of years. See S. i. 6. 14 n., on 'notare.'

6. *Hinc omnis pendet Lucilius*] 'Hinc' means 'upon them,' as 'unde' is elsewhere used with reference to persons. What Horace says of Lucilius is this: that his whole strength was laid out on the satirizing of vice in living persons; that he especially imitated the writers of the Old Comedy, only changing their metre; that he was witty and acute, but harsh in his versification; wordy and sometimes vulgar, in consequence of the haste with which he wrote and his impatience of the trouble of correcting. As Horace must have been familiar with Lucilius' writings, this description may be taken as correct. It bears accuracy on the face of it as far as it goes, for the criticism touches only the surface, and the critic could not be mistaken, and is not to be supposed to have lied. In fact he says below (S. 10. 3) the most idolatrous admirer of Lucilius could not deny that his style was uncouth. He there also adds that Lucilius loved to mix up Greek words with his own language (v. 20), that he was good tempered, notwithstanding his satirical vein (v. 53), and again that he was very unreserved and frank (S. ii. 1. 30—34). This is valuable testimony to the character of Lucilius and his writings. Other writers have neither added much to it nor successfully impugned it. The fragments of Lucilius are too short to enable us to form a very accurate opinion, but in some points (such as the absurd mixture of Greek and Latin) they bear out Horace's statements about him, which are useful contributions to the history of Roman literature.

7. *Mutatis tantum pedibus*] The writings of Lucilius appear to have been very early divided by the grammarians into thirty books, of which two-thirds were written in hexameter verse, and the rest in the iambic and trochaic measures.

8. *Emunctae naris*] "Significat sapientem, quin e contrario mungosum stultum appellamus" (Acron). Porphyrion takes the words with 'versus,' and explains them to signify "elegantes et decentes;" the error therefore of Forcellini noticed by Orelli was not original. 'Mungosus,' Acron's word, is not in the lexicons. 'Emunctae naris' is one who has his nose well wiped, and is therefore no driveller. Phaedrus explains it (iii. 3. 14).

"Aesopus ibi stans naris emunctae senex,
Natura nunquam verba cui potuit dare."

'Emungere' is used by the comic writers for 'cheating,' as in the fragment from the Epiclerus of Caecilius. (Cicero de Am. 26):

"Hodie me ante omnes comicos stultos senes
Versaris atque emunxeris lautissime."

"To wipe a man's nose for him, is to imply that he is a driveller who cannot do it for himself, and hence it means to 'outwit' and to 'cheat' him" (Long in loco). Others explain 'emunctae naris' as 'keen scented,' like a hound. [Compare 'purgatam aurem,' Ep. i. 1. 7: 'durus componere;' see C. i. 1. 18 note.]

10. *versus dictabat*] See S. 10. 92 n. The words 'stans pede in uno' mean 'with the utmost facility,' or 'standing at ease,' as we might say. Heindorf compares the expression with the Greek proverbial phrases ὅλῳ ποδί, ἐκ δυοῖν ποδοῖν, ἀμφοῖν ποδοῖν, meaning with all one's might; the first of which is quoted by Quintilian as a rustic saying (xii. 9 fin.): "Itaque in his actionibus omni, ut agricolae dicunt, pede standum est." ['In the most careless posture and attitude' (Heindorf); but to stand on one foot is the most difficult of attitudes. Horace may mean to say that Lucilius could dictate two hundred verses in an hour, and stand on one foot all the time, which would make the performance still more wonderful; or standing on one foot may mean that he was paying more attention to this difficult feat than to the composition of his verses. Lastly, 'standing on one foot' may mean simply 'resting on one foot,' which is the attitude of a man who is at ease, and not busy about any thing.]

11. *Cum flueret lutulentus*] 'Lutulen-

Garrulus atque piger scribendi ferre laborem,
Scribendi recte: nam ut multum nil moror. Ecce,
Crispinus minimo me provocat: "Accipe, si vis,
Accipiam tabulas; detur nobis locus, hora,
Custodes; videamus uter plus scribere possit."
"Di bene fecerunt inopis me quodque pusilli
Finxerunt animi, raro et perpauca loquentis.

tus' is explained by Acron as "sordidus; cui contrarium luculentus," which explanation combines two notions, dirtiness and obscenity. Lucilius may have imitated the obscenity of the old comedians; and in this, as in other respects, his verse may have been like a muddy stream. The word, no doubt, comprehends defects of taste as well as style. "Erat quod tollere velles" is interpreted by the Scholiasts "ex quibus sunt nonnulla quae velis inde excerpere et pro tuis habere" (Porph.). "Erat quod velles imitari" (Acron). Cruquius' Scholiast gives the same interpretation, and Heindorf adopts it. Quintilian says (x. 1. 94): "Ab Horatio dissentio qui Lucilium fluere lutulentum et esse aliquid quod tollere possis putat," where he uses the word 'possis' for 'velles,' quoting from memory. Horace's word 'velles' fixes the meaning of 'tollere' 'to remove,' even if the whole context did not do so. 'You would wish for the credit of the author to remove it.' [Horace (S. i. 10. 50) refers to this passage and opposes 'tollenda' to 'relinquenda.' Ritter gives the other meaning: 'though he ran in a muddy stream, yet there was enough for a man to pick out and keep.']

12. *piger scribendi ferre laborem*] 'Piger ferre' is a Greek construction common in the Odes, but not in the Satires. (C i. 1. 18 n.) In C. iv. 14. 22, we have 'impiger' in the same construction: "Impiger hostium vexare turmas."

[13. *nam ut multum nil moror*] 'For as to quantity, I care not for that.' Comp. Epp. i. 15. 16.]

14. *Crispinus minimo*] See S. i. 1. 120 n. 'Minimo me provocat' Porphyrion interprets thus: "Sensus ex proverbiali consuetudine ductus; solemus enim dicere minimo me digito provocat cum volumus quem intelligi tantum valere minimo digito quantum alius totis viribus." Acron and Comm. Cruq. have the same idle talk. The proverb is probably their own invention. Erasmus, however, in his book of Proverbs, takes it up as meaning a contemptuous sort of challenge; and Lambinus also follows the Scholiasts: Cruquius does not. Bentley quotes a Scholium which gives the right sense. "Minimo provocare dicuntur ii qui in responsione (sponsione) plus ipsi permittant (promittant) quam exigant ab adversario." 'He offers me the greatest odds' is the meaning according to this interpretation, which Bentley adopts, as far as concerns the wager, but substitutes as his own conjecture 'nummo' for 'minimo,' as signifying that Crispinus was so poor he could only stake a sestertius. I do not see any point in such an allusion to the man's poverty. His confidence of victory is the matter Horace means to illustrate. The MSS. are unanimous in favour of 'minimo,' and the Scholiasts and editors are equally so; and, if that reading be right, the interpretation above given must be right too.

15. *Accipiam tabulas*] Bentley follows the reading of some MSS. which have 'accipe jam,' and he wonders that nearly all the editors should have taken up 'accipiam:' 'jam' he thinks exhibits the eagerness of the challenger, and his fear lest Horace, if he let him go on this occasion, should slip out of the contest altogether. For all this the passage affords no warrant. There is no eagerness or haste,—nothing more than a polite challenge to see which could write most verses in a given time. 'Take tablets if you please, and I will take them too.' The omission of the personal pronoun to express antithesis is nothing in familiar talk where there could be no mistake. 'Custodes' are umpires.

18. *raro et perpauca loquentis*] Lambinus, against all the MSS., introduced the reading 'loquentem,' which Bentley has adopted, and others after him. The received reading is very natural, and I see no occasion for altering it. 'The gods have done me a kindness in making me of a poor and unpretending disposition that speaks but seldom, and very little at a time.' This is Horace's reply to the challenge, which he declines.

At tu conclusas hircinis follibus auras,
Usque laborantes dum ferrum molliat ignis,
Ut mavis imitare." Beatus Fannius ultro
Delatis capsis et imagine; cum mea nemo
Scripta legat volgo recitare timentis ob hanc rem,
Quod sunt quos genus hoc minime juvat, utpote plures
Culpari dignos. Quemvis media erue turba:

19. *At tu conclusas*] Persius imitates this S. v. 10:

"Tu neque anhelanti coquitur dum massa camino
Folle premis ventos nec clauso murmure raucus," &c.

21. *Beatus Fannius*] This Fannius is spoken of in another place (S. i. 10. 80) as a contemptible person and a parasite of Hermogenes Tigellius (S. 3. 129 n.). The Scholiasts say that he had the cognomen Quadratus: that he was a poet full of words and folly; that the Senate made him a present of some 'capsae' (book-boxes) and a bust of himself; that when he was dying he desired his books and book-cases to be burnt publicly; otherwise, that he was a writer of Satire, and childless, and that certain persons, hoping to be remembered in his will, got his busts and his books deposited in the public libraries, to which honour his own merits did not entitle them. Wherever all this came from, it is of no value for determining Horace's meaning. Lambinus follows the Scholiasts so far as to suppose that Fannius was honoured by a spontaneous present ('ultro:' see C. iv. 4. 51 n.) on the part of the "populus sive senatus" of a set of book-boxes and a bust, as a mark of public respect. And Turnebus says, "Fannium nescio quem poetam cujus libros Romani et armario et capsa, ipsum imagine donarant, prae se felicem praedicat." But who ever heard of such a thing? and who was this Fannius that he should have been thus distinguished? It appears probable, from Horace's words, that Fannius had his admirers, as rant and emptiness will always have, and that they made him a present, by way of a testimonial as it is called, of a set of handsome 'capsae' and a bust. The 'capsa' was a round box suited to hold one or more rolled volumes. The larger sort was called 'scrinium.' (See Smith's Dict. Ant.) Neither 'capsae' nor 'scrinia' must be confounded with 'armaria,' which were cupboards, not boxes, but also used for books, though not confined to that purpose any more than 'capsae' were. What the Scholiasts say about Fannius' bust having been placed in the various public libraries is not inconsistent with usage. Asinius Pollio built a library A.U.C. 715, or thereabouts, and placed in it portraits and busts of various distinguished men (Plin. H. N. vii. c. 30), and the practice was thenceforward observed not only in the public libraries, but in those of private persons. Martial, writing to his friend Avitus, sends him an inscription for his own bust, which Avitus was going to put with others in his library:—

"Hoc tibi sub nostra breve carmen imagine vivat,
Quam non obscuris jungis, Avite, viris." (ix. 1.)

23. *volgo recitare timentis*] See note on v. 73. The usage which leaves the personal pronoun to be inferred from the possessive is common both in Greek and Latin. (C. iii. 22. 6.) Compare Arist. Plut. 32:—

τὸν ἐμὸν μὲν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ταλαιπώρου σχεδὸν ἤδη νομίζων ἐκτετοξεῦσθαι βίον,

and Ovid (Heroid. v. 45): "Et flesti, et nostros vidisti flentis ocellos." 'Timeo' and 'metuo' do not govern an infinitive mood in the prose writings of Horace's day. 'Vereor' is used in that construction. Torrentius asks why Horace's works should not be read because he was afraid to recite them in public? Was it because the multitude follow popular applause which is drawn forth by public display? The reason Horace gives is the same that deters him from reciting his poems, that no one likes to see any more than to hear his own vices exposed. People are not at all fond of 'genus hoc,' this satirical sort of writing, because most are open to blame. He has particular classes, or persons perhaps, in his eye, when he says 'sunt quos' (C. i. 1. 3 n.); but he speaks otherwise generally. That Horace wrote many pieces which have not been preserved, appears to me clear from this passage and v. 71 sqq. See Introduction.

25. *Quemvis media erue turba*] Orelli, who adopts 'erue,' does not give the MS.

Aut ob avaritiam aut misera ambitione laborat.
Hic nuptarum insanit amoribus, hic puerorum;
Hunc capit argenti splendor; stupet Albius aere;
Hic mutat merces surgente a sole ad eum quo
Vespertina tepet regio; quin per mala praeceps

authority for it. Fea quotes several MSS. in its favour; Bentley only three. The Scholiasts had 'elige,' and that is the reading of Ven. 1483. The earliest edition that has 'erue' appears to be that of Aldus (1501), from which time all the editors, I believe, adopted it till Talbot returned to the old reading, which Bentley adopts, but considers it may be a gloss, and substituted for 'arripe,' which he proposes. Three of the Blandinian MSS. had 'eripe,' which he thinks supports his conjecture. Sanadon adopts 'arripe,' though Bentley does not. 'Erue' is an unlikely word to have been coined, and 'elige' would form a good gloss upon it. 'Eruere' would signify 'digging out,' or bringing out something hidden. But it may bear the simple meaning of 'extrahere.' The true reading, in my opinion, lies between 'erue' and 'elige,' and I am rather inclined to agree with Stephens, who says (Diatr. ii. p. 59), "pro 'erue' quidam codd. habent 'elige' quod e glossa sumptum videri potest." [Ritter has 'elige.']

26. *Aut ob avaritiam*] There is a change of construction or an ellipse here which has led some later editors to change 'ob' into 'ab' with the ablative. There is some authority for 'ab avaritia.' Bentley adopts 'ab,' and is quite indignant: "indignandum plane—quod editores toties admoniti pus merum et scabiem impune adhuc prodire patiantur," where the 'pus et scabies' is the received reading. 'Laborare ob' every one will see is an unusual construction, but the reading of all the MSS. is not on that account to be rejected. The sentence begins with one form of expression and ends with another: that appears to be all. Orelli quotes Tacit. (Hist. ii. 50): "non noxa neque ob metum;" and Livy (xxxviii. 39): "non tam ob recentia ulla merita quam originum memoria." For 'misera' some MSS. quoted by Orelli and Fea have 'miser,' but the principal MSS. and editions have 'misera,' and 'ambitio' generally had an epithet of a strong kind applied to it. Horace has 'prava,' 'inanis,' 'mala,' 'misera;' and Cicero (de Off. i. 25) says "Miserrima est omnino ambitio honorumque contentio." The practice therefore seems to have been habitual, which, if we consider the evils that arose out of personal ambition, and the eagerness with which places of honour were sought at all times of the Republic, is not surprising.

28. *Hunc capit argenti splendor*] Cups and other vessels curiously wrought in silver and Corinthian bronze, and very costly (such as Juvenal describes, S. i. 76, "Argentum vetus, et stantem extra pocula caprum") were among the many objects of extravagance at Rome. The exaggerated admiration of the persons Horace alludes to for such works of art, might be comparatively harmless if it did not lead them into dishonest ways of acquiring them, and beggaring their families, as Albius did, of whom the Scholiasts tell us nothing. His son is mentioned below (v. 109) as living in want through his father's extravagance. Cruquius reverses this, and supposes the father to be suffering for the son's extravagance, the father being no other than the poet Albius Tibullus, and to have suffered in his property through his son's extravagance, in respect of which misfortune Horace wrote the Epistle i. 4, to comfort him. This is mere trifling: though Tibullus mentions himself that his patrimonial estate had been reduced (i. 1. 19 sq), and some persons have assumed that it was through his own extravagance. 'Stupet,' with the ablative, occurs below (S. 6. 17): "Qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus;" and an equally strong word is used in the same connexion in S. ii. 7. 95: "Pausiaca torpes insane tabella."

29. *Hic mutat merces*] See C. i. 31. 12 n.

— *surgente a sole, &c.*] This has been taken variously to mean from sunrise to sunset, as "Dives et importunus ad umbram solis ab ortu" (Epp. ii. 2. 185), or from east to west ("ad ortum Solis ab Hesperio cubili," C. iv. 15. 15), which is the true meaning. 'Mutare merces' is the business of a mercator. Persius (Sat. v. 54):—

"Mercibus hic Italis mutat sub sole recenti
Rugosum piper et pallentis grana cumini."

'Mala' means dangers and hardships.

[30. *quin*] 'Nay,' 'nay further,' a sense which may be derived from the primary meaning of 'why not?']

Fertur uti pulvis collectus turbine, ne quid
Summa deperdat metuens aut ampliet ut rem.
Omnes hi metuunt versus, odere poëtas.
" Foenum habet in cornu; longe fuge: dummodo risum
Excutiat sibi, non hic cuiquam parcet amico;
Et quodcunque semel chartis illeverit omnes
Gestiet a furno redeuntes scire lacuque
Et pueros et anus." Agedum, pauca accipe contra.
Primum ego me illorum dederim quibus esse poëtis

34. *Foenum habet in cornu*] "Romae autem videmus hodie quoque foenum velut ansulam factum in cornulo bovis" (Porph.). A law of the XII tables gave an action to any man who was injured by another person's animal: "Si quadrupes pauperiem fecisse dicatur" (Dig. 9. tit. 1), where "pauperies est damnum sine injuria facientis datum." It became customary therefore to mark an ox or other animal of vicious propensities in such a way as to warn passengers, and enable them to get out of the way. Hence the proverb "he has a wisp of hay on his horn." Plut. (Crassus, c. 7) says, *Σικίννιος πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα τί δὴ μόνον οὐ σπαράττει τὸν Κράσσον, χόρτον ἔχειν φησὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ κέρατος.* He adds in another place (Quaest. Rom. p. 281), *οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὕστερον ἐλέχθη πάλιν ὅτι Κράσσου Καῖσαρ ἀφῃρήκει τὸν χόρτον, ἀντέστη γὰρ αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ κατεφρόνησε.* In illustration of the proverb he quotes a fragment of Sophocles:—

σὺ δὲ σφαδάζεις πῶλος ὣς εὐφορβίᾳ,
γαστήρ τε γὰρ σοῦ καὶ γνάθος πλήρης—

'Dummodo risum excutiat sibi' corresponds almost in words with Aristotle's description of the buffoon (Nic. Eth. iv. 14): *ὁ δὲ βωμόλοχος ἥττων ἐστὶ τοῦ γελοίου καὶ οὔτε ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχόμενος εἰ γέλωτα ποιήσει.* 'Furnus' is the bake-house to which the lower sort of people, old women and children, carried their bread to be baked [or they bought it there]. 'Lacus' were tanks distributed through the city, into which water was conveyed from the aqueducts, and to which poorer persons resorted for water. See Terence (Adelph. iv. 2. 45): "Apud ipsum lacum est pistrilla" (a corn-mill).

38. *Agedum*] 'Dum,' as an enclitic, signifies 'a while;' 'agedum,' 'come a moment.' (See Key's L. G. 1448 d.)

39. *Primum ego me illorum*] 'Primum' means 'in the first place, before I begin, let me dispose of the fallacy which classes writers like myself among poets (the word assumed above, "Omnes hi metuunt versus, odere poëtas," v. 33). This question occupies twenty-four verses, after which he returns to the main point, which is the odium attaching to writers of Satire. In this line 'poetas' appears in all the MSS. and editions till Bentley, who restored the reading 'poetis,' N. Heinsius having, without Bentley's knowledge, done the same. The Scholiasts found 'poetas,' and Porphyrion on S. 6. 25, "Quo tibi, Tilli, Sumere depositum clavum fierique tribuno?" where the MSS. vary between the dative and accusative, adopts the former case, but says the latter would have been the simpler construction. The Scholium of Cruquius' Commentator, on the passage just quoted, is "'tibi Tribuno' dixit eleganter et figurate ut supra 'dederim quibus esse poetis;'" which remark is attributed by Bentley and Orelli to Acron, but does not appear in Ascensius' text of that Scholiast. It is more probably from another hand; for the remark contradicts the commentary of both these Scholiasts on the passage before us, where the reading 'poetas' is expressly assumed. Nevertheless I believe the dative to be right though all the known MSS. are against it. Like instances are S. i. 1. 19: "atqui licet esse beatis;" i. 2. 51: "munifico esse licet;" A. P. 372: "Mediocribus esse poetis Non Di non homines non concessere columnae." Heindorf has 'poetas' [and Ritter]. The expression 'concludere versum' is repeated below (S. 10. 59): "si quis pedibus quid claudere senis." "*Sermoni*: quotidiano" (Porph.), which word is supplied in Cic. (Orat. 20): "Video visum esse nonnullis Platonis et Democriti locutionem, etsi absit a versu, tamen quod incitatius feratur et clarissimis verborum luminibus utatur, potius poëma putandam quam comicorum poëtarum, apud quos, nisi quod versiculi sunt, nihil est aliud quotidiani dissimile sermonis." Hence the name 'Sermones' given to the

Excerpam numero: neque enim concludere versum
Dixeris esse satis; neque si qui scribat uti nos
Sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poëtam.
Ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinior atque os
Magna sonaturum, des nominis hujus honorem.
Idcirco quidam comoedia necne poëma
Esset quaesivere, quod acer spiritus ac vis
Nec verbis nec rebus inest, nisi quod pede certo
Differt sermoni, sermo merus. "At pater ardens
Saevit, quod meretrice nepos insanus amica
Filius uxorem grandi cum dote recuset,
Ebrius et, magnum quod dedecus, ambulet ante
Noctem cum facibus." Numquid Pomponius istis
Audiret leviora pater si viveret? Ergo
Non satis est puris versum perscribere verbis,

Satires and Epistles. 'Si qui' is the reading of some of the Vatican MSS., one of the Berne, and two of Bentley's. The editions and most MSS. have 'quis.' [Ritter has 'siquis.']

43. *os Magna sonaturum*] This form does not appear elsewhere. Cicero uses 'praestaturus,' and Sall. (Jug. 47). Priscian quotes 'sonaturus' from Horace. Horace has 'intonata' in Epod. ii. 51. The attributes of a poet which Horace considers essential, are genius, inspiration, and dignified sentiments, and language suited to high subjects. See Virg. (G. iii. 294): "Nunc veneranda Pales, magno nunc ore sonandum." Lambinus quotes from Petronius Arbiter, C. 118, the following sensible remarks on this subject:—"Multos, inquit Eumolpus, O juvenes, carmen decepit: nam ut quisque versum pedibus instruxit, sensumque teneriorem verborum ambitu intexuit, putavit se continuo in Heliconem venisse. Sic forensibus ministeriis exercitati frequenter ad carminis tranquillitatem tanquam ad portum faciliorem refugerunt credentes facilius poema exstrui posse quam controversiam sententiolis vibrantibus pictam. Ceterum neque generosior spiritus vanitatem amat, neque concipere aut edere partum mens potest nisi ingenti flumine literarum inundata." (Ed. Burmann.)

45. *Idcirco quidam*] In reference to this, certain persons have raised the question whether a comedy was or was not a poem: "utrum comoedia esset poëma necne esset" (Key's L. G. 1423). This is a grammarian's question, and depends upon the definition assumed for a poem, in which however imagination is generally supposed to have a conspicuous place, and this would exclude the comedies of Plautus and Terence, and their Greek originals of the new comedy, from the title of poetry. But the same rule would exclude much more that has passed for poetry, with less pretension to the name than Horace's Satires or the Heautontimorumenos. 'Quidam' signifies the grammarians of Alexandria, who are also referred to by Cicero, "video visum esse nonnullis" (v. 39 note).

48. *Differt sermoni*] 'Discrepare, 'dissidere,' 'distare,' 'differre,' Horace uses with the dative (C. i. 27, 5 n), but the two last also with the ablative and 'ab.'

At pater ardens] Demea in the Adelphi of Terence is an instance in point. 'At,' which usually in such places introduces an objection, here seems to be the remark of one who supposed that the fury and ranting of the enraged father in the comedy might be supposed to partake of the fire of poetry. But Horace disposes of the objection very easily. Any father who had such a son as Pomponius for instance (of whom we know nothing more), a dissolute youth, would probably storm at him in much the same terms that the man on the stage uses. It was the aim of the New Comedy, which the Roman writers followed, to put real life upon the stage by means of a plot natural and probable, and to represent men and women as they were seen and heard every day, in which it differed essentially from the Old Comedy, a mere vehicle for political satire. (See above, v. 1 n.)

54. *puris—verbis*] This is a common

Quem si dissolvas, quivis stomachetur eodem
Quo personatus pacto pater. His ego quae nunc,
Olim quae scripsit Lucilius, eripias si
Tempora certa modosque, et quod prius ordine verbum est
Posterius facias, praeponens ultima primis,
Non, ut si solvas "Postquam Discordia tetra
Belli ferratos postes portasque refregit"
Invenias etiam disjecti membra poëtae.
Hactenus haec: alias justum sit necne poëma,
Nunc illud tantum quaeram, meritone tibi sit
Suspectum genus hoc scribendi. Sulcius acer
Ambulat et Caprius rauci male cumque libellis,
Magnus uterque timor latronibus; at bene si quis
Et vivat puris manibus contemnat utrumque.
Ut sis tu similis Caeli Birrique latronum,
Non ego sum Capri neque Sulci: cur metuas me?
Nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos,

expression for plain language free from trope or other ornament. Terence (Heaut. Prol. 44):—

"Si quae laboriosa est, ad me curritur:
Si lenis est, ad alium defertur gregem.
In hac est pura oratio."

And in Gellius (xiii. 28) Quadrigarius the historian is mentioned as a man "modesti atque puri ac prope quotidiani sermonis." Cicero (Verr. ii. 4. 22) speaks of 'purum argentum,' plate with the ornamental work taken off. 'Pura' is a various reading for 'pulchra' in A. P. 99: "Non satis est pulchra esse poëmata; dulcia sunto." ['Personatus:' the father on the stage, where the player assumes the 'persona' (character) of a father. See S. i. 2. 60.]

60. *Postquam Discordia tetra*] The Scholiasts imply that this is a verse of Ennius, but they do not say from what poem it is taken: "Non eandem gravitatem invenies quam in Ennii versu et Pacuvii soluto" (Acron). Virgil (Aen. i. 294) has "claudentur belli portae." As to the position of 'non' see S. i. 6. 1.

63. *alias justum sit necne poëma*] The question is not resumed, though Horace does not suppose that his arguments have quite settled it. (See Argument.)

65. *Sulcius acer ambulat et Caprius*] These persons are said by the Scholiasts to have been public informers or 'causidici' ("alii actores volunt fuisse causarum," Acron), and to have made themselves hoarse with roaring in the Courts. The 'libelli' they carried were their note-books. 'Ambulat' signifies their strutting through the streets with the consciousness that men were afraid of them. The palmy days of the 'delatores' had not yet come, but they were sufficiently abundant in Horace's time. [Ritter thinks that these men were officers of the aediles, and that they arrested thieves and robbers.] 'Ut sis,' 'say that,' or 'though you be,' which requires the indicative in the next verse, where the greater part of the MSS. and editions have 'non ego sim' [which Ritter and Bentley have].

[66. *rauci male*] 'Quite hoarse.' In S. ii. 5. 45, 'validus male' is 'not strong;' in S. i. 3. 45, 'male parvus' is 'very small,' and 'male laxus,' S. i. 3. 31, is 'very loose.' In C. i. 9. 24, 'male pertinaci' is 'unresisting,' or 'half-resisting.' In some passages then 'male' expresses excessive defect: in others, defect in good quality.]

71. *Nulla taberna meos habeat*] The 'taberna' was sometimes under a porticus, in which case the titles of the books for sale within were hung upon the columns ('pilae') in front. Horace alludes to this when he says (A. P. 372): "Mediocribus esse poetis Non Dii, non homines, non concessere columnae," which means that indifferent poets would not be patronized by the booksellers. Martial advises his friend Lupercus to buy a copy of his Epigrams at the shop of Atrectus:

"Contra Caesaris est forum taberna,

Quis manus insudet volgi Hermogenisque Tigelli:
Nec recito cuiquam nisi amicis, idque coactus,
Non ubivis coramve quibuslibet. In medio qui
Scripta foro recitent sunt multi quique lavantes:
Suave locus voci resonat conclusus. Inanes
Hoc juvat, haud illud quaerentes, num sine sensu,
Tempore num faciant alieno. "Laedere gaudes,"

Scriptis postibus hinc et inde totis,
Omnes ut cito perlegas poetas" (i. 118).

The price of his book he says was five 'denarii' (about three and sixpence). Becker (Gallus, Exc. on the Booksellers) assumes that it was the first book, containing 119 Epigrams, which he implies would be very cheap at that price; but as this Epigram is one of the 119, Becker must be mistaken. 'Habeat' expresses a wish. On Hermogenes Tigellius, see S. 3. 129 n.

73. *Nec recito cuiquam*] Some MSS., known only to Lambinus, had 'nec recitem,' which Bentley adopts to maintain uniformity in the verbs 'sim,' 'habeat,' and 'recitem.' All other known MSS. have 'nec recito,' excepting four of Lambinus', which had 'non recito,' the received reading in his day. From one Oxford MS. (Magdalen) Bentley reads 'quicquam' for 'cuiquam,' the reading of all the other MSS. The example said to have been set by Pollio (C. ii. 1, Introduction), of reading his works to a circle of friends for their criticism and amusement before they were published, may have already begun to be imitated by other writers. The practice grew to be an intolerable nuisance in the course of time, as we gather, among others, from Persius (S. i. 15 sqq.), Juvenal (i. 1 sqq.; vii. 40; xiii. 32), Martial (ii. 27, &c.). Persons who had money and dabbled in literature inflicted their productions upon clients and others whom they bribed to listen and applaud them. The author of the Dialogue de Oratore, attributed to Tacitus (c. 9), speaks with contempt of one Saleius Bassus, a poetaster, mentioned by Juvenal (vii. 80), who went about praying people to listen to his recitations, and hired and prepared a room for the purpose. But if Pollio was the originator of this practice, as he is said to have been, it could hardly yet have grown into the system it afterwards became, even if it had any systematic existence at all. Horace complains of silly fellows spouting their own verses in public places (the forum and the baths) to chance acquaintances, or even strangers, and annoying neighbours while they gratified themselves. I do not think Orelli is right in associating this passage with the recitations above referred to, or in saying "qui vel in medio foro, id est dempta hyperbola coram maxima auditorum corona carmina recitaret." I think Horace means literally in the forum. Orelli supposes a knot of friends assembled on the 'schola' round the 'labrum' for the purpose of listening to the self-satisfied reciter. The 'scholae' were spaces for people to sit or walk on round the baths generally, not merely round the 'labrum,' which was a bath of small dimensions attached to the principal hot-baths (see Becker's Gallus, Exc. 'on the Baths'). On these 'scholae' people walked about, and conceited authors could tease their acquaintance and the strangers that were compelled to listen to them, and in the act of bathing they could do the same. Seneca (Ep. 56) speaks of the annoyance of one "cui vox sua in balneo placet."

77. *haud illud quaerentes*] 'Illud' is thus used commonly to introduce something about to be mentioned in opposition to what has been just mentioned. See Key's L. G. 1106.

78. *Laedere gaudes, inquit*] Horace has said that even if he does write or recite it is only in a private way, and no one therefore need be afraid of him. He now disposes of the charge of writing with malicious intent. The editions till Bentley's have 'inquis.' Two MSS. of Torrentius', which he calls 'vetustissimi codices,' had 'inquit,' and that is the usual formula, even when the second person has preceded or follows, as Bentley has shown by several examples. 'Studio' is used adverbially, 'of set purpose in your malignity you do it.' [Ritter has 'inquis' conformably to the most numerous and best MSS., as he says. He adds that Horace uses 'inquit;' 'ubi cum aliquo contemptus significatu jam non ipsum interlocutorem alloqui voluit, sed de hoc ut de persona aliena ad legentes verba facit;' and he refers to S. i. 2. 107; 3. 126; ii. 2. 99; Epp. i. 19. 43. Here, observes Ritter, what the interlo-

Inquit, "et hoc studio pravus facis." Unde petitum
Hoc in me jacis? Est auctor quis denique eorum
Vixi cum quibus? Absentem qui rodit amicum,
Qui non defendit alio culpante, solutos
Qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis,
Fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere
Qui nequit; hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.
Saepe tribus lectis videas coenare quaternos,
E quibus unus amet quavis adspergere cunctos
Praeter eum qui praebet aquam; post hunc quoque potus,
Condita cum verax aperit praecordia Liber.
Hic tibi comis et urbanus liberque videtur
Infesto nigris. Ego si risi quod ineptus
Pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum,
Lividus et mordax videor tibi? Mentio si qua
De Capitolini furtis injecta Petilli

cutor said before, vv. 34—38, he now repeats. I think Ritter is right, and that 'jacis' without any further argument proves that he is right.]

80. *Est auctor quis denique eorum*] The commentators take 'quis' variously as an interrogative or an enclitic. The Scholiasts take it in the former sense. Heindorf and Orelli in the latter. Doering leaves it an open question. As to 'auctor,' see C. i. 28. 14 n.

84. *commissa tacere qui nequit*] This, which is too commonly softened into a weakness, the inability to keep a secret, Horace very justly marks as one of the most prominent signs of a mischievous character. C. iii. 2. 25 n. On 'Romane,' see C. iii. 6. 2 n.

86. *Saepe tribus lectis*] This would be an unusually large party at one table. Three on each 'lectus tricliniaris' was the usual number when the table was full. See S. ii. 8. 20 n.

87. *E quibus unus amet*] Some of Fea's MSS. and three quoted by Orelli, have 'imus' for 'unus,' and Fea adopts it, quoting Epp. i. 18. 10, "imi derisor lecti;" and Petronius (c. 38), "Vides illum qui in imo imus recumbit?" But this does not prove that Horace could have said 'imus conviva' to represent any one individual of the four who were reclining on the 'imus lectus.' [Ritter has 'avet'], which was the received reading, and that of all the editions I have seen, as well as of the Scholiast Porphyrion, till Bentley adopted 'amet' from one of Cruquius' Blandinian MSS., and I have no doubt that is the right word, in the same sense as "umbram hospitalem consociare amant" (C. ii. 3. 10): "Quavis: qua ratione vis" (Acron). 'Qui praebet aquam' is the host "qui aquam temperat ignibus." See C. iii. 19. 6 n.; S. ii. 2. 69. On 'verax Liber,' see C. i. 18. 16. A fragment of Alcaeus (56 Bergk) runs οἶνος ὦ φίλε παῖ καὶ ἀλάθεα, which the Scholiast on Plato (p. 377, Bekker) speaks of as a proverb. Theocritus (29. 1) uses Alcaeus' words, adding λέγεται. "In vino veritas" is the well known Latin equivalent. Compare A. P. 434: "Reges dicuntur multis urgere culullis Et torquere mero quem perspexisse laborant." And Epp. i. 18. 38: "Commissumque teges et vino tortus et ira." 5. 16: "Quid non ebrietas designat? operta recludit."

92. *Pastillos Rufillus olet*] This verse is quoted from a former Satire (2. 27), only to show the innocent subjects with which Horace's satire dealt.

94. *De Capitolini furtis*] "Petillius Capitolinus cum Capitolii curam ageret coronae subreptae de Capitolio causam dixit, absolutusque a Caesare est" (Porphyrion). "Cujus amicus erat," adds Cruquius' Scholiast, who says he was called Capitolinus from his imputed offence. But this was a cognomen of the Petillia gens. Lambinus mentions having seen at Rome a silver coin, having on the reverse a representation of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and the name of Petillius. On the obverse was Jupiter's head with Capi-

Te coram fuerit, defendas ut tuus est mos.
"Me Capitolinus convictore usus amicoque
A puero est causaque mea permulta rogatus
Fecit, et incolumis laetor quod vivit in urbe;
Sed tamen admiror quo pacto judicium illud
Fugerit." Hic nigrae succus loliginis, haec est
Aerugo mera. Quod vitium procul afore chartis
Atque animo prius, ut si quid promittere de me
Possum aliud, vere promitto. Liberius si
Dixero quid, si forte jocosius, hoc mihi juris
Cum venia dabis: insuevit pater optimus hoc me,
Ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quaeque notando.
Cum me hortaretur, parce, frugaliter, atque
Viverem uti contentus eo quod mi ipse parasset:
"Nonne vides Albi ut male vivat filius, utque

tolinus round it. Such a coin is represented in the notice of this person in Smith's Dict. Biog. The story of the crown is very likely to have been invented. That he was tried on some serious charge and acquitted, and that the verdict did not escape scandal, is clear from the context. See also S. 10. 26. The nature of the accusation, notwithstanding the precise story of the Scholiasts, must remain a matter of doubt. We may also gather that he was a person of influence from v. 97, which he must have been if he was acquitted, or supposed to have been acquitted, through the corruption of the jury. There is sarcasm in 'sed tamen admiror,' &c., which Horace calls 'succus loliginis,' the dark secretion of the cuttle-fish, black and malignant. (Pliny, H. N. ix. c. 29, quoted by Ritter.) 'Aerugo mera,' nothing but copper-rust that eats into character and destroys it. Compare Martial (x. 33):—

"Ut tu, si viridi tinctos aerugine versus
Forte malus livor dixerit esse meos,
Ut facis, a nobis abigas."

102. *ut si quid*] There is a little obscurity in the construction, but the sense is plain. 'I promise truly, as I can, if I can promise of myself aught else with truth.' 'Promitto vere, ut possum si quid aliud de me promittere possum.'

104. *hoc mihi juris*] 'So much liberty as this.' [So the Romans said 'id aetatis,' 'id temporis.']

105. *insuevit pater optimus hoc me*] 'Suesco,' and its compounds have an active as well as a neuter signification, taking usually an accusative of the person and dative of the thing, which order is inverted in Virg. (Aen. vi. 833), "Ne, pueri, ne tanta animis assuescite bella." S. ii. 2. 109 we have "Pluribus assuerit mentem corpusque superbum." [Here there is a double accusative after 'insuevit.'] Lambinus alters the received reading into 'insevit pater optimus hoc mi,' and for 'insevit' there is some MS. authority. But it is not likely to be the right word here. If 'me' is retained, the construction is that of the Greeks, who said ἐθίζειν τινά τι. Bentley is clearly wrong in rendering 'hoc' with 'fugerem.' The position is against that construction, and moreover it gives no sense. Orelli applies 'notando' to Horace himself. 'My excellent father accustomed me to this, that I should avoid, by means of examples, each particular vice by noting it (as it came before me);' but 'notando' seems to have more of the technical sense, and applies to the father, who taught his son to avoid vices, by branding them in each instance by means of examples. See S. i. 6. 14 n., on 'notare.'

108. *quod mi ipse parasset*] Horace's father had lived a life of frugal industry, and in addition to any 'peculium' he may have laid by as a 'servus,' he made enough money by his occupation of 'coactor' (S. 6. 86) to purchase a farm of no great value at Venusia, to pay for his son's education at Rome, and afterwards at Athens.

109. *Albi ut male vivat filius*] See above,

Barrus inops? Magnum documentum ne patriam rem
Perdere quis velit." A turpi meretricis amore
Cum deterreret: "Scetani dissimilis sis."
Ne sequerer moechas concessa cum venere uti
Possem: "Deprensi non bella est fama Treboni,"
Aiebat. "Sapiens vitatu quidque petitu
Sit melius causas reddet tibi: mi satis est si
Traditum ab antiquis morem servare tuamque,
Dum custodis eges, vitam famamque tueri
Incolumem possum; simul ac duraverit aetas
Membra animumque tuum nabis sine cortice." Sic me
Formabat puerum dictis; et sive jubebat
Ut facerem quid: "Habes auctorem quo facias hoc;"
Unum ex judicibus selectis objiciebat;
Sive vetabat: "An hoc inhonestum et inutile factu

v. 28 n. The MSS, and editions vary between the forms Barrus, Bartus, Barus, Varus, Rarus, Baius, of which the last is said to be the most common. Estré follows Bentley in reading Barus. [Ritter has 'Baius.'] This person, at any rate, of whom nothing is known, must be distinguished from the coxcomb in the sixth satire (v. 30). But though Bentley edits Barus, he proposes the emendation 'ut qui panis inops,' or 'farris inops,' out of his own head,—plainly an attempt to improve Horace. That a proper name was there in the time of the oldest of the Scholiasts, Acron, appears from his note: "Mira urbanitate dum quasi ostendit quomodo se pater suis monitis monerê solitus esset interea multos percutit." Scetanius (otherwise Sectanius) is not more known than Barrus. Trebonius appears to have been the hero of some notorious bit of scandal, and to have paid a severe penalty for his vice.

115. *Sapiens vitatu quidque petitu*] Horace's father had no mind to refine upon the foundation of morals, nor any pretensions to a philosophical view of these matters, for Sapiens is the philosopher. He knew that right was right and wrong was wrong, and followed the beaten track, and would have his son do the same. Horace expresses this, S. i. 6. v. 82:—

"——— Quid multa? pudicum,
Qui primus virtutis honos, servavit ab omni
Non solum facto verum opprobrio quoque turpi."

The elder Horace was no doubt a plain sensible man.

121. *Formabat*] This is Horace's usual word for education. C. i. 10. 2: "Qui feros cultus hominum recentum Voce formasti." See C. iii. 24. 54 n.

[— *jubebat ut facerem*] This construction is sometimes used even by prose writers.]

123. *Unum ex judicibus selectis*] It was the duty of the Praetor Urbanus annually to select a certain number of persons whose names were registered in the Album Judicum Selectorum, and from whom were chosen by lot the 'judices' for each criminal trial. It is uncertain whether at this time, or subsequently, their functions were extended to civil as well as criminal proceedings. The number of these 'judices' varied. By the 'lex Servilia Glaucia Repetundarum' it was fixed at 450. The law that was in force at the time Horace refers to was the 'lex Aurelia,' (B.C. 70), by which the Judices Selecti were eligible from the Senators, Equites, and Tribuni Aerarii. The changes that took place in respect to the Judices, and the frequent shifting of the judicial power between the Senate and the Equites, are stated very clearly in Mr. Long's Excursus on the 'Judicia' (Cic. in Verr. Orationes). Horace's father, as plain men are wont, looked up with reverence to the body in whom were vested such high functions; but the office was not an enviable one, nor always most purely exercised. See C. iv. 9. 39 n. As to 'auctor,' see above, v. 80. ['Objiciebat' has here the same sense as 'proponebat:' Liv. iv. 51.]

124. *An hoc inhonestum*] Heindorf says 'an' is here put for 'utrum,' and opposed to 'necne.' His editor Wüstemann corrects

Necne sit addubites, flagret rumore malo cum
Hic atque ille?" Avidos vicinum funus et aegros
Exanimat, mortisque metu sibi parcere cogit;
Sic teneros animos aliena opprobria saepe
Absterrent vitiis. Ex hoc ego sanus ab illis
Perniciem quaecunque ferunt, mediocribus et quis
Ignoscas vitiis teneor; fortassis et istinc
Largiter abstulerit longa aetas, liber amicus,
Consilium proprium; neque enim cum lectulus aut me
Porticus excepit desum mihi. "Rectius hoc est:
Hoc faciens vivam melius: Sic dulcis amicis
Occurram: Hoc quidam non belle: numquid ego illi
Imprudens olim faciam simile?" Haec ego mecum
Compressis agito labris; ubi quid datur oti
Illudo chartis. Hoc est mediocribus illis
Ex vitiis unum; cui si concedere nolis,
Multa poëtarum veniat manus auxilio quae
Sit mihi (nam multo plures sumus), ac veluti te
Judaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.

him, and properly joins 'an' with 'addubites.' 'Avidos' signifies intemperate, as in C. i. 18. 11. ['Factu:' Ritter has 'factum,' a noun, and the reading of the best MSS.]

129. *Ex hoc ego sanus*] Horace says that owing to his father's training (ex hoc) he had been kept in a sound and healthy state, and preserved from those vices which in their worst form bring destruction, but which in a moderate degree may be overlooked. He implies that in this venial form he is liable to these faults; but even from that smaller measure time, the candour of friends, and reflection, will deduct a good deal. The sentence is a little irregular, but sufficiently intelligible. 'Consilium proprium' is the counsel a man takes with himself when he reviews his life, and is bent upon correcting the errors of it. This sort of reflection a man may pursue, if he be in earnest, either as he lies on his bed (S. 6. 122 n.), or as he walks abroad, alone among crowds. By 'porticus' Horace means any one of the public porticoes, covered walks, of which there was a great number at Rome, and which were usually crowded by those who resorted thither for exercise, conversation, or business.

137. *olim*] See C. ii. 10. 17 n.

139. *Illudo chartis*] Forcell. interprets this as if it meant, 'I amuse myself with writing,' and quotes S. ii. 8. 62: "Ut semper gaudes illudere rebus Humanis!" It means, 'I put it down in my notes by way of amusement.' As to 'chartae,' see S. ii. 3. 2 n.

141. *Multa poëtarum veniat manus*] Against a large number of MSS. and the common usage of the language, Orelli insists upon reading 'veniet.' Though Horace in his odes uses the construction with the subjunctive in the first clause, and future in the second (C. iii. 3. 7), he is not likely to have done it here. Bentley edits 'noles' and 'veniet.'—Horace, in winding up his discourse, stops the lips of his opponents with a sally of good humour, which they would find it hard to resist. He says if they will not make allowance for this little sin of his (that of taking notes of his neighbours' vices), he will bring a host of sinners (poets) as bad as himself, and, like the proselytizing Jews, they will attack them till they have made converts and poets of them all. 'Multo plures sumus' means 'there are many besides me.' [On the proselytism of the Jews Ritter quotes Tacit. Hist. v. 5, and Cicero, Pro Flacco, c. 28. The passage from Cicero shows that the Jews were numerous at Rome in Cicero's time, and that some of them knew how to make money.]

SATIRE V.

In the year A.U.C. 714, after the taking of Perusia by Caesar Octavianus, M. Antonius prepared for war, which was averted by an arrangement made through the mediation of Maecenas on the part of Caesar, and of Cocceius and Pollio on the part of Antonius, and by the marriage of Octavia, Caesar's sister, to Antonius. But that this was not the occasion of the journey recorded in this Satire is certain, because Horace was not introduced to Maecenas till the beginning of A.U.C. 716. The same objection, among several others, is fatal to the theory which connects the journey with the spring of the year 716. At that time M. Antonius arrived at Brundusium with his fleet at the request of Caesar, who had asked him for help against Sex. Pompeius; but not finding Caesar there, he very soon took his departure. This is the date adopted, among many others, by Heindorf. It has been disposed of by Kirchner (Quaest. Hor. 656 sqq.) in a way that cannot be answered. In the spring of the following year 717, Antonius brought over an army to Italy, and a fleet of 300 ships (Appian, v. 93; Dion Cass. 48. 54; Plut. Ant. c. 35): ἔκ τινων διαβολῶν παροξυνθεὶς πρὸς Καίσαρα, says Plutarch. He pretended, Dion says, to come for the purpose of helping to put down Sex. Pompeius, but his real object was rather to see what was going on than to take any active part. He came to Brundusium, but the people would not let him into the harbour (according to Plutarch), and he therefore went on to Tarentum. Negotiations were carried on between the two rivals (Caesar being at Rome) through agents employed by both, but without effect, till Octavia undertook to mediate between her husband and brother, and was finally successful in reconciling them. It has been supposed, with every probability, that the mission which Horace accompanied was sent by Caesar to meet Antonius on his expected arrival at Brundusium on this occasion, in the spring of A.U.C. 717. That the season was not winter may be inferred from v. 14, where Horace speaks of being disturbed by the gnats and frogs. That it was not summer is probable from the party requiring a fire at Trivicum (v. 80). Appian states expressly that Antonius arrived at Brundusium ἦρος ἀρχομένου, which corresponds with the above facts.

Horace started from Rome with only one companion, Heliodorus the rhetorician (v. 2), and they travelled together three days and one night, sixty-one Roman miles, till they reached Tarracina or Anxur, where by appointment they were to meet the official members of their party. These were Maecenas and Cocceius, who had been employed in negotiating the first reconciliation between Caesar and Antonius, and Fonteius, an intimate friend of Antonius. Three days afterwards they met at Sinuessa Horace's three most intimate friends, Plotius Tucca, Varius, and Virgil; one of whom, Varius, kept them company only for six days, and left them, for reasons which are not mentioned, at Canusium (v. 93). The rest of the party went on together till they reached Brundusium, fifteen days after Horace had left Rome. The route they took was not the shortest or the easiest, which lay through Venusia and Tarentum. They preferred taking the road which strikes across the country from Beneventum, and, reaching the coast at Barium, continues along the shore till it comes to Brundusium. They were evidently not pressed for time, and probably took the road they did because it passed through Canusium, whither one of the party was bound. Maecenas made his journey as agreeable as under the circumstances it could be, by taking with him such companions; and they all appear to great advantage in Horace's good-humoured diary. There was no restraint between the patron and his friends, and their affection for him and one another it is very pleasant to contemplate.

If the occasion above supposed be that on which the mission was sent, they could not have met Antonius at Brundusium, and their journey could not have ended there: Maecenas at least, and his official companions, must have gone on to Tarentum. Whether Horace accompanied them is uncertain. I think probably he did not; but that Maecenas, hearing that Antonius had come to Brundusium, and passed on to Tarentum, made all haste to reach that place. I think it likely, however, that Horace took the opportunity of his return to Rome to visit his native town and the neighbourhood. Kirchner (Qu. Hor. p. 39 sq.) thinks that it was on this occasion he wrote the ode to Archytas (C. i. 28), and that to the fountain of Bandusia (C. iii. 13); that he visited Septimius (C. ii. 6), and renewed his acquaintance with Ofella (S. ii. 2). Probably Horace took more than one journey to Tarentum, with which when he wrote his ode to Septimius he appears to have had very pleasant associations. He seems to have had in mind, as the Scholiasts say, the description by Lucilius of a journey to Capua, of which three or four verses only have been preserved (see note on v. 6).

EGRESSUM magna me excepit Aricia Roma
Hospitio modico; rhetor comes Heliodorus,
Graecorum longe doctissimus; inde Forum Appi,
Differtum nautis cauponibus atque malignis.

1. *Egressum magna me excepit Aricia*] They left Rome by the Porta Capena, between Mons Aventinus and Mons Caelius in the southern quarter of the city. 'Accepit,' 'cepit,' are various readings, of which, after Lambinus and Cruquius, Bentley has adopted the first. [Ritter has 'accepit,' and he refers to S. ii. 6. 81.] Aricia (La Riccia), one of the most ancient towns of Latium, was sixteen miles from Rome. It was situated on the side of a hill sloping down to a valley called Vallis Aricina, through which the Appia Via passed. This part of the road is still in good preservation. The citadel was placed on the top of the hill (Strabo, v. p. 239), and on that spot stands the modern town. Aricia was a considerable town in Horace's time, and for some centuries after. Cicero calls it "municipium—vetustate antiquissimum, splendore municipum honestissimum" (Phil. iii. 6). The neighbourhood to Rome, and the accessible position, contributed to the prosperity of the place, which was assisted by its association with the worship of Diana Aricina, who had a temple among the woods on the small lake (Lacus Nemorensis), a short way from the town, probably on the site of the modern town Nemi. The wealthy Romans had villas in the neighbourhood.

By 'hospitio modico' Horace means an indifferent inn; but 'hospitium' is not the Latin for an 'inn,' which was called 'caupona,' or 'taberna,' or 'diversorium,' and the keeper 'caupo.' The inns at the different stages on the great roads were never very good, the chief reason being that travellers of any importance usually found friends at the principal towns who entertained them.

2. *rhetor comes Heliodorus*] Horace jocularly exaggerates the merits of the rhetorician. The reading 'linguae' for 'longe,' adopted by Gesner among others, makes nonsense. Heliodorus was a Greek, and might well know his own language, as Lambinus observes. [Ritter reminds us that Heliodorus is the Telephus of C. iii. 19.] 'Appii Forum' was forty-three miles from Rome, and was so called by Appius Claudius, surnamed Caecus, who in his censorship (A.U.C. 442) constructed the Via Appia as far as Capua, and the great aqueduct which bore his name. Some ruins of this town are said to exist. "*Differtum nautis*: plenum, sc. his qui in Pomptinis paludibus navigabant. *atque malignis*: deest hominibus" (Acron). The participle 'differtus' is formed as from 'differcio,' which verb is not found. 'Differtus' occurs below (Epp. i. 6. 59): "Differtum transire forum." Fea follows the Scholiast in taking 'malignis' absolutely. It no doubt belongs to 'cauponibus' in the same sense as 'perfidus hic caupo' (S. i. 29). It was to Appii Forum that some of the Christians, when they heard of St. Paul's approach, went from Rome to meet him. Others met him at a place called Tres Tabernae, which was between Aricia and Appii Forum. Horace must have passed through this town without stopping. It was a well-known place, and from it a Christian bishop took his title, "Felix a Tribus Tabernis."

Hoc iter ignavi divisimus, altius ac nos
Praecinctis unum; minus est gravis Appia tardis.
Hic ego propter aquam, quod erat deterrima, ventri
Indico bellum, coenantes haud animo aequo
Exspectans comites. Jam nox inducere terris
Umbras et caelo diffundere signa parabat;
Tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautae
Ingerere. Huc appelle! Trecentos inseris: ohe

5. *Hoc iter*] The journey from Rome to Appii Forum, which was usually made in one day, they took two to accomplish. 'Praecinctus' is opposed to 'discinctus,' and means 'one well girt,' εὔζωνος, and ready for active exertion, running, &c. Horace uses the word more literally, S. ii. 8. 70: "ut omnes Praecincti recte pueri comptique ministrent." Servius quotes this place on Aen. viii. 724, saying, "DISCINCTOS vel habitum eorum ostendit qui usque in talos fluebat—aut DISCINCTOS, inhabiles militiae: omnes enim qui militant cincti sunt: aut inefficaces, ut contra PRAECINCTOS strenuos dicimus. Horat. 'Altius ac nos praecincti sunt.'" The Asiatics tuck up in their girdles their long garments when they are preparing to run or walk quick. Hence such expressions as we meet with in Scripture, "Gird up the loins of your mind." 'Succinctus,' 'tucked up,' is the more usual word. ['Altius ac:' see S. i. 1. 46.]

6. *minus est gravis Appia tardis*] "Appia via non est molesta tardioribus quia habitaculis frequentabatur ubi possunt manere quocunque pervenerint" (Acron). This interpretation is followed by many of the commentators. Orelli and others think Horace means that the Via Appia was less fatiguing to the slow traveller than to the quick; that it was a rough road, over which the slower you went the less unpleasant was the journey. —There is a reading 'nimis' adopted by Fea. This road was constructed with a foundation of large squared blocks of stone, over which was laid a coating of gravel, until the Emperors Nerva and Trajan laid it with Silex according to an inscription found on a mile-stone in the neighbourhood of Forum Appii, and noticed by De Chaupy (iii. 391): "IMP. CAESAR NERVA AUG. GERMAN. PONTIFEX MAX. TRIB. POTESTATE COS. III. P. P. VIAM A TRIPUNTIO AD FORUM APPII EX GLAREA SILICE STERNENDAM SUA PECUNIA INCHOAVIT: IMP. CAESAR NERVA DIVI NERVAE F. TRAJANUS AUG. GERMANIC. TRIBUN. POTEST. COS. III. CONSUMMAVIT." Horace speaks elsewhere of the traveller "qui Capua Romam petit imbre lutoque Adspersus" (Epp. i. 11. 11). I think with Orelli that Horace means the road was bad, and that they who took the journey leisurely escaped jolting and inconvenience. In one of the verses of Lucilius' Satire mentioned in the Introduction he says, "Praeterea omne iter est labosum atque lutosum."

7. *Hic ego propter aquam*] "Hodie in Foro Appii viatores propter aquam quae ibi deterrima est manere vitant. Dicit ergo Horatius se ibi coenare noluisse ne necesse haberet bibere" (Porphyrion). At Appii Forum they embarked at night in a boat that was to carry them by canal to Terracina. A party were waiting at the same inn to go with them, and Horace waited with impatience till they had done supper. These he means by 'comites.' This canal, which was constructed by Augustus in his attempt (A. P. 65) to drain the Pomptine marshes, is referred to by Strabo (v. p. 233): Πλησίον τῆς Ταῤῥακίνης βαδίζοντι ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης παραβέβληται τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Ἀππίᾳ διῶρυξ ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τόπους πληρουμένη τοῖς ἑλείοις τε καὶ τοῖς ποταμίοις ὕδασι· πλεῖται δὲ μάλιστα μὲν νύκτωρ, ὥστ' ἐμβάντας ἐφ' ἑσπέρας ἐκβαίνειν πρωΐας καὶ βαδίζειν τὸ λοιπὸν τῇ ὁδῷ (τῇ Ἀππίᾳ), ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν· ῥυμουλκεῖ δ' ἡμιόνιον. There are still traces of this canal, which was nineteen miles long, and was called in consequence Decennovium. It is also mentioned by Lucan (iii. 85): "Et qua Pomptinas via dividit uda paludes." The road may have been defective hereabouts, as it was the general practice of travellers to exchange it for the canal, and to make the journey by night, as Strabo informs us in the above passage.

9. *Jam nox inducere terris*] This is a parody of the heroic style, unless it be taken from some poet, as Ennius. [Ritter compares S. ii. 6. 100.]

12. *Huc appelle*] "Put in here and take us on board!" cries the slave. "How

Jam satis est! Dum aes exigitur, dum mula ligatur,
Tota abit hora. Mali culices ranaeque palustres
Avertunt somnos, absentem ut cantat amicam
Multa prolutus vappa nauta atque viator
Certatim. Tandem fessus dormire viator
Incipit, ac missae pastum retinacula mulae
Nauta piger saxo religat stertitque supinus.
Jamque dies aderat, nil cum procedere lintrem
Sentimus, donec cerebrosus prosilit unus
Ac mulae nautaeque caput lumbosque saligno
Fuste dolat: quarta vix demum exponimur hora.
Ora manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympha.
Milia tum pransi tria repimus atque subimus

many more?—you'll swamp the boat!" says the boatman. The bank is crowded; the passengers all want to be attended to at once. They rush on board, and the boatman, afraid of his craft upsetting, or wanting to take as few as he can for his money, tries in vain to keep them out. This is one way of taking the words, which Orelli gives. It presumes that the boat was hired by the party, and that they divided the cost among them. But 'dum aes exigitur' seems to mean that the fare was collected from each passenger, in which case the boatmen would have an interest in taking as many as they could get, and only the passengers would complain of being crowded. [And so 'Huc appelle! Trecentos inseris' are either the words of a passenger, or of the 'pueri.'] The collection of the fare and putting-to the mule being accomplished, Horace goes on board. The boat starts, and he lies down to sleep, disturbed much by the mosquitoes and the croaking of frogs. The boatman (nauta) and one of the passengers (viator), half drunk, sing maudlin songs till the one drops off to sleep, and the other, having a mind to do the same, stops the boat, turns the mule out to graze, lays himself down, and snores till the dawn of day, when one of the passengers wakes, starts up in a passion, and falls foul of the boatman and the poor mule, who is put-to again, and a little after ten o'clock they reach their destination, which was a temple of Feronia, about fifteen miles from the place where they embarked. Virgil mentions it (Aen. vii. 799):

"—— quis Jupiter Anxurus arvis
Praesidet et viridi gaudens Feronia luco."

'Cerebrosus' is an old word signifying 'choleric.' 'Dolare' is properly to trim a piece of wood with an axe, 'dolabra.' It is only here used in this sense, 'he rough-hewed him with a cudgel.' Feronia was a goddess worshipped originally by the Sabines. There was a town and wood at the foot of Mount Soracte, which bore her name, Lucus Feroniae, and where she was worshipped. On the site of the shrine of Feronia, near which Horace and his party disembarked, there now stands, according to Walckenaer, an old tower, bearing the name Torre Otto-facia. Bentley's reading 'lavimur' for 'lavimus,' that of all the MSS. and old editions, is bad. All his quotations in support of 'lavimur' refer to taking the bath. Horace says they only washed their hands and face, which would be no little refreshment after a night spent in a canal-boat.

[15. Ritter places a full stop after 'somnos' and a comma after 'certatim,' which is better than the punctuation in the text. If 'ut' were omitted and a full stop placed at 'certatim,' the sense would be clearer. Ritter supposes the 'viator' to be the man 'qui mulam ducit juxta fossam;' Krüger, to be a man who is walking along the bank of the canal. 'Dormire—incipit' disproves both.—'Vappa prolutus,' drenched with wine. Wine which had lost flavour, as Pliny says (H. N. 14. 20, 25), by having fermented twice, was named 'vappa:' and the term was given to a 'probrosus homo, quum degeneravit animus.' See S. i. 1. 104, and ii. 3. 144.]

25. *Milia tum pransi tria repimus*] Three miles further, on the top of a steep ascent, stood the town of Tarracina (Terra-

Impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur.
Huc venturus erat Maecenas optimus atque
Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus uterque
Legati, aversos soliti componere amicos.
Hic oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippus
Illinere. Interea Maecenas advenit atque
Cocceius Capitoque simul Fonteius, ad unguem

cina), which by the Volscians was called Anxur, and by this name it is always mentioned by the poets. Ovid (Met. xv. 717) calls it Trachas, after that which Strabo (v. p. 233) says was the original name, Trachine, given it by the Greeks, from the rough situation (τραχεῖα). The winding of the road up the hill, and the difficulty of the ascent, explain 'repimus.' The old town of Tarracina was built on the top of the hill, but this site was afterwards abandoned, and a new town built on the plain below, close upon the shore, which is the site of the modern Terracina. It was in Horace's day, and had been for a long time, and continued to be, a town of great importance, as it was one of very great antiquity. Porphyrion mentions that in his time the ruins of the old town and the walls were standing. What that time was is quite uncertain,—not earlier, however, than the fifth century. After leaving the boat, the party lunched before they proceeded. The 'prandium' was a light meal usually eaten about noon, but sometimes earlier, as probably in this instance. ['Pransus,' like 'potus,' and other similar forms, has sometimes an active sense. The Romans have no active participles except in the present. See C. i. 2. 31.]

27. *Huc venturus erat*] See Introduction. Bentley thinks 'optimus' too familiar an epithet for Maecenas, and joins it with Cocceius: [and Ritter also, who defends it in a long note. I think he is right]. For the same reason Bentley alters 'care' into 'clare' (C. i. 20. 5). L. Cocceius Nerva was a friend of M. Antonius, and was among those whom Caesar found in Perusia when he took it (A.U.C. 713). He offered these persons no indignity, but made friends of them, and Cocceius seems to have become especially intimate with Caesar without betraying his friendship for M. Antonius. According to Appian (B.C. V. 60 sqq.) it was this Lucius Cocceius who by his tact and good sense was the means of bringing about the reconciliation which took place (A.U.C. 714) between his two friends. But Lucius had, as Appian mentions, a brother, and these two have been confounded. The brother's name was Marcus; whereas Appian mentions this Cocceius expressly as Lucius. Λεύκιος ἦν Κοκκήϊος ἑκατέρῳ φίλος. Ursini (Fam. Rom. p. 65) thinks Lucius here is a mistake for Marcus, and there is some ground in Appian's own statement for supposing such is the case. He says (v. 60) of Cocceius arguing with Antonius, *οὐκ εἶα πω τὸν Καίσαρα καλεῖν ἐχθρὸν ἔς τε Λεύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀντωνίου φίλους τοιόνδε γεγενημένον*: and when he returns, Caesar chides him for delaying, *οὐ γὰρ ἔφη καὶ τὸν σὸν ἀδελφὸν ἵν' ἐχθρὸς ᾖς μοι περιέσωσα*: which makes it appear that the Cocceius who negotiated the reconciliation Appian refers to (see Introduction) was not the person whose life was spared at Perusia, but his brother. But the former is called Lucius; the negotiator, therefore, was, according to this account, Marcus. This Marcus was probably great-grandfather of the Emperor Nerva.

30. *nigra meis collyria lippus*] 'Collyrium,' an ointment for sore eyes. According to Celsus (vi. 6. § 7), one kind, most commonly used, was named *τέφριον*, "a cinereo colore."

32. *Capitoque simul Fonteius*] C. Fonteius Capito was deputed by Caesar on this occasion, as being a particular friend of M. Antonius, who afterwards, as Plutarch relates (Anton. 36), sent him, while he was in Syria, to fetch Cleopatra thither from Egypt. When Augustus laid down the consulship in A.U.C. 721, Capito was appointed Consul Suffectus. He had a son who was consul with Germanicus, A.U.C. 765, with whom Heindorf confounds Antonius' friend in the text. Orelli mentions a coin of this Capito with the following inscription:—"C. FONTEIVS. CAPITO. PRO. PR. = M. ANT. IMP. COS. DESIG. ITER. ET. TERT. III. VIR. R. P. C." The expression 'ad unguem factus' is taken from the craft of the sculptor, who tries the surface of his statue by passing the nail over it: if the parts be put perfectly together, and the whole work well finished,

Factus homo, Antoni non ut magis alter amicus.
Fundos Aufidio Lusco praetore libenter
Linquimus, insani ridentes praemia scribae,
Praetextam et latum clavum prunaeque batillum.
In Mamurrarum lassi deinde urbe manemus,

the nail passes over the surface, and meets with no obstruction. "Translatio sumpta a marmorariis qui unguibus juncturas et levitatem explorant" (Comm. Cruq.). Persius, S. i. 64:—

"—— carmina molli
Nunc demum numero fluere, ut per leve severos
Effundat junctura ungues."

Compare also A. P. 294: "Perfectum decies non castigavit ad unguem." Plutarch copies the expression (Symp. vi. 4), ἡ ἀκριβὴς σφόδρα καὶ δι' ὄνυχος λεγομένη δίαιτα. In S. ii. 7. 86, the perfect man is described as—

"—— in se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus,
Externi ne quid valeat per leve morari,"

which is like the description of the text, though the metaphor is not quite the same. 'Non ut magis alter' is equivalent to 'quam qui maxime' in prose. [A 'friend of Antonius as no other was:' 'ut' denotes a comparison.]

34. *Fundos Aufidio Lusco praetore*] They arrived at Tarracina about noon, and there the principal personages met them. At Tarracina they slept, and proceeded next morning to Fundi (Fondi), according to the Itins. thirteen miles from Tarracina. Fundi was situated on the north shore of a lake, which was called after it Fundanus; and also Amyclanus, from an old Greek town Amyclae, the existence of which was only traditional when Horace wrote, but is occasionally mentioned by the poets. Martial (xiii. 115) associates it with Fundi and the Caecuban vineyards, which were in this neighbourhood:—

"Caecuba Fundanis generosa coquuntur Amyclis,
Vitis et in media nata palude viret."

Fundi was one of that class of towns called 'praefecturae,' which, instead of having the administration of its own affairs, was governed by a 'praefectus' sent annually from Rome by the Praetor Urbanus. At this time the 'praefectus' was one Aufidius Luscus (not otherwise known), an upstart whom Horace calls Praetor by way of ridicule. The 'latus clavus,' the broad purple stripe down the front of the 'tunic,' was a badge that belonged only to senators. 'Prunae batillum' was a pan of hot coals, "in quo ponuntur prunae in hieme super mensam ne coena frigeat" (Comm. Cruq.). This Scholiast spells the word 'vatillum,' and says it is a diminutive of 'vas.' [Ritter has 'vatillum,' for which there is good authority.] "Vas parvum, in quo pro felici hospitum adventu incensis odoribus Jovi hospitali sacra fiebant: quod cum ex cupro esset ita tollebat et ostentabat hospitibus quasi esset aureum, et ob hanc causam vocatur ab Horatio insanus." A good deal in this explanation is without value; but the pan of coals may have been used, as this Scholiast says, for burning incense or otherwise in connexion with sacrifice. Aufidius, it appears, had been a 'scriba' or clerk, probably in the 'praetor's' office, such a situation as Horace held in the 'quaestor's.' Persons in that capacity had opportunities of pushing their fortunes if they managed well, and the honours of Luscus are spoken of as 'praemia,' rewards of service rendered to his master. Livy (xxiii. 19) mentions that one M. Anicius, praetor (as the principal officers in a few of the chief municipia seem to have been called, probably by courtesy) of Praeneste, had formerly been a 'scriba.'

37. *In Mamurrarum*] Disgusted with the officiousness of the promoted scribe, the party move on in the course of the day to Formiae (Mola di Gaeta) thirteen miles farther, where the road, having taken an inland bend from Tarracina to Fundi, goes straight down from Fundi to the coast, where Formiae was situated at the head of the Sinus Caietanus. Its supposed identity with the Laestrygonia of Homer has been noticed (C. iii. 16. 34 n., and 17 Int.). As the scene of Cicero's frequent retirement and his death, it is a place of much interest, and Martial devotes one of his longest and most pleasing Epigrams to the description of its attractions (x. 30). The wines Horace mentions more than once. He here calls it the city of the Mamurrae —a family of respectability in this town, according to Porphyrion ("hic fuit familia

Murena praebente domum, Capitone culinam.
Postera lux oritur multo gratissima; namque
Plotius et Varius Sinuessae Virgiliusque
Occurrunt, animae quales neque candidiores

Mamurrarum honesto loco nata"). The member of this family best known is the commander of the engineers in C. Caesar's army. He was in great favour with Caesar, and became very rich. He spent his wealth on good living (Cic. ad Att. vii. 7), and altogether was of low repute. It does not follow from this that Horace is speaking ironically, as most commentators think. The family may have been as well known in Formiae, as that of Lamia (C. iii. 17 Int.), especially if there be any truth in the statement of Cruquius' Scholiast that they owned the greater part of the town. "Mamurra senator fuit Romanus qui maximam partem civitatis Formianae possidebat." When the party got to Formiae, having travelled twenty-six miles, they were tired, and resolved to pass the night there. L. Licinius Murena (C. ii. 10 Int.), having a house at this place gave them the use of it; but as he was not there himself, and had no establishment probably in the house suitable to the entertainment of such guests, Fonteius Capito invited his fellow travellers to dine with him. He therefore appears to have had a house at Formiae.

40. *Sinuessae*] Leaving Formiae next day, the party set out for Sinuessa, eighteen miles distant. Half-way they passed through the ancient town of Minturnae, on the right bank of the Liris, and three or four miles from the mouth. This town is not mentioned here, though as a half-way station the party may probably have halted there. It was very damp, and situated in the midst of marsh-land. The place is mentioned Epp. i. 5. 5. The road crossed the Liris (C. i. 31. 7) at Minturnae, and went down the coast till it reached Sinuessa, the most southerly of the Latin towns. The site is now called Monte Dragone, and in the neighbourhood are some warm springs which existed in the time of Horace, and from which a modern town has the name Bagni or Bagnoli. Walckenaer identifies it with Sinuessa. It was on the sea, and said to have been founded on the ruins of the Greek city Sinope. Strabo (v. 234) derives the name from the Sinus Vescinus on which it stood. Plotius Tucca, to whom a Scholium edited by Scaliger (Animadv. in Chronol. Eusebii) gives the praenomen Marcus, appears from the same authority to have been a native of Cisalpine Gaul. He was associated with L. Varius Rufus by Virgil, who loved them both, in the task of editing the Aeneid after his death. Nothing more is known of him, but what we gather from this passage and S. i. 10. 81, that he was one of Maecenas' friends, and on intimate terms with Horace. L. Varius, whose cognomen appears to have been Rufus, was a distinguished poet in his day. As an epic poet Horace places him among the first (C. i. 6. 1; S. i. 10. 43). To him after Virgil he owed his introduction to Maecenas (S. i. 6. 55), in whose company we find him at the house of Nasidienus (S. ii. 8. 21). That he was very popular with his contemporaries, and much admired by them, may be inferred from every mention that is made of him, particularly from the ninety-third verse of this Satire: "Flentibus hic Varius discedit maestus amicis." He is supposed by Weichert to have been much older than Virgil and Horace, and to be the friend alluded to by Catullus in his poem (C. x.), which in the common texts begins "Varus me meus ad suos amores." Augustus also had an affection for him, as we know from Epp. ii. 1. 245:

"At neque dedecorant tua de se judicia atque
Munera, quae multa dantis cum laude tulerunt
Dilecti tibi Virgilius Variusque poëtae;"

on which passage Comm. Cruq. informs us that Augustus had made a present to each of these poets of a million sesterces. This is confirmed by the Parisian codex referred to in his life in the Dict. Myth., which says Varius received this sum for his Thyestes. (See C. i. 6. 8 n.) Varius and Virgil are often mentioned together by Horace, and Martial puts them all together (xii. 4, to Terentius Priscus):

"Quod Flacco fuit et Vario summoque Maroni
Maecenas atavis regibus ortus eques,
Gentibus et populis hoc te mihi, Prisce Terenti,
Fama fuisse loquax chartaque dicet anus."

Terra tulit neque quis me sit devinctior alter.
O qui complexus et gaudia quanta fuerunt!
Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus amico.
Proxima Campano ponti quae villula tectum
Praebuit, et parochi quae debent ligna salemque.
Hinc muli Capuae clitellas tempore ponunt.
Lusum it Maecenas, dormitum ego Virgiliusque;
Namque pila lippis inimicum et ludere crudis.
Hinc nos Coccei recipit plenissima villa
Quae super est Caudi cauponas. Nunc mihi paucis

45. *Proxima Campano ponti*] After Sinuessa the Appia Via continued to take a southerly direction and crossed the Savo (Savone) about three miles from that town, and just within the borders of Campania. That river was crossed by a bridge bearing the name Pons Campanus, near which was a small house erected for the accommodation of persons travelling on public business, where there were officers appointed to supply them with ordinary necessaries. "Parochi autem copiarii dicuntur ἀπὸ τοῦ παρέχειν ab exhibere: hodie autem a copiariis praestantur haec iis qui rei publicae causa iter faciunt" (Porph.). Comp. Cic. ad Att. v. 16. [Though Horace mentions only wood and salt, these words, as Krüger says, may mean all that the parochi were bound to supply.] In this house the party passed the night.

47. *Hinc muli Capuae*] When it reached the right bank of the Vulturnus, four miles below the Savo, the Appia Via turned, striking inland along that bank of the river, which it crossed at the town of Casilinum, where Hannibal met with stout resistance from the Romans who garrisoned it after the battle of Cannae (Liv. xxiii. 17). This is the site of the modern Capua. About two miles farther on the road, which now took a south-easterly direction, lay Capua, on the site of which is the modern village Santa Maria di Capoua. There the party arrived 'betimes,'—in time probably for dinner, after which meal Maecenas and others of the party went to play at ball, while Horace whose sight and Virgil whose digestion interfered with that amusement, went early to bed. On the mode of playing with the 'pila,' the student will find all the information he requires in Becker's Gallus, 'Exc. on the Gymnastic Exercises,' and in Smith's Dict. Ant., art. 'Pila.' Virgil is said by Donatus (Vit. Virg. c. vi. § 19) to have had uncertain health, and to have suffered frequently either from toothache, headache, or complaints of the stomach.

50. *Hinc nos Coccei*] The road, continuing in a south-east direction, passed through two small Campanian towns, Calatia (le Galazze) and Ad Novas (la Nova); but the usual halting-place after Capua was the town of Caudium, which was the first Samnite town on the Appia Via, and was situated at the head of the pass called the Furcae or Fauces Caudinae, celebrated for the surprise and capture of the Roman army by C. Pontius in the second Samnite war, A.U.C. 433. The site of Caudium is discussed in Dict. Geog. Cramer fixes it at Paolisi or Cervinara, and mentions (from Pratilli's treatise on the Via Appia) that near Montesarchio, in the neighbourhood, various inscriptions have been found, in which the names of persons belonging to the family of Cocceius occur. At Caudium, Cocceius had a handsome house, and Horace marks the situation by saying it lay beyond the public tavern. For 'Caudi' all Cruquius' MSS. (and he had some of the best) read 'Claudi,' and his Scholiast has this note: "quae est supra Claudii cujusdam cauponas. Claudii cauponae sive tabernae oppidum est Samnii non procul a Benevento." But 'Caudi' is, I have no doubt, the right reading. The town was twenty-one miles from Capua.

51. *Nunc mihi paucis*] The scene that follows represents a scurrilous contest between two parasites. The description begins with an invocation of the Muse, after the fashion of the epic poets,—an amusing parody, with which Acron says some persons of his day found fault; and from Orelli I find there are some who have done so in our own. "Nimis profecto fastidiose," he says: "stulte," says the Scholiast, and most persons will agree with him. The Scholiast on Juvenal, S. v. 3,

Sarmenti scurrae pugnam Messique Cicirrhi,
Musa, velim memores, et quo patre natus uterque
Contulerit lites. Messi clarum genus Osci;
Sarmenti domina exstat: ab his majoribus orti
Ad pugnam venere. Prior Sarmentus: "Equi te
Esse feri similem dico." Ridemus, et ipse
Messius "Accipio," caput et movet. "O, tua cornu

"Si potes illa pati, quae nec Sarmentus iniquas
Caesaris ad mensas, nec vilis Galba tulisset,"

confounds the Sarmentus of Juvenal with the parasite of Maecenas, though they were different (Plut. Ant. c. 59). The Sarmentus of Horace was an Etrurian by birth, and originally a slave of M. Favonius (well known in the civil wars, and put to death by Octavianus Caesar after the battle of Philippi). On the confiscation of Favonius' property, Sarmentus passed by public sale into the hands of Maecenas, who gave him his liberty. He then was made a scriba in the quaestor's department, and affected the position of an eques: and as he sat in the front row in the theatre this Epigram was composed upon him:

"Aliud scriptum habet Sarmentus; aliud populus voluerat:
Digna dignis. Sic Sarmentus habeat crassas compedes.
Rustici ne nihil agatis aliquis Sarmentum alliget."

(The joke in the first line is, that whereas he had got himself one kind of 'scriptum,' i. e. the office of a scriba, the people wished he had got another, i. e. the branding of a runaway slave.) He was brought to trial for pretending to a rank he had no claim to (perhaps under the law of Otho), and got off only by the favour of the jury, and by the accuser being put out of the way. When old he was reduced to great poverty through his licentiousness and extravagance, and was obliged to sell his place as scribe. When persons taunted him with this he showed his ready wit by replying that he had a good memory; by which, according to Rutgersius (Ven. Lect. c. xvi. fin., where this man's story is told), he meant that he had no occasion to write any thing down, for he could carry it in his head. It appears that at the time Horace wrote he was free, and held his scribe's office, though he continued to attend Maecenas; for his adversary says, though he was a scribe, he was in fact only a runaway, and still belonged to his mistress the widow of Favonius (v. 66), which is only a joke that would amuse Maecenas, who had bought and manumitted Sarmentus. On the strength perhaps of what is stated by the above Scholiast, Porphyrion says Sarmentus was a Roman eques, and the same he says of Messius, but doubtless with as little foundation. When Horace says that Messius was of the noble blood of the Osci ("Messi genus Osci sunt," Porph.—'Osci' being the nominative plural), he probably means (as Estré says) what Cicero means by "summo genere natus, terrae filius" (Ad Fam. vii. 9), and also alludes to the scar on his temple which indicated the disease called Campanian (the Campanians were of Oscan descent), of which Cruquius' Scholiast writes thus: "Hoc enim quasi a natura Campanis fere omnibus inest, ut capitis temporibus magnae verrucae innascantur in modum cornuum: quas cum incidi faciunt, cicatrices in fronte manent quasi notae exsectorum cornuum. In hunc ergo morbum, id est, faciei vitium, quo Campani laborant, jocatur Sarmentus." This sort of disease is called by Aristotle *σατυριᾶν* (de Gen. Anim. iv. 3). The Oscans also were the authors of the 'Atellanae fabulae,' which were full of broad raillery and coarse wit, which may have something to do with Horace's joke. 'Cicirrhus' is a nickname from *κίκιῤῥος*, which signifies, according to Hesychius, 'a cock.' With these explanations most of the allusions will be intelligible.

58. *Accipio, caput et movet*] Messius accepts Sarmentus' joke as a challenge, and shakes his head fiercely at him, on which Sarmentus takes him up and pretends to be alarmed. The wild horse to which Messius is likened is the unicorn, an imaginary animal described by Pliny (N. H. viii. 21): "Asperrimam autem feram *μονοκερώτην*, reliquo corpore equo similem, capite cervo, pedibus elephanto, cauda apro, mugitu gravi, uno cornu nigro media fronte cubitorum duum eminente;"—a terrible beast enough.

Ni foret exsecto frons," inquit, "quid faceres, cum
Sic mutilus miniteris?" At illi foeda cicatrix
Setosam laevi frontem turpaverat oris.
Campanum in morbum, in faciem permulta jocatus,
Pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat:
Nil illi larva aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis.
Multa Cicirrhus ad haec: Donasset jamne catenam
Ex voto Laribus, quaerebat; scriba quod esset,
Nihilo deterius dominae jus esse. Rogabat
Denique cur unquam fugisset, cui satis una
Farris libra foret gracili sic tamque pusillo.
Prorsus jucunde coenam produximus illam.
Tendimus hinc recta Beneventum, ubi sedulus hospes

60. *miniteris*] The MSS. and editions are divided between this form and the indicative. The subjunctive alone is right, and I have adopted it with Bentley and Ven. 1483. See Key's L. G. 1455, j.

63. *Pastorem saltaret*] That he should dance the Cyclops dance, in which the uncouth gestures of Polyphemus courting Galatea were represented. See Epp. ii. 2. 125: "Nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur." Ovid (Trist. ii. 519) uses 'salto' in the passive voice: "Et mea sunt populo saltata poemata saepe."

65. *Donasset jamne catenam*] "Urbanius haec dicta sunt in Sarmentum qui servilibus erat natalibus, sumpta translatione a generosis pueris, qui egressi annos pueritiae jam sumpta toga Diis penatibus bullas suas consecrabant, ut et puellae pupas" (Comm. Cruq.). ['Ex voto:' 'pursuant to his vow.' The word 'votum' occurs in some inscriptions.]

67. *Nihilo deterius*] The editions, till Baxter (who has 'Nilo'), have 'deterius nihilo.' Bentley says that all the oldest and best MSS. have 'nihilo deterius.' He adopts it, and so do Dillenbr. and Orelli, 'nihilo' being pronounced as a dissyllable, like "vehemens et liquidus" (Epp. ii. 2. 120). [Ritter has 'nilo.'] Fea quotes a great many MSS. in favour of the old reading. ['Dominae jus:' the rights of his mistress over him.]

68. *una farris libra*] The allowance of 'far' to each slave was four or five 'modii' by the month, and it was served out to them monthly, or sometimes daily (Epp. i. 14. 40). That allowance would give three pints a day, which Messius considers would be three times as much as Sarmentus could possibly require; so he could not better himself by running away. The 'far' was otherwise called 'adoreum,' and seems to have been the same as the Greek ζειὰ or ὄλυρα. The nature of this grain is not exactly known. That two persons above the condition of slaves should be found in waiting on any man, great or otherwise, for the purpose of entertaining him with such low buffoonery as the above, seems surprising to us; but we know that there was no personal degradation to which this class of people called 'parasites' ('diners out') would not demean themselves for the pleasure of a good dinner and the company of the great. The entertainment of these persons would serve to keep the conversation from turning upon politics, which, as the deputies from both sides were now together, it was desirable to avoid.

71. *Beneventum*] The Appia Via took a north-east turn from Caudium for eleven or twelve miles till it came to Beneventum (Benevento), a very ancient town, by tradition said to have been founded by Diomedes, and the name of which was originally, when the Samnites had it, Maleventum, or some name that sounded so like Maleventum to a Latin ear that the Romans thought fit to change it (for good luck) to Beneventum. In no town but Rome are there so many ancient remains as in Benevento. Nearly all the walls are built of altars, tombs, columns, &c.; and the arch of Trajan, erected probably in commemoration of his construction of the road from Beneventum to Brundusium (since the same year, A.D. 114, appears on the arch that is found on the milliary columns along the road), still remains in pretty good preservation. Thither the party proceeded next day, and put up

Paene macros arsit dum turdos versat in igni;
Nam vaga per veterem dilapso flamma culinam
Volcano summum properabat lambere tectum.
Convivas avidos coenam servosque timentes
Tum rapere, atque omnes restinguere velle videres.
Incipit ex illo montes Apulia notos
Ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus et quos
Nunquam erepsemus nisi nos vicina Trivici
Villa recepisset, lacrimoso non sine fumo,
Udos cum foliis ramos urente camino.
Hic ego mendacem stultissimus usque puellam

at an inn, when the host nearly set fire to his house through carelessness in roasting some indifferent thrushes for their dinner. 'Hospes paene arsit,' the host nearly got himself on fire, means that he nearly burnt the house down, as the context shows. The expression is the same as in Aen. ii. 311: "Jam proximus ardet Ucalegon." The position of 'macros' is a little careless; and Lambinus, followed by most of the editors of his time and by Fea, transposed 'macros' and 'arsit,' on the authority of one MS., the value of which is not known. Bentley found that arrangement in another of no weight. The rest have all 'Paene macros arsit.'

78. *quos torret Atabulus*] Gellius (ii. 22) reckons Atabulus among local winds; and Seneca mentions it (Q. N. v. 17) as infesting Apulia: "Atabulus Apuliam infestat, Calabriam Iapyx, Athenas Sciron, Galliam Circius." Pliny likewise says (N. H. xvii. c. 24): "Atabulus si flavit circa brumam frigore exurit arefaciens ut nullis postea solibus recreari possint." This may explain 'torret,' a word which applies to the effect of cold as well as heat. It is generally interpreted by the commentators by 'scirocco,' a hot land wind. But it came directly off the sea from the east, and Pliny speaks of it as a winter wind. Cruquius' Scholiast says the vulgar corruption of the name was 'Atabo,' which comes near to the modern name 'Altino.' [As to Apulia, see C. iii. 4. 9 n.]

79. *Nunquam erepsemus*] This is one of the many abbreviated forms Horace uses. (C. i. 36. 8 n.) 'Vixet,' in Aen. xi. 118, is a like contraction of the same tense as 'erepsemus.' Horace says that they would never have got out of these hills (the range that borders Samnium and separates it from Apulia) had they not found an inn at the town of Trivicum, described by Swinburne (vol. i. p. 130) as "a baronial town on an eminence, and still called Trevico, a marquisate of the Loffredi, a family of Lombard or Norman origin," at which they were able to put up for the night. He means the next stage, which was twenty-four miles further on, would have been too long a journey. Horace had been familiar with these mountains in his early childhood, for they overlooked his native town. 'Notos' refers to these early reminiscences. 'Trivicum' is not mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus, or the Jerusalem Itinerary. It was probably on a cross road (Cramer, ii. 259) which lay between the two branches of the Appia Via, one of which took the most direct course from Beneventum through Venusia to Tarentum and Brundusium, and the other took a more northerly course across the Apennines, near Equus Tuticus; and then, striking directly eastward till it arrived very near the sea-coast, near Cannae, proceeded down the line of coast till it reached Brundusium. Pratilli, supported by Becker (Gallus, Sc. iv. n.) denies that the northern road was called Via Appia, which name, he says, belongs only to the direct road through Venusia. But even that he thinks doubtful, since Strabo confines the name to that part of the road which lay between Rome and Beneventum: τοὐντεῦθεν δ' ἤδη μέχρι τῆς Ῥώμης Ἀππία καλεῖται (vi. 283. Cas.). Cramer says, "the little town of Trivico, which appears on a height above the course of the ancient Appian way, points out the direction of that road; and some ruins, which are said to be visible below it, probably represent the farm which afforded a lodging to Horace and his fellow-travellers;" in my opinion a most improbable conjecture.

81. *camino*] See Epod. ii. 43 n.

Ad mediam noctem exspecto: somnus tamen aufert
Intentum veneri; tum immundo somnia visu
Nocturnam vestem maculant ventremque supinum.
Quattuor hinc rapimur viginti et milia rhedis,
Mansuri oppidulo quod versu dicere non est,
Signis perfacile est: venit vilissima rerum
Hic aqua; sed panis longe pulcherrimus, ultra
Callidus ut soleat humeris portare viator;
Nam Canusi lapidosus, aquae non ditior urna

87. *Mansuri oppidulo*] It appears probable that the road on which Trivicum lay, entering Apulia about ten miles from that town, passed through or near the Apulian Asculum (Ascoli), and it is in that neighbourhood that the little town with the unrhythmical name, at which the party stopped after Trivicum, is now generally supposed to have stood. Equus Tuticus is the place fixed upon by the Scholiasts; but that town [was on a road from Beneventum to Aecae, a place which lies many miles north of Trivicum]. It may be assumed that Horace's nameless town, which was small and inconvenient in his time, has left no traces; and of the name we must be content to be ignorant. [See Equus Tuticus, Dict. Geog.]

89. *ultra*] This is the reading of all the known MSS. Aldus (1501) first introduced 'ultro;' and a few editors,—H. Stephens, Muretus, Baxter, and others,—have adopted it. Orelli says "'ultro' rectum sensum non praebet;" but 'ultro' signifies to a place further on, and that is what Horace means, namely, to Canusium. I do not go against the MSS., but 'ultro' is the more regular word.

91. *Nam Canusi lapidosus*] In a plain between the hills and the right bank of the Aufidus, about twelve miles from the mouth, stood the town of Canusium (Canosa), one of the ancient Greek settlements of Apulia. This town and others in Apulia (Venusia and Brundusium among them), and in other parts of Eastern Italy, were represented to have been founded by Diomedes, when, after the Trojan war, he was driven to the coast of Apulia, and hospitably entertained and presented with land by king Daunus. His name was retained by the islands now called Tremiti, but by the ancients Diomedeae. By whomsoever founded, Canusium and Argyrippa or Arpi are stated by Strabo (vi. 283. Cas.) to have been the two largest of the Greek cities in Italy, and many remains among the ruins testify to the former wealth of Canusium. Its greatest splendour appears to have been in the time of Trajan; and for its wealth it suffered dreadfully at the hands of the barbarians, and afterwards from the Saracens. Among the ancient ruins may be seen fragments of aqueducts, tombs, amphitheatres, baths, milliary columns, and an ancient gateway. The present town stands on a height where the citadel stood, and contains not above 300 houses. "The medals of Canusium in silver and bronze have the inscriptions ΚΑ. ΚΑΝΥ. ΚΑΝΥΣΙΝΩΝ, with a head of Hercules on a vase and clusters of grapes" (Cramer, Italy, ii. p. 292 n.). A supply of good water was brought into this town by Hadrian the emperor. Apulia was not well watered (Epod. iii. 16 n.). The turbid waters of the Aufidus must have been unfit for drinking. The bread of Canosa seems to be as bad as ever. Swinburne writes (i. 166): "We breakfasted at an inn near the bridge, and regretted our not having followed Horace's example in bringing a supply of bread from some other place, for what we got here was as brown as mahogany, and so gritty that it set our teeth on edge to crunch it. The friable incompact contexture of the stone with which the millers grind their corn, rather than the sand of the area where it is trodden out, can alone have perpetuated this defect in the Canusian bread for nineteen centuries. I believe these millstones are of the soft concreted rock, which constitutes the greater part of their coast."

— *aquae non ditior urna*] The only way of taking this regularly is, with Lambinus, to make 'ditior' agree with 'locus,' 'which place, being not richer in water (than the last) by a single pitcher, was built by brave Diomedes.' So Orelli takes it. The construction is not very agreeable; but to avoid it we must suppose great irregularity. Bentley makes 'urna' the nominative, and 'ditior'

Qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim.
Flentibus hinc Varius discedit maestus amicis.
Inde Rubos fessi pervenimus, utpote longum
Carpentes iter et factum corruptius imbri.
Postera tempestas melior, via pejor ad usque
Bari moenia piscosi; dein Gnatia Lymphis

to agree with it in the sense of 'uberior.' He encloses in [ ] the next verse as unmeaning and unworthy of Horace.

93. *Varius*] See v. 40 n.

94. *Rubos*] This town of the Peucetii retains its name under the form Ruvo, and was about thirty miles from Canusium. The medals found at Ruvo have the inscriptions ΡΥ. ΡΥΒΑ. ΡΥΨ. ΡΥΒΑΣΤΕΙΝΩΝ. They have also a head of Minerva or Jove, and on the reverse an owl on a branch. Swinburne (i. 400) describes the remains of the road for twelve miles from Canosa as paved with common rough pebbles, and passing over a pleasant down.

96. *ad usque*] See S. i. 1. 97 n.

97. *Bari moenia piscosi*] Barium still retains its name Bari, occupying a rocky peninsula of a triangular form about a mile in circumference on the coast. The distance from Rubi was twenty-two miles, "a most disagreeable stony road through a vine country" (Swinburne, i. 397), and half way there lay the town Butuntum (Bitonto). Brass coins have been discovered at Bari, bearing, on one side a head of Jupiter crowned with bay, on the other a figure of Cupid seated at the prow of a vessel, and shooting an arrow, with the inscription ΒΑΡΙΝΩΝ. Others have a head of Jupiter and the prow of a vessel and the inscription ΒΑΡΙ. Others again have a head, of Pallas, and a ship, and Cupid crowning a trophy. There must have been a harbour to receive the galleys which, from the above coins, it is evident this place possessed. Swinburne writes (i. 191), "a plentiful fish supper was provided by our kind host (the Prior of a Dominican convent), anxious to support the reputation of Bari in that article. The abundance and delicacy of the fish vouch for Horace's knowledge of the peculiar excellencies of his own country."

— *Gnatia*] This was perhaps the local way of pronouncing Egnatia. It was another sea-port town, and thirty-seven miles from Barium. The ruins of Gnatia are near Torre d'Agnazzo, or Torre di Gnazia, six miles from the town of Monopoli. "Little remains (says Swinburne), except part of the ramparts, which, near the sea, are entire as high up as the bottom of the battlements. Sixteen courses of large stones are still complete, and the thickness of this bulwark is exactly eight yards, an extraordinary breadth, which I ascertained by repeated measurements. The town seems to have been square, and its principal streets drawn in straight lines." "Want of water caused the destruction of Gnatia,—a scarcity I had an opportunity of being made sensible of. I was obliged to content myself with the water of a cistern full of tadpoles, and qualify it with a large quantity of wine that resembled treacle much more than the juice of the grape. While I held the pitcher to my lips, I formed a dam with a knife to prevent the little frogs from slipping down my throat. Till that day I had had but an imperfect idea of thirst" (Swinburne, i. 208). [But modern authorities, Pratilli and Romanelli, state that there is plenty of fresh water, and one fountain, which is the finest in the country (Art. Egnatia, Dict. Geog.). Wieland says, I know not on what authority, that Gnatia was exposed to frequent damage from the torrents from the neighbouring mountains.] The miracle Horace mentions appears to have been a cheat of long continuance, for Pliny mentions it likewise (N. H. ii. c. 107): "In Salentino oppido Egnatia, imposito ligno in saxum quoddam ibi sacrum, protinus flammam existere." 'Lymphae' and 'Nymphae' are essentially the same word, but I am not aware of any other place in which the Nymphs are called Lymphae. [Pliny does not distinctly assign the cause of this phaenomenon; but as he is writing (c. 106, 107) of natural flame and heat issuing from the earth, he allows us to conclude that this was so at Gnatia. Ritter, who does not refer to Pliny, concludes from 'Lymphis iratis' that there was an issue of inflammable gas at Gnatia. But Horace did not see the flame; for he says the priests try to persuade people that incense melts without flame or heat on the threshhold of the temple; and if it did melt, we must suppose that the priests artfully concealed the flame, and only showed the

Iratis exstructa dedit risusque jocosque,
Dum flamma sine tura liquescere limine sacro
Persuadere cupit. Credat Judaeus Apella,
Non ego: namque deos didici securum agere aevum,
Nec si quid miri faciat natura deos id
Tristes ex alto caeli demittere tecto.
Brundusium longae finis chartaeque viaeque est.

effect. The melting of the incense was apparently shown to the party, who saw the fact, but they would not believe the miracle, and made no further inquiry.]

100. *Judaeus Apella*] The majority of the Jews at Rome were freedmen, which probably affords the best explanation of the synagogue of the Libertines at Jerusalem mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (vi. 9). Apella was a common name for 'libertini.' Their creed was a superstition of the most contemptible kind in the eyes of a Roman; and a Jew was only another name for a credulous fool. The Jews returned the contempt with hatred, which showed itself in a turbulent spirit that made them very troublesome. Horace intimates that he had learnt from the school of Epicurus that the gods were too happy to look after the small affairs of this world, which he expresses in the words of Lucretius (vi. 58): "Nam bene qui didicere deos securum agere aevum" (C. i. 34. 2 n.). ['Tristes,' in 'their anger' perhaps is the meaning; unless Krüger is right when he explains it to mean the serious concern of the gods about human affairs.]

104. *Brundusium*] From this abrupt conclusion we may judge that Horace was tired of his journal as well as his journey. Brundusium (Brindisi) was for centuries the most important town on the eastern coast of Italy, chiefly through the convenience of the position for communicating with Greece, and the excellence of the harbour. The port is double. The outer port is formed by two promontories that stretch off gradually from each other as they advance into the sea, leaving a very narrow channel at the base of the angle, which leads into the inner port. This stretches to the right and left, and between the two arms or branches lay the city. In the old Messapian tongue Brundusium is said to have meant a deer, the name being derived from the appearance of a stag's head formed by this inner port. "The whole kingdom of Naples cannot show a more complete situation for trade than Brindisi. Here goodness of soil, safety of anchorage, and a central position are all united" (Swinb. i. 386). [The port is now used again. The railway of North Italy is extended to Brundusium, and steamers sail from the port to Alexandria.] Little remains of ancient Brundusium except broken pillars, fragments of common Mosaic, with a few inscriptions and coins. The distance from Egnatia was thirty-five miles according to the Jerusalem Itinerary and the Tabula Theodosiana, and thirty-eight according to the Itinerary of Antoninus. There was a station Ad Turres between Barium and Egnatia, and a station Speluncae (Grotta Rossa), about midway between Egnatia and Brundusium, at one or both of which Horace may have halted a night, but which, having nothing he cared to tell us about them, he has passed over in silence. [If Horace stayed all night only at the places which he has mentioned, he arrived at Brundusium on the fifteenth day after leaving Rome. Krüger has marked the fifteen days; and Orelli has a table of the journey.]

SATIRE VI.

In addition to the obloquy brought upon him by his satires, Horace, after his intimacy with Maecenas was known, had to meet the envy such good fortune was sure to excite. His birth would furnish a handle for the envious, and he was probably called an upstart and hard names of that sort. In this satire, which is nothing but an epistle to Maecenas, he spurns the idea of his birth being any objection to him, while at the same time he argues sensibly against men trying to get beyond their own legitimate sphere, and aiming at honours which are only attended with inconvenience, fatigue, and ill will. This satire, besides the good sense and good feeling it contains, is valuable as bearing upon Horace's life. His introduction to Maecenas is told concisely, but fully and with much propriety and modesty; and nothing can be more pleasing than the filial affection and gratitude shown in those parts that relate to his father and the education he gave him. He takes pleasure in referring whatever merits he might have to this good parent, as he did in the fourth Satire.

The Satire then may be supposed to have been written chiefly for the purpose of disarming envy, by showing the modesty of the author's pretensions, and the circumstances that led to his intimacy with Maecenas. The views of public life which it contains were no doubt sincere, and the daily routine described at the end was better suited to Horace's habit of mind than the fatigues and anxieties of office. There is not the least appearance in any of his writings of his having been spoilt by his good fortune and by his intercourse, on terms of rare familiarity, with Augustus, Maecenas, and others; and probably malignity never attacked any one less deserving of attack than Horace. There is no great vigour or variety in this piece, and its chief value is historical. Attempts have been made to fix a date for the composition, but when Franke says that because Horace declares he might ride to Tarentum if he liked on a mule, without attracting any notice, therefore he must lately have been at Tarentum, and must have written this Satire shortly after the fifth, and makes his calculations turn chiefly on this point, it may be inferred that there are no sufficient data for forming any thing like a definite opinion on the subject.

ARGUMENT.

Though the blood of kings flows in your veins, Maecenas, you despise not the humbly born, such as myself a freedman's son. It matters nothing to you who a man's father was, if he be but a freeman born, knowing well that King Tullus, ay and many before him, though they had no ancestors, were honest men; while Laevinus, whose forefathers expelled the Tarquins, is not worth an as, even in the judgment of a populace that stupidly worships ancestry. And we who are so far above them, how shall we judge? Allow that they prefer a Laevinus with his ancestors to a Decius who had none, and that the censor might degrade one who should aspire to the senate without being free born, that need not alter our judgment. The censor would act right if he did so; let every man keep his own place. But high and low are all willing captives following in the train of glory. What have you to do, Tillius, to resume your tribuneship and your badge? You are only drawing more envy on your head. The moment a man puts on a senator's dress, "Who is this?" says one. "Who was his father?" says another. As the fop who likes to be thought handsome makes all the girls curious to examine his features, his ancle, his foot, his teeth, his hair, so the placeman hears on all hands, "Who was his father? what was his mother? What you, the son of a slave, do you take upon yourself to put citizens to

death?" "Well," says he, "but my colleague is a step lower than I." "Suppose he is; does that make you a Paullus or a Messalla? He at any rate has stout lungs, and that's what we like."

A word now about myself, the freedman's son, with which they are all taunting me now because I am a friend of yours, Maecenas, as once they did because I had a tribune's command. This they might perhaps envy me with some reason; but not the other, for you are ever careful in your choice of friends, and hate low flattery. It was not luck that brought me to your notice: Virgil introduced me first, and then Varius. I came modestly into your presence. I made no boast of birth or wealth, but told you who and what I was. You answered as usual briefly, dismissed me, and in nine months sent for me again, and admitted me to your circle. Herein I am happy, that my merit, not my birth, commended me to one so discerning. But if my faults are not great, and if my friends are attached to me, I have to thank my father for that, who would not send me to a country school, but brought me to Rome to be educated. He spared no expense: he took me to school every day himself; in short, he preserved me from vice and even the imputation of it. He would not have been ashamed if after all I had been obliged to resort to his old trade for a livelihood, and I should not have complained a bit. To him be all the praise and all my gratitude. Never let me be ashamed of such a father as that, or say, as so many do, it was not my fault that my father was not born a freeman. My language and views are very different from this; for let who will choose new parents to suit their pride, I am content with mine; and though others may think me mad to say so, you will judge me wise, I know, for declining a load I am not used to bear. I should have to enlarge my means; to bow to a host of people; to pay attendants to walk with me; to get more slaves and horses; to hire carriages. As it is I may ride to Tarentum, if I like, on a common mule, with my portmanteau behind, and no one calls me shabby as they do you, Tillius, most noble senator and praetor, when you go travelling with your five slaves and utensil behind you. I can go where I like by myself, about the market, and circus, and forum in the evening, and then go home to my simple meal and poorly furnished dining-room, and then to bed, to sleep undisturbed. I lie till late writing and reading, and then take a stroll, or go and play till I am tired, then to bathe, and then to lunch lightly and lounge at home. Could I live more happily than this if my father and his father and all my relations had been quaestors?

Non quia, Maecenas, Lydorum quidquid Etruscos
Incoluit fines nemo generosior est te,

1. *Non quia, Maecenas*] See Key's L. G. 1403, on this position of the negative.

—*Lydorum quidquid Etruscos*] On Maecenas' connexion with Etruria see C. i. 1. 1 n. The Lydian settlement of Etruria is first mentioned by Herodotus (i. 94) as a tradition current among the Lydians themselves. Horace and Virgil both adopted the legend, which was familiar to men of learning, and perhaps believed by many. Dionysius of Halicarnassus states that at the time he wrote his book on Roman Antiquities (which was published in the year 7 B.C.) opinions were divided on the subject; some counting the Etrurians to be indigenous, and named from τύρσεις, 'turres,' and others adopting the story respecting their Lydian founder, Tyrrhenus, whom Herodotus makes the son of Atys, king of Lydia. Virgil says (Aen. ii. 781):

"Et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva
Inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Tibris."

'Lydorum quidquid,' 'all the Lydians that ever inhabited,' &c., is like Epod. v. 1: "At, o deorum quidquid in caelo regit;" and Catullus (C. ix. 10), "O quantum est hominum venustiorum." So likewise Terence (Heautont. iv. 6. 6):

Nec quod avus tibi maternus fuit atque paternus
Olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarent,
Ut plerique solent, naso suspendis adunco
Ignotos, ut me libertino patre natum.
Cum referre negas quali sit quisque parente
Natus dum ingenuus, persuades hoc tibi vere,
Ante potestatem Tulli atque ignobile regnum

"Ut te quidem omnes Dii Deae quantum est, Syre,
Cum tuo isto invento cumque incepto perduint."

['Generosior,' 'of more noble descent.' See v. 24. and C. iii. 1. 10.]

4. *magnis legionibus imperitarent*] Because Maecenas' ancestors are commonly called 'reges,' Fea changes 'legionibus' into 'regionibus,' and he has the authority of one MS. in his favour, which he calls the "codex Chisianus." But there is no objection to 'legionibus' in the sense of armies, which is the reading of all other MSS. and editions. Lucretius may have said (iii. 1027):—

"Inde alii multi reges rerumque potentes
Occiderunt, magnis qui gentibus imperitarunt."

But that does not prove that Horace wrote 'regionibus.' The MSS. vary in the form of the verb, some having the perfect indicative 'imperitarunt,' others the perfect subjunctive 'imperitarint.' But the imperfect seems to be required, and Bentley says that that tense, rather than the perfect, always does follow 'fuit qui,' as below, Epp. ii. 2. 128 sqq. In prose there can be no doubt the subjunctive would be required here (Key's L. G. 1189), and the imperfect is required by the sense, which does not mean to limit the statement to one of Maecenas' ancestors, but refers to a succession of them.

5. *naso suspendis adunco*] This the Greeks expressed by μυκτηρίζειν. To say that it is a metaphor taken from the sagacity of the dog, as Forcellini does, is a mistake, for it is obviously taken from that instinctive motion of the features which expresses contempt. How to account for it may not be easy, though it is so common. The expression 'naso suspendere' I conceive Horace invented, unless it were a sort of slang of the day. It occurs nowhere else, except in Persius (S. i. 118), where it is applied to Horace and is evidently copied from him (like some other ideas of Persius), though he modifies the expression and gives it a better sense. It is repeated below, S. ii. 8. 64: "Balatro suspendens omnia naso." 'Ut' occurring twice in these two lines introduces confusion. The second means 'as for instance.'

6. *libertino patre natum*] The difference between 'libertus' and 'libertinus' is, that 'libertinus' expressed generically a man who had been manumitted, 'libertus' the same man in his relation to the master who had given him his freedom. Orelli (on v. 40 of this Satire) retains the notion that 'libertinus' means the son of a 'libertus,' a meaning which did not belong to the word in Horace's time. ['App. Claudii aetate et aliquandiu post libertini dicebantur non iidem ac liberti, sed libertorum filii: qui tamen inter ingenuos postea habiti sunt.' Suetonius, Claud. 24.] Horace expressly says his father was a 'libertinus.' But if 'libertinus' meant the son of a libertus, Horace's father would be freeborn (ingenuus). The son of a 'libertinus' born after his father's manumission, and all other persons born free, were 'ingenui;' and Horace says that Maecenas, though he would not take into his intimacy a freedman, made no inquiry as to the parentage of any one born free, but would make him his friend if he deserved it. Acron interprets 'ingenuus' as "ad moris probitatem pertinens." And some editors (Gesner among them) have followed him. [Doederlein also takes 'ingenuus' in the sense of one who has a noble character. I am not sure that he is wrong. He also separates 'vere' from 'persuades' and connects it with 'vixisse:' but here, I think, he is wrong.]

9. *Ante potestatem Tulli*] Horace here follows the legend which made Servius Tullius the son of a slave-girl, and himself a slave in the palace of King Tarquinius. In this sense his reign was ignoble, while in true nobility it was surpassed by none of the others. Another legend (which Ovid follows, Fast. vi. 627 sqq.) makes Tullius the son of Vulcan, but his mother is there also a slave, having been made

Multos saepe viros nullis majoribus ortos
Et vixisse probos amplis et honoribus auctos;
Contra Laevinum, Valeri genus unde superbus
Tarquinius regno pulsus fugit, unius assis
Non unquam pretio pluris licuisse, notante
Judice quo nosti populo, qui stultus honores
Saepe dat indignis et famae servit ineptus,
Qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus. Quid oportet

captive at Corniculum, a city taken by Tarquinius Priscus.

12. *Laevinum, Valeri genus*] The Valeria 'gens' was one of the most ancient in Rome, and embraced some of the most distinguished families, among others that of Publicola, the earliest member of which mentioned in history is Valerius Publicola, the colleague of Brutus after the expulsion of the kings. The family of Laevinus was another branch of the same gens, the most conspicuous of whom were P. Valerius Laevinus, who conducted the war against Pyrrhus, and M. Valerius, who in the second Punic war was governor of Sicily. Of the Laevinus in the text we know nothing but from the text and the Scholiasts Porphyrion and Comm. Cruq., who say that he was a man of most abandoned character, so bad that even the populace, who were not easily deterred from conferring their honours upon the vicious, could not be prevailed on by admiration of his high ancestry to advance him beyond the quaestorship; that is to say, he never held a curule office. 'Valeri genus' is like 'audax Iapeti genus,' C. i. 3. 27 n. On 'unde,' which is equivalent to 'a quo,' see C. i. 12. 17 n.; ii. 12. 7. 'Fugit' is the reading of the best MSS., including all the Blandinian and others of high authority quoted by Lambinus, Orelli, Fea, Bentley, the three last of whom have adopted it, I think rightly. Most of the older editions have 'fuit;' but there is no objection to the use of the present tense: it is the historic. 'Licere' is 'to be put up for sale,' and the correlative term is 'liceri,' 'to bid for an article at a sale by auction.' 'Notare' is to set a bad mark upon, to brand, and was technically applied to the censors (v. 20 n.). 'Judice quo nosti' is an instance of attraction, which figure the Romans borrowed from the Greeks, but did not use so commonly. See Key's L. G. 1061, and add Terence, Heaut. i. 1. 35: "Scire hoc vis? Hac quidem de causa qua dixi tibi;" and Cicero (ad Fam. v. 14): "cum scribas et aliquid agas eorum quorum consuesti gaudeo." The editions of the fifteenth century all have 'quo,' and that is the reading of Ascensius (1519). The edition of Aldus of the same year, and nearly all subsequent editions till Bentley, have 'quem,' for which there is no authority among the MSS. now existing or known to have been collated. 'Titulis et imaginibus' were inscriptions and waxen busts recording the distinctions of any member of a family who had borne a curule office. See Polyb. vi. 53.

[13. *unius assis*, &c.] 'Was never valued one penny more:' Ritter, Doederlein, Krüger. 'Pluris' must be taken with 'licuisse,' and 'pretio' is not the ablative directly dependent on 'pluris.' This seems better than the explanation in the Argument.]

17. *Quid oportet nos facere*] Bentley says he certainly never saw any thing "pravius tetriusque" (epithets it is hard to understand, especially the latter) than this reading 'nos.' He therefore proposes 'vos:' "Vos dico Augustos, Maecenates, Polliones, Messallas, &c." It is the fashion with some critics to exclaim against all manifestations of self-satisfaction, however legitimate the occasion, and to explain away and alter passages in which Horace says a word for himself. But there is neither pride nor humility here. He means to say that those who by education and profession and experience were very far removed from the common people ought to judge differently from them, and better. In this number he was quite justified in placing himself. The MSS. are unanimous in favour of 'nos.' The MSS. nearly all read 'longe longeque;' a few have 'longe lateque,' which is the reading of all the old editions. Cruquius first edited 'longe longeque,' quoting Cicero (de Finn. ii. 21): "plurimum se, et longe longeque plurimum, tribuere honestati." Ovid uses the same expression (Met. iv. 325): "Sed longe cunctis longeque potentior illis." It occurs also in Dig. 4. 4. 39. "Vendentibus curatoribus minoris fundum emptor exstitit Lucius Titius, et sex fere annis possedit, et

Nos facere a volgo longe longeque remotos?
Namque esto populus Laevino mallet honorem
Quam Decio mandare novo, censorque moveret
Appius ingenuo si non essem patre natus:
Vel merito quoniam in propria non pelle quiessem.
Sed fulgente trahit constrictos Gloria curru

longe longeque rem meliorem fecit." The repetition is only analogous, as Bentley says, to many others in the Latin language, as 'etiam atque etiam,' 'nimium nimiumque,' 'magis magisque,' &c. After Cruquius, Baxter was the first to adopt 'longe longeque,' which Bentley edited soon afterwards, and it is now the received reading.

19. *Namque esto*] He goes on to show that though the value set upon titles and birth by the populace might be exaggerated, yet the other extreme is not to be allowed; and that he who seeks to push himself beyond his sphere might be justly rebuked for his presumption.

20. *Quam Decio mandare novo*] P. Decius Mus, who devoted himself to death for his country at the battle of Vesuvius in the Latin war, A.U.C. 414, was the first consul of his family. He held the office with T. Manlius Torquatus in that year. After the curule magistracies were opened to the plebeians, an order of nobility sprung up among themselves based upon the holding of these offices. Those families of which a member had held a curule office were 'nobiles,' the rest 'ignobiles,' and he in whose person such dignity was first attained was called, originally no doubt through the contempt of the patricians, but afterwards conventionally by all, 'novus homo.' The Decia gens was plebeian.

— *censorque moveret Appius*] The Appius who is here taken as the type of severe censorship is Appius Claudius Caecus, the constructor of the road and aqueduct that bore his name. [Heindorf asks how Torrentius could follow the Scholiasts (Acron and Cruquius) in supposing that the old censor Appius is alluded to, who, as Livy (ix. 46) says, "senatum primus libertinorum filiis lectis inquinaverat." The recent editors suppose that Cicero's contemporary Appius Claudius Pulcher is alluded to, whose censorship fell in B.C. 704; and he is said to have exercised his office with severity (Dion, 40. c. 63) by ejecting from the senate all the sons of freedmen, and others also, among whom was the historian Sallust. Horace is using the name of Appius as an instance of a severe censor, who would eject the sons of libertini from the senate; and the Appius of B.C. 704 did eject them, as we are told, and the old censor Appius admitted them. Still, as Horace names Laevinus and Decius, it is possible that the famous old censor was in his thoughts, and not the modern Appius. Horace's history may sometimes be no better than his geography.] It was the province of the Censors, till that office was merged in the imperial power, to supply vacancies in the senate from the list of those who were eligible. But they could also, in revising the list of senators, degrade those who had previously been in the senate, as well as exclude such as by their official rank were qualified to be senators. They effected this exclusion merely by marking the name, and their mark was called 'nota censoria.' Horace, therefore, means that if he, through the favour of Maecenas or other means, sought as a freedman's son to reach the dignity of a senator, and succeeded, the censors, if they did their duty strictly, would degrade him. There was no money qualification for the senate. 'Movere' is the technical word for degrading a senator, and those who were degraded or not admitted were called 'praeteriti senatores' from the circumstance of their name being passed by when the lists were made out. (See Dict. Ant., arts. 'Senatus,' 'Censores,' 'nota Censoria.') 'In propria non pelle quiessem' is the old story of the ass in the lion's skin.

23. *Sed fulgente trahit*] This verse may or may not be taken from some heroic poem. It is introduced humorously, and yet with a serious meaning. 'Let the populace set their hearts upon rank and descent, and let the censors make that their standard for the senate, yet the humbly born may have their honours as well;' that is, the honours that arise from virtue and genius. The picture of Glory mounted on her car is repeated in Epp. ii. 1. 177, where the epithet 'fulgente' is exchanged for 'ventoso,' 'fickle as the winds.' As observed before (C. S. 57 n.), 'Gloria' appears in the ancient descriptions in two characters,

Non minus ignotos generosis. Quo tibi, Tilli,
Sumere depositum clavum fierique tribuno?
Invidia accrevit privato quae minor esset.
Nam ut quisque insanus nigris medium impediit crus
Pellibus et latum demisit pectore clavum,
Audit continuo: "Quis homo hic est? quo patre natus?"
Ut si qui aegrotet quo morbo Barrus, haberi

good and bad. In the former she is represented by Honos.

24. *Quo tibi, Tilli*] Comp. Epp. i. 5. 12. The Scholiasts Acron and Comm. Cruq. say that this person, whose name is Tulli in some MSS. and editions, was a senator, and was degraded by C. Julius Caesar as being of Pompeius' party; that he was reinstated after Caesar's death, and was made a military tribune. One Tillius Cimber is mentioned by Plutarch (Caesar, c. 66) among the conspirators against Caesar. Whether or not this Tillius is different from the person mentioned below, v. 107, it is not easy to say. Estré denies, Orelli and others affirm, that he is the same. There is not much to guide us. Each legion had six tribunes, and Horace was a tribune in the army of Brutus (v. 48; C. ii. 7). The military tribunes of the first four legions were entitled to sit in the senate. (Epod. iv. 15 n.) As to the 'latus clavus,' see note on the 34th verse of the last Satire. 'Quo,' 'to what purpose.' (C. ii. 3. 9 n.)

27. *Nam ut quisque insanus*] The senators' 'calceus,' an out-door shoe, was fastened by four thongs, two on each side, which went spirally up to the calf of the leg (medium crus). These thongs were called 'corrigiae,' and were black. The shoe itself appears to have varied in colour. Juvenal (vii. 192) says of Quintilianus: "appositam nigrae lunam Subtexit alutae," where the 'aluta' is a shoe made of leather softened in a solution of alum, and the colour is black. It also bears something in the shape of a crescent 'luna' (Ruperti says a buckle), which Philostratus (Vita Herod. ii. 8) calls *σύμβολον τῆς εὐγενείας—ἐπισφύριον* (it must therefore have been worn as high as the ancle) *ἐλεφάντινον μηνόειδες*. Martial calls it "lunata pellis" (i. 50. 31), and again (ii. 29. 7 sq.):

"Non hesterna sedet lunata lingula planta,
Coccina non laesum cingit aluta pedem;"

where the shoe is purple or dark red. Such a shoe was the 'mulleus.' Becker supposes this to have been the invariable colour, and that Juvenal's 'nigrae' must refer, as this passage of Horace clearly does, only to the strings. (Gallus, Exc. 'Male attire.') If so, the string was of the same leather as the shoe, and passed over the 'luna,' which was perhaps on the outer side of the foot.

29. [*Audit continuo*] Literally, 'forthwith he hears;' that is, 'forthwith these are the inquiries made about him.' Compare S. ii. 6. 20; 7. 101, and Epp. i. 16. 17.]

— *Quis homo hic est? quo*] The MSS. vary between this reading and 'hic, et quo' and 'hic, aut quo.' The editors differ. The reading I have followed (after Lambinus, Orelli, and others) seems well suited to the remark and question supposed.

30. *quo morbo Barrus*] His disease was a thirst for admiration among women. He is said by the Scholiasts Porphyrion and Comm. Cruq. to have debauched Aemilia, a Vestal virgin. "Certe adulteras sincerissima cupiditate sectabatur" Porphyrion says, in a tone which shows he had some known person in his mind. Aemilia was found guilty of unchastity (incestum), together with two other Vestals, Marcia and Licinia, A.U.C. 640. (Liv. Epit. 63.) Plutarch mentions the circumstance (Quaest. Rom. 83), and says that among the persons accused was one *Βουτέτιος βάρβαρος*, which Fabricius has corrected into *Βετούτιος Βάρρος*, Betutius Barrus, which may be the correct reading. The Scholiasts in all probability had read of this Barrus, and confounded Horace's coxcomb with him. There was a T. Betucius Barrus, a distinguished orator of Asculum, who is mentioned by Cicero (Brutus, c. 46). The name, therefore, is a real one, but it does not follow that Horace might not mean somebody of a different name. Orelli assumes him to be the same as the person mentioned in S. 4. 110 as reduced to poverty, and adds, "be-

Ut cupiat formosus, eat quacunque puellis
Injiciat curam quaerendi singula, quali
Sit facie, sura, quali pede, dente, capillo:
Sic qui promittit cives, urbem sibi curae,
Imperium fore et Italiam, delubra deorum,
Quo patre sit natus, num ignota matre inhonestus,
Omnes mortales curare et quaerere cogit.
"Tune Syri, Damae aut Dionysi filius, audes
Dejicere e saxo cives aut tradere Cadmo?"
"At Novius collega gradu post me sedet uno;

fore he was so reduced he was an immoderate dandy and a licentious fellow," which is a little too dogmatical in a matter so uncertain. There is no similarity between the two characters, and the correspondence of the names proves nothing, even if they are the same, which is not certain. A foul-mouthed person of the same name occurs in the next Satire (v. 8).

31. *Ut cupiat*] Cruquius, Torrentius, and others [Ritter also] after them have 'et cupiat.' The old editions I have seen (Ven. 1483, Ascensius, 1519) have 'ut' which Bentley restored. Orelli prefers 'ut,' saying it shows more clearly than 'et' the disorder Barrus laboured under, which was a longing to be thought handsome. I do not see that one expresses it more clearly than the other, and the 'ut' repeated in two lines reads harsh, as above in vv. 5, 6. The preponderance of authority is in favour of 'et.' The sense with 'ut' is, 'if any one were afflicted with the same disorder as Barrus, that he should long to be thought handsome.' ['Ut' with a subjunctive is often used to explain what has preceded. It is one of the most common of Latin forms: 'Helvetii id quod constituerant facere conantur, ut e finibus suis exeant.' Caesar, B. G. i. 5.]

34. *Sic qui promittit*] This plainly refers to the fine promises of candidates for office, and the three principal magistracies are implied: the city praetorship in the words 'urbem sibi curae;' the consulship in 'imperium et Italiam;' and the aedileship in 'delubra deorum.'

38. *Syri, Damae aut Dionysi*] These were common names of slaves. The practice of executing criminals by throwing them from the Tarpeian Rock (part of the Mons Capitolinus) was not common in the later period of the republic; [but it is mentioned by Tacitus, Ann. ii. 32; vi. 19. Ritter.] It was never applied to slaves, who were put to death chiefly by crucifixion outside the city on the Esquiliae. (Epod. v. 99 n.) 'Cadmus' is said by all the Scholiasts to have been a public executioner of that day: "carnifex notae crudelitatis" (Acron). There is another reading, which is adopted by Landinus (Ven. 1483) 'camo,' to which he adds the note "species vinculi est." Constantine, in his Greek Lexicon, under the word κῆμος, recommends the word 'camo' here, and it occurs in one of Cruquius' MSS. Landinus must also have had it in his; but it appears to be only an error of the transcriber. Constantine's interpretation of κῆμος—that it was a sort of bit put into the mouth of a slave by way of punishment—if correct, would prove that the word has no place here, since Horace is speaking of the punishment of citizens, not of slaves. Estré rather favours 'Camo.' Cruquius proposes 'Bathmo' to represent the Gemoniae, the declivity from which the bodies of malefactors were thrown after their execution. I have an impression that 'Cadmo' is not the right word; but I do not feel disposed to adopt either of the others.

40. *At Novius*] The upstart, who is supposed to be addressed in the previous lines, affirms that if his birth is low, that of his colleague Novius (who may be any body; see note on S. 3. 21) is still lower. Freedmen and persons following low trades were admitted into the senate by C. Julius Caesar, and it was not till some years after this Satire was written that Augustus purged the senate of these members. The words 'gradu post me sedet uno' are not easily interpreted. Cruquius' Scholiast explains them of the fourteen first rows at the theatre which were assigned to the equites (Epod. iv. 15 n.) "in quatuordecim gradibus equestris dignitatis sedet uno gradu post me." But there is no reason to suppose that there was any distinction

Namque est ille pater quod erat meus." "Hoc tibi Paullus
Et Messalla videris? At hic, si plostra ducenta
Concurrantque foro tria funera magna sonabit
Cornua quod vincatque tubas; saltem tenet hoc nos."
Nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum,
Quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum,
Nunc, quia sum tibi, Maecenas, convictor; at olim,
Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.
Dissimile hoc illi est; quia non ut forsit honorem
Jure mihi invideat quivis ita te quoque amicum,

of priority among the occupants of these seats. Orelli (2nd ed.) doubts between two interpretations: one that the speaker is a senator, and therefore entitled to a seat in the orchestra, while his colleague is but an 'eques,' and therefore can only sit in the fourteen benches; the other that Novius has not reached the equestrian rank which his colleague has. I incline to think that the words are only used figuratively. The early Commentators took them so, and did not think of the theatre, from which however the metaphor may be taken.

41. *Hoc tibi Paullus et Messalla*] 'Paullus' was a cognomen, which appears in several of the 'gentes;' but it is best known in connexion with the Aemilia gens, and the persons of L. Aemilius Paullus, who fell at Cannae (C. i. 12), his son the illustrious conqueror of Perseus, and the younger Scipio Africanus, son of the latter. The Messallae belonged to the Valeria gens, one of the oldest in Rome. This branch of the 'gens' were highly distinguished, but Horace introduces the name probably out of compliment to his friend Corvinus, for whom he wrote C. iii. 21. As to 'hoc,' in the sense of 'propter hoc,' see S. i. 46 n. The same person who puts the question 'tune Syri, &c.?' is here supposed to rejoin, saying, that though this worthy has a colleague a degree less illustrious than himself he need not think himself a Paullus; and besides, though Novius be his inferior in one way, he beats him in strength of lungs, "and that is what we like," where the speaker ironically puts himself for the people. ['Saltem tenet hoc nos:' comp. Cicero de Off. i. 33, 'populum contionibus tenere.']

43. *Concurrantque foro tria funera*] These would be public funerals, 'funera indictiva,' at which the corpse of the deceased was carried in procession from his house, with the noise of trumpets and horns and fifes; and women ('praeficae') singing dirges; and 'mimi,' dancers and stage-players, who recited passages suited to the occasion, and sometimes acted the part of merry-andrews, mixing mirth with woe; and after these came men who represented the ancestors of the deceased, wearing masks suited to each character; and then the corpse on an open bier, which was followed by the relations and friends all dressed in black. They went thus in procession to the Forum, when the bier was set down, and one of the relations pronounced a funeral oration, after which the body was taken up again, and the procession went on with the same noisy accompaniments to the place without the city (intra-mural burials were forbidden by the twelve tables), where the body was first to be burnt and then buried. (See Beck. Gallus, Exc. 'Interment of the Dead.') The idiom 'magna sonabit' occurs S. i. 4. 43, 'os magna sonaturum.' [But 'magna' is an epithet of 'funera,' and the sense is 'sonabit quod cornua vincat.' As the comma is omitted in this verse, the reader may choose his own interpretation, but he should not connect 'magna' with 'cornua.']

48. *Quod mihi pareret*] See v. 25 n. ['Quia sim:' Ritter.]

49. *forsit*] A few MSS. have 'forsan,' but 'forsit' is in most. The oldest editions I have seen have all 'forsan.' Lambinus restored 'forsit,' which is compounded of 'fors sit.' Whether it occurs elsewhere, or whether the passages in which it is supposed to occur are correctly copied, is doubted. Horace says it might be that people had cause to grudge him the honourable post of military tribune, because he was not qualified for it; but no one could deny that he deserved the friendship of Maecenas who was so particular in choosing only the deserving. 'Prava ambitione' means low flattery, to which

Praesertim cautum dignos assumere prava
Ambitione procul. Felicem dicere non hoc
Me possum casu quod te sortitus amicum;
Nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit: optimus olim
Virgilius, post hunc Varius dixere quid essem.
Ut veni coram singultim pauca locutus,
Infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari,
Non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum
Me Satureiano vectari rura caballo,
Sed quod eram narro. Respondes ut tuus est mos
Pauca: abeo, et revocas nono post mense jubesque
Esse in amicorum numero. Magnum hoc ego duco
Quod placui tibi qui turpi secernis honestum,
Non patre praeclaro sed vita et pectore puro.

Maecenas would not listen; [or it may signify; 'Maecenas who is far removed from seeking friends in an unworthy way.']

52. *Felicem dicere*] 'Felix' is 'lucky.' Horace means he did not owe his introduction to Maecenas to his luck, but to his friends. As to 'hoc,' see above, v. 41 n. The MSS. vary between 'possum' and 'possim,' and one of the Scholiasts (Comm. Cruq.) seems to have read 'possunt,' which Bentley adopts, once more on the score of arrogance, "arrogantiae quid prae se ferre videtur illud NON POSSUM. Itane vero? Non cognosco tuum, o Flacce, tam superbum: ut enim hoc vere dici posset, tu tamen non idoneus qui id diceres; neque vero si bene te novimus dicere unquam voluisti." Most persons will think that this apostrophe is thrown away, and that there is no arrogance in the first person which is not involved as much in the third. All the MSS. have the first either in the indicative or the subjunctive mood. I prefer the former; Orelli [and Ritter] do not. His detractors were fond of calling Horace "Fortunae filius" (S. ii. 6. 49). Bentley is equally eloquent on the reading 'mihi te fors obtulit,' which he declares to be "inscite et stolide hic dictum ut nihil magis. Quid enim? an patrono et rege suo Maecenate, cui vitam, opes, omnia debuit, majorem hic se gerit coactoris Graeculi filius? Tibi vero, o Noster, Maecenatem fors obtulerit? quod sodes ex te verbum audio? Immo te Maecenati nisi omnium quotcunque fuerunt, sunt, eruntve Suffenorum primus es." 'Tibi me' he found in one MS., and so Cruquius' Scholiast seems to have read the passage. But there is perhaps more modesty and feeling in the poet's saying that his fortune or his friends presented him with a kind and powerful patron, than that he was thrown in the way of the great man. The MSS., with the above exception, have all 'mihi te,' and the common sense of all the editors I have seen except Cunningham and Sanadon has disregarded Bentley's tirade.

55. *Virgilius, post hunc Varius*] S. 5. 40 n. ['Singultim:' Ritter affirms that this is another form of 'singulatim' or 'siggilatim' as he writes it. Orelli maintains that it is an adverbial form of 'singultus,' and most people will agree with him. The French 'voix entrecoupée' expresses the meaning.]

59. *Satureiano*] A fine horse bred in the pastures of Saturium in Calabria, near Tarentum, according to Servius on Georg. ii. 197. The Scholiast Porphyrion says it was a place in Apulia. The lengthening of the antepenult is required by the metre. Others explain Saturi Tarenti in the above passage of Virgil from Saturus being a divinity particularly worshipped by the Tarentines (Cic. in Verr. ii. 4. 60). This would make 'Sat. caballo' merely a Tarentine horse.

64. *sed vita et pectore puro*] 'Not as being the son of a distinguished father, but because my life and heart were pure.' Orelli says this interpretation is "prorsus imperita," and he applies 'vita et pectore puro' to the father, 'as born of a father not distinguished, but of life and heart pure:' [but the true interpretation is given in the third edition of Orelli.]

Atqui si vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis
Mendosa est natura, alioqui recta, velut si
Egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore naevos;
Si neque avaritiam neque sordes aut mala lustra
Objiciet vere quisquam mihi, purus et insons
(Ut me collaudem) si et vivo carus amicis;
Causa fuit pater his, qui macro pauper agello
Noluit in Flavi ludum me mittere, magni
Quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti,
Laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto,
Ibant octonis referentes Idibus aera:

68. *aut mala lustra*] The received reading till Bentley was 'ac.' No MS. has 'aut,' and Bentley and subsequent editors have supposed no edition had that word; but it appears in Ascensius' edition of 1519. Where he got it does not appear, for the Scholiasts whose commentary accompany his own have 'ac,' though Bentley says in an older copy of Acron printed at Venice in 1490, and in a MS. of his commentary in the library of the Royal Society, 'aut' appears. It is with very little doubt the true reading, for Horace repeatedly introduces 'aut' after 'neque' twice repeated. Other passages are C. iii. 23. 5; S. i. 9. 31; ii. 1. 15, 2. 22. The construction with 'nec' and 'et' is of the same kind, and has been noticed before. ['Nec mala lustra,' Ritter. 'Lustra' are coupled by Cicero with 'popinae.' They are brothels and such places.]

71. *macro pauper agello*] His father's small farm at Venusia was confiscated after the war with Brutus and Cassius.

72. *Noluit in Flavi ludum*] His father, who knew the value of a good education, and formed a right estimate of Horace's abilities, would not send him to a small provincial school kept by one Flavius, where nothing but arithmetic was taught, but took him for his education to Rome, where, though Horace complains that the teaching lay chiefly in figures and the pursuits of a practical life (Epp. ii. 1. 103 sqq., A. P. 325 sqq.), there were means of acquiring a knowledge of literature and the arts. Ovid in like manner was sent from Sulmo, his native town, to Rome. (Trist. iv. 10. 16.) 'Magni,' 'magnis,' may mean 'big,' 'coarse,' contemptuously, as Persius says (S. v. 189):

"Dixeris haec inter varicosos centuriones;
Continuo crassum ridet Vulfenius ingens,
Et centum Graecos curto centusse licetur:"

or they may mean 'important,' as centurions and their sons might be in a small town.

74. *Laevo suspensi loculos*] This verse is repeated in Epp. i. 1. 56. [As to 'suspensi loculos,' compare C. i. 2. 31 n.] Each boy went to school with a bag, in which he carried his books and pens, and perhaps his 'calculi' or pebbles used in calculation. The manner of using them is conjecturally explained in Smith's Dict. Ant., art. 'Abacus.' 'Tabulam' is explained by Cruquius' Scholiast as signifying the 'abacus' or board on which the 'calculi' were arranged and the sums performed. Acron explains it differently as "buxum in quo meditantur scribere," the wooden tablet covered with wax, for writing upon, which is the better explanation. These country school-boys did for themselves what at Rome was done for boys of good birth by slaves 'capsarii' (Sueton. Nero 36.)

"Quisquis adhuc uno partam colit asse Minervam,
Quem sequitur custos angustae vernula capsae." (Juv. x. 116.)

75. *Ibant octonis*] This verse has caused much difficulty to the commentators. The meaning of 'octonis Idibus' is not clear. The Scholiasts say that 'octonis' is transferred by hypallage to 'Idibus,' and that the sum these boys paid their teacher was eight asses a month, payable on the Ides. Landinus supposes the money was paid on the eighth day before the Ides of every month (which would be the day after the Nones, a. d. octavum Idus), or once a year on the Ides of every eighth month. Doering calls 'octonis' an "epitheton ornans," because there were eight days between the Nones and Ides. So Orelli and many others understand the word, supposing 'aera' to

Sed puerum est ausus Romam portare docendum
Artes quas doceat quivis eques atque senator
Semet prognatos. Vestem servosque sequentes,

be the master's stipend, and this to be paid on the Ides of every month, or as others say, on any one of the days between the Nones and Ides. Another interpretation has been given by C. F. Hermann, and adopted by Dillenbr. and Estré. They suppose that 'octonis mensibus' means on the Ides of eight months in the year, the four summer months from the Ides of June to the Ides of October being kept as holidays. They rely upon an epigram of Martial (x. 62):

"Ludi Magister, parce simplici turbae:
Sic te frequentes audiant capillati,
Et delicatae diligat chorus mensae,
Nec calculator nec notarius velox
Majore quisquam circulo coronetur.
Albae Leone flammeo calent luces
Tostamque fervens Julius coquit messem.
Cirrata loris horridis Scythae pellis
Qua vapulavit Marsyas Celaenaus,
Ferulaeque tristes sceptra paedagogorum
Cessent et Idus dormiant in Octobres.
Aestate pueri si valent satis discunt."

From this it is inferred that it was an exception to the rule if schools were not closed during the summer months. That these months were four is not stated by Martial, and for an uninterrupted vacation any body will see that it is excessive. There are commentators (Torrentius, Zeuni, and others), who suppose that 'referentes aera' means not bringing with them their school-fee, but calculating, according to exercises given them by the master, sums of interest (which the Romans paid on the Ides). 'Referentes' they suppose to be entering in these tables. [But this is a mistake.] Torrentius also affirms that the schoolmaster's stipend was paid him annually, because Juvenal says (vii. 242 sq.):

"Haec, inquit, cures et cum se verterit annus
Accipe, victori populus quod postulat, aurum."

But the practice may have varied even in Horace's time, and still more between Horace's and Juvenal's. In the absence of any decided authority (Martial's is vague) as to any specific practice about holidays or day of payment, I am inclined to think 'octonis Idibus' must be merely a periphrasis for 'Idibus.' 'Aera' is used by Juvenal for the teacher's fee ("Minus est autem quam rhetoris aera,") and in that sense I take it, not with Torrentius. To assume from Juvenal (x. 117) that the regular payment at one of these cheap schools was an 'as,' and that 'aera' is equivalent to 'asses,' is unwarranted. The 'as' there referred to was the Minerval, a voluntary offering presented by each scholar to his master at the Quinquatria, the festival of Minerva. The terms no doubt varied, though they must have been low at this Venusian school, and at all, compared with those of modern days.

76. *Sed puerum est ausus*] At what age Horace was sent to Rome he does not inform us. But it is probable he went when he was twelve years old.

77. *Artes quas doceat*] In the earlier days of Roman history the education of a boy was of the simplest kind, consisting chiefly of reading, writing, and arithmetic. 'Calculator' and 'notarius' continued until the time of Martial to be names for a schoolmaster; and, as observed before (v. 72 n.), the majority of boys learnt little more than the above even in Horace's time. When Cicero was a boy the learning of the twelve tables formed a necessary part of education (Leg. ii. 23): "Discebamus enim pueri duodecim ut carmen necessarium, quas jam nemo discit." Intercourse with Greece and the Greek towns of Italy brought a more liberal class of studies to Rome, where Horace says he studied Homer (Epp. ii. 2. 41). Rhetoric was a branch of study pursued by the young Romans; poetry likewise, and Greek philosophy. Their studies commenced under the teaching of the 'paedagogi,' and afterwards (till they assumed the 'toga virilis,' and in some cases longer) at the 'ludi literarii,' private schools which they attended as day scholars. The 'paedagogus,' whose office was of late growth at Rome and borrowed from Greece, had the same functions as the παιδαγωγός among the Greeks, and was a slave as there. He was continually about the boy, and went with him to his masters. This task Horace's father, who could have had but few slaves, and had none whom he could trust with such important duties, performed himself. Besides the 'paedagogus' (v. 74 n.), other slaves went with the boy to carry his bag, and to give him consequence.

In magno ut populo, si qui vidisset, avita
Ex re praeberi sumptus mihi crederet illos.
Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes
Circum doctores aderat. Quid multa? Pudicum,
Qui primus virtutis honos, servavit ab omni
Non solum facto verum opprobrio quoque turpi;
Nec timuit sibi ne vitio quis verteret olim
Si praeco parvas aut, ut fuit ipse, coactor
Mercedes sequerer; neque ego essem questus: at hoc nunc
Laus illi debetur et a me gratia major.
Nil me poeniteat sanum patris hujus, eoque
Non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars

79. *In magno ut populo*] The meaning of this is variously given. "As is proper in a great city like Rome," Dillenbr. says: "so far as one could see me in such a busy crowd," is Orelli's interpretation (2nd ed.) and Heindorf's. Doering is divided between the two. I am not clear upon the point, but I incline to Heindorf's opinion. On the construction, see Key's L. G. § 1451, note. The reading of the old editions, and the received reading in Bentley's time was 'si quis.' But the Blandinian and other old MSS. have 'si qui,' which occurs above, v. 30. [Th. Schmid. has unanswerably shown that the 'servi sequentes' did not belong to Horace; and the 'vestem' of course would not be the dress of Horace: Doederlein, whose note on v. 79 is ingenious, but perhaps not true.]

86. *praeco—coactor*] The 'praeco' was a crier either at auctions (one of his duties being to induce persons to attend and buy —see A. P. 419, "Ut praeco ad merces turbam qui cogit emendas"), or in courts of justice, or the public assemblies. There was a 'praeco' at punishments and executions to declare the crime of the offender (Epod. iv. 12 n.); also town-criers, who cried lost property, as with us, and other kinds of criers. Which class Horace refers to we cannot tell. Nor is it decided what class of 'coactores' his father belonged to. There were persons employed by the 'publicani' to collect the revenue, and they were called 'coactores.' The person who collected the money bid at an auction was also a 'coactor,' and generally persons employed to collect money bore that title. It is probable that the 'coactores' of the first class made a good deal of money. Matthew the Apostle was one, and he was rich. It is generally believed that the elder Horace belonged to the second of the above classes, and some colour is given to this by the association of the word with 'praeco.' But Suetonius, or the author of Horace's life attributed to him, simply says that he was 'exactionum coactor.' Also it is questioned whether he continued his employment at Rome, or quitted it when he left Venusia, or only took to it at Rome.

87. *at hoc nunc*] Nearly all the old editions have 'ob hoc,' which has very little MS. authority, and seems to be a correction of copyists, who wanted a preposition for 'hoc,' not considering the independent use of this word, which is the ablative. Acron had 'ad haec' in his copy, and mentions another reading 'ad hoc.' Bentley adopts 'ad haec' in place of 'ob hoc,' which was then the received reading. Rutgersius mentions one MS. with 'ab hoc,' from which he extracts what, with most of the later editors, I conceive to be the true reading, 'at hoc.' 'At' is wanted here, and 'hoc,' in the sense of 'propter hoc,' is commonly used by Horace. See v. 41, "Hoc tibi Paullus et Messalla videris?" and v. 52, "Felicem dicere non hoc me possum." It is also common in Caesar. 'At hoc' is the reading of Aldus' edition of 1501, Orelli's St. Gallen MS., and two mentioned by Fea in the Vatican library.

89. *Nil me poeniteat sanum*] 'I hope while I have my senses I may never be ashamed.' Horace uses this mode of expression elsewhere, as in the last Satire, v. 44, "Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus amico." S. ii. 3. 322, "Quae si quis sanus fecit sanus facis et tu."

90. *dolo*] Forcell. does not notice this use of 'dolus.' It is used like 'fraus' in C. i. 28. 30, "Negligis immeritis noci-

Quod non ingenuos habeat clarosque parentes,
Sic me defendam. Longe mea discrepat istis
Et vox et ratio: nam si natura juberet
A certis annis aevum remeare peractum
Atque alios legere ad fastum quoscunque parentes
Optaret sibi quisque, meis contentus honestos
Fascibus et sellis nollem mihi sumere, demens
Judicio volgi, sanus fortasse tuo, quod
Nollem onus haud unquam solitus portare molestum.
Nam mihi continuo major quaerenda foret res
Atque salutandi plures, ducendus et unus
Et comes alter uti ne solus rusve peregreve

turam postmodo te genitis fraudem committere," for a fault generally: 'dolo suo' by his own fault.

93. *Et vox et ratio*] 'My language and my judgment.'

94. *A certis annis*] 'From any given time.' [These words are very obscure. 'After attaining a certain age;' Krüger. Doederlein takes them in the sense of 'constans aetas,' καθεστηκυῖα ἡλικία, at which age Horace had arrived.] 'Legere ad fastum,' to choose with reference to ambition whatever parents each man might desire. Most of the editions are so pointed as to make 'quoscunque' independent of 'optaret,' and the sense to be 'optaret sibi quisque,' each man might choose for himself, or each man would choose, as Lambinus says. But 'opto' will hardly bear this sense here, and the position of 'quoscunque' makes the other the more natural construction. So Acron takes it: "Si fieret illi potestas eligendi a fatis quos vellet parentes contentus essem parentibus meis." We know nothing of Horace's mother, but he here intimates his respect for her memory as well as his father's. [Some editions, Ritter's and others, place a comma after 'legere.']

96. *honestos*] Several MSS. have 'honustos' and 'onustos,' and Lambinus says that reading has older and better authority than 'honestos.' The Blandinian MSS. and all Cruquius' others had 'honestos.' Torrentius denies Lambinus' assertion, which Rutgersius defends. (Lect. Ven. c. 17.) But 'onustos' in all probability arose out of v. 99. The Scholiasts had 'honestos.' ['Honestos' is 'honoured.' The high offices were 'honores.']

98. *fortasse*] The Greeks used ἴσως in this way where a certain and not a doubtful proposition is intended.

101. *salutandi plures*] This does not mean that he would have more acquaintances, but that in order to preserve his position he must sell his independence, bowing to persons he would not otherwise notice, and paying visits of ceremony early in the morning,—a trouble that Horace would feel more than most men. [He may mean that he must receive visits at home.] He must also, he says, hire one or two persons to go about with him in the character of clients; he must buy a number of horses and slaves of the lower sort. 'Calones' were properly slaves who went with the army. But the word was also applied to domestic slaves employed on menial work. The 'petorritum' was a four-wheeled carriage. Gellius, who has a chapter on the subject (xv. 30), affirms, on the authority of Varro, that it was introduced from Gaul beyond the Alps. Festus says the name is derived from the number of wheels, and the Welsh 'pedwar,' 'four,' and 'riden,' 'wheels,' make the Celtic origin of the name not improbable. (See Gronovius' note on the above passage of Gellius.) The Aeolic form πίτυρες, and the Oscan 'petur,' 'four,' and the Latin 'rota,' show that the above is not the only etymology of which 'petorritum' is capable. Comm. Cruq. on Epp. ii. 1. 192, says the 'petorritum' was used for the conveyance of female slaves; but there is no reason to suppose it was limited to that use. ['Peregre aut;' Ritter, who says that Aldus introduced 'peregreve,' which is also in two inferior MSS. He adds 'versus hexametros ubi numero continuato dedit Horatius, in longam syllabam desinentem fecit eum qui proximo connectitur.']

Exirem; plures calones atque caballi
Pascendi, ducenda petorrita. Nunc mihi curto
Ire licet mulo vel si libet usque Tarentum,
Mantica cui lumbos onere ulceret atque eques armos:
Objiciet nemo sordes mihi quas tibi, Tilli,
Cum Tiburte via praetorem quinque sequuntur
Te pueri lasanum portantes oenophorumque.
Hoc ego commodius quam tu, praeclare senator,
Milibus atque aliis vivo. Quacunque libido est,
Incedo solus; percontor quanti olus ac far;
Fallacem Circum vespertinumque pererro

104. *curto ire licet mulo*] Forcellini interprets this, after Comm. Cruq., 'docked.' Orelli says this is only an English practice, and supposes it to have been unknown to the Romans. But whoever Cruquius' mysterious Scholiast may have been, he was not an Englishman, nor of very modern times. He must have seen 'docked' horses, for no man would imagine them that had not. Orelli interprets 'curto' 'cheap,' as "Tecum habita et noris quam sit tibi curta supellex" (Pers. S. iv. 52). Others suppose it to be a stout short-bellied animal. ['Curto' probably, says Krüger, refers to an unsightly tail. He remarks that Propertius (iv. 1. 20) speaks of 'equus curtus,' a horse whose tail has been cut off; 'a miserable mule,' Doederlein.]

105. *usque Tarentum*] Along the most frequented of all the roads, the Via Appia, and to the farthest part of Italy, carrying his portmanteau [or saddle-bags] behind him. Public officers could not go beyond a certain distance from Rome without the permission of the senate.

107. *Tilli*] Orelli and Ritter assume that this is the person mentioned before (v. 24) as military tribune, and that he was afterwards made praetor. But I do not see why Horace should have mentioned him in the lower office at a time when he must have held a higher. He appears to have been a parsimonious person, going into the country with no company of friends, but only five slaves to attend him (see S. i. 3. 11 n.), carrying a jar of their master's cheap wine, and a utensil that ill represented the dignity of his curule chair. ['Lasanum' also signifies a cooking-vessel; and so it is explained here by some critics. The careful praetor would cook his food on the road, and not enter an inn. Ritter says: 'risum in sordibus Tillii sequitur lasanum componendo cum oenophoro.'] The Via Tiburtina left Rome by the Esquiline gate, and bore that name as far as Tibur, from whence the Via Valeria completed the communication with Aternum on the Adriatic.

111. *Milibus atque aliis*] This is the reading of all the MSS. Lambinus conjectured 'multis,' and Heindorf has adopted that word, considering that 'milia' in the plural is always a substantive. See note on S. ii. 3. 197. ['Millibus atque aliis' may be translated 'and than thousands (of) others.' 'Millibus' must be taken as a noun. Orelli and Ritter translate: 'in this . . . and a thousand other things.']

112. *quanti olus ac far*] Horace means, as Orelli says, that he lounges in the market and talks freely to the market people, without fear of lowering his dignity or being remarked.

113. *Fallacem Circum*] Comm. Cruq. probably gives the right meaning of this, saying: "Fallacem dixit propter Sarmadacos et sortilegos mathematicos, qui ad metas spectatores circumstabant et imperitos sortibus et nugis fallebant." 'Sarmadaci' (or more properly 'Samardaci') is a Greek word, the origin of which is unknown: it was adopted by ecclesiastical writers. Augustin (cont. Academ. iii. 15) uses it for an impostor, while Chrysostom interprets it *γελωτόποιος*. Plautus (Paenulus, v. 5. 11) alludes to a class of cheats who frequented the Circus:—

"Itaque replebo atritate atrior multo ut siet
Quam Aegyptii aut qui cortinam ludis per circum ferunt;"

and Cicero (de Divin. i. 58) declares his unbelief in all those impostors that pretend to prophetic and mystical knowledge,

Saepe Forum; adsisto divinis; inde domum me
Ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum;
Coena ministratur pueris tribus, et lapis albus

in the words of Ennius:—

"Non habeo nauci Marsum augurem,
Non vicanos haruspices, non de Circo astrologos,
Non Isiacos conjectores, non interpretes somnium."

Juvenal says that the poorer sort of women got their fortunes told in the Circus (S. vi. 582):

"Si mediocris erit, spatium lustrabit utrinque
Metarum et sortes ducet, frontemque manumque
Praebebit vati crebrum poppysma roganti;"

where 'spatium utrinque metarum' means the area on each side of the 'spina,' or central wall that ran down the middle of the Circus, at each end of which were the 'metae.' Juvenal says again, a few verses farther on, in allusion to the same practice, "Plebeium in Circo positum est et in aggere fatum" ('aggere' is explained below, S. 8. 14 n.). This class of cheats, therefore, no doubt infested the Circus and gave it a bad name, but it was also frequented by prostitutes, who hired the vaults under the 'cavea,' and carried on their vile trade there, and was surrounded with shops established for the benefit of the spectators. The Circus Maximus was called Circus κατ' ἐξοχήν. When there were no races or games going on, it was probably frequented as a lounge by all manner of people. There could be nothing in Horace going to the Circus as a spectator of the games, which all did; but probably men of consequence did not care to be seen there among the vulgar at other times. The Forum was not frequented in the evening by the richer class of people, who were then eating their dinner. Horace liked to stroll out at that hour, and take his light meal afterwards, and to stop and hear what the fortune-tellers had to say. Respecting these persons, see C. i. 11, Introduction. ['Adsisto:' 'I stand by and listen to the fortune-tellers, conjurors,' and so forth.]

115. *Ad porri et ciceris*] This Pythagorean meal of leeks, pulse, and fritters, was partly perhaps matter of choice, and partly of necessity. Horace was poor at this time, and his health was indifferent. A vegetable diet was and is much more common in Italy than with us. A dish of 'cicer,' ready boiled, was sold in the streets for an as in the time of Martial (i. 104. 10): "Asse cicer tepidum constat." A vegetable dinner, with a great variety of dishes, is described by Martial in an invitation to a friend (v. 78). 'Laganum' is described by the Scholiast as a flat thin cake, fried and eaten with condiments. It was sometimes fried under roast meat or fowls, so as to get their dripping, and so would be like our Yorkshire pudding.

116. *pueris tribus*] This number was the lowest probably that at that time waited on any person who had any slaves at all. (See v. 108.) 'Lapis albus' was a small side-table of white marble. The wealthy Romans had a great variety of tables of the handsomest sort in their dining-rooms for exhibiting their plate. (S. i. 3. 13 n.) All the plate Horace had to show was two cups and a cyathus (C. iii. 19, 12). Fea says that 'lapis albus' does not mean a table, but a slab with holes, in which the cups (whose bottoms, he says, were round, and so not suited to standing on a plane surface) were placed. Is was called by the Greeks ἐγγυθήκη (Athen. v. p. 209, Cas.), by the Romans 'incitega,' a corruption of the same word. This slab Fea says was supported by another below it, the upper one being called 'basis,' the other 'hypobasis,' as appears in an inscription he quotes from Gruter, which records the presentation to Hercules of "CRATERAM. ARGYROCORINTHIAM. CUM. BASI. SUA. ET. HYPOBASI. MARMOREA." But there is not enough in what he says to fix this meaning on 'lapis albus,' which I should not have noticed if Orelli had not adopted Fea's explanation. The 'echinus' is a vessel nowhere else mentioned by that name. The Scholiasts give us the choice between a salt-cellar (in the shape of an 'echinus'), a glass bottle, a leather bottle, and a wooden bowl in which to wash the cups. This last is the explanation adopted by Heindorf. Cruquius says, "locus obscurus est et ipso echino spinosior." Fea contends for the salt-cellar, thinking Horace could not omit all mention of that. Some MSS., according to Lambinus, have 'echino,' making 'vilis' agree with the following substantives. I am not aware that they are entitled to any weight, but Gesner edits 'echino.' 'Paterae' were broad flat saucer-shaped cups, and were much used in

Pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet; adstat echinus
Vilis, cum patera guttus, Campana supellex.
Deinde eo dormitum, non sollicitus mihi quod cras
Surgendum sit mane, obeundus Marsya, qui se
Voltum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris.
Ad quartam jaceo; post hanc vagor; aut ego, lecto

libations. 'Guttus' was a long thin-necked bottle from which oil was poured very slowly, drop by drop. It was also used in libations, and these two vessels, as here joined, have reference to the practice of offering a libation at every meal to the 'lares.' See C. iv. 5. 29 n. These were of earthenware which came from Campania. See S. ii. 3. 144, and Martial, xiv. 114.

120. *obeundus Marsya*] Horace says he goes to bed without the nervous feeling that he must be up early to go to the Forum, where a statue of Marsyas (the unfortunate rival of Apollo) was erected near the Rostra. Servius (on Aen. iv. 58, "Legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo") says that Lyaeus was properly looked upon as the defender of liberty in cities, and that for this reason the statue of Marsyas his servant was set up in the Sorum, with his arm lifted up, as a sign of the freedom and wealth of the city in which he is. According to Savigny (Vermischte Schriften, i. 40), Marsyas or Silenus was the symbol of a city having the Jus Italicum, one part of which was a free constitution of its own. It would therefore appear in the Forum as the symbol of free jurisdiction. The only representations of Marsyas that remain exhibit him either in the agony of punishment, or in the suspense that preceded it. There is a fine statue of him in the Grand ducal palace at Florence, suspended to a tree, with his arms fastened over his head, and his feet scarcely able to touch the ground, while his face shows great pain: and there is a gem in the Massimi collection at Rome (Agostini, Gemme Ant. p. ii. pl. 9), in which he is represented as tied to a tree, expecting the knife, which Apollo (said to be meant for Nero, who, Suetonius says, liked to be represented in the statues of the gods and heroes, and particularly under the person of Apollo, for he affected much skill in music) is handing to a slave. The same scene is represented a little differently in the collection of Gorlaeus (i. 111), where the poor wretch has lost his skin, and is writhing in agony, while the slave is returning the knife to Apollo. On the other side of this gem, which is engraved on both sides, are the heads of Nero and Poppaea. Gronovius considers this to be the true gem, and the other a clumsy copy. But however this may be, "a Marsyas countenance" was synonymous with dejection and ill humour. Thus Juvenal addresses Naevolus (S. ix. 1):—

"Scire velim quare toties mihi, Naevole, tristis
Occurras fronte obducta, ceu Marsya victus."

So that, when Servius describes the statue in the Forum (to which Martial alludes ii. 64),

"—— fora litibus omnia fervent;
Ipse potest fieri Marsya causidicus,")

with his arms raised, it is probably a sign of extreme suffering; and Horace seems to indicate that his face was distorted, and ascribes it humorously to his detestation of the younger Novius, whom also, as Comm. Cruq. says, he may mean to represent him as threatening with his uplifted arm. Who this younger Novius was we cannot tell. The Scholiasts say he was a usurer, and intimate that he was of a family of usurers. "Marsyam alteram habere manum erectam ad depellendos Novios, quod eorum foeneratorum impudentiam non posset sustinere" (Comm. Cruq.). Estré supposes him to be the person mentioned in S. 3. 21, because Maenius being a spendthrift, we may suppose Novius to have been the reverse, and so to correspond to the character of this usurer. This does not help us much.

122. *Ad quartam jaceo*] This does not mean that he slept till the fourth hour, but lay in bed reading or thinking, as he says above, S. 4. 133: "neque enim cum lectulus aut me Porticus excepit, desum mihi." The first hour he considers late enough for any man to sleep. Epp. i. 17. 6: "Si te grata quies et primam somnus in horam Delectat." Sometimes he got up early and went out to walk (S. 9); but as a general rule he remained in bed till the fourth hour, after which he got up and took a stroll, as he had done the evening before; or else, after reading and writing by himself (tacitum) and in bed, as much as he

Aut scripto quod me tacitum juvet, ungor olivo,
Non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis.
Ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum
Admonuit, fugio Campum lusumque trigonem.

felt inclined, he anointed himself with oil and went to the Campus Martius to get some exercise. ('Lecto' and 'scripto' are obviously participles, not verbs, as some take them.) [As Bentley says, the verbs would be 'lectito,' 'scriptito.'] The Romans rubbed oil on their limbs either before swimming in the Tiber (C. iii. 12. 6, "Simul unctos Tiberinis humeros lavit in undis:" S. ii. 1. 8: "ter uncti Transnanto Tiberim"), or before their more violent exercises:

"—— cur olivum
Sanguine viperino
Cautius vitat," &c. (C. i. 8. 8.)

The parsimonious Natta, who robbed the lamps to oil himself, was probably a person of good family, that being the cognomen of the Pinaria gens, one of the oldest patrician families in Rome.

125. *Ast ubi me fessum*] When the sun began to get hot about noon, and Horace was tired with his game, he went to the public baths to bathe, which was usual after playing, and then took a light luncheon (S. 5. 25 n.), after which he lounged at home till evening, when he went out for his stroll perhaps, and came home again to his supper, as he told us before. In v. 126 there has been made a more violent change in the text than any other that the editors of Horace have ventured upon. From the earliest of the Scholiasts till Bentley the received reading was "fugio rabiosi tempora signi," which Acron explains "aestuosos dies caniculares;" Cruquius' Commentator and Porphyrion the same. It would have been better if they had explained it of the noonday sun. Cruquius observes in his Commentary that the oldest of his Blandinian MSS. had "fugio Campum lusumque trigonem," but with marks of a doubtful reading underneath, and the received words in the margin. Bentley seized with his usual avidity upon this reading, "Aut enim egregie fallor, aut ea sola sincera lectio est, et Venusina lucerna digna." With one exception it has been received into the text by every subsequent editor whose edition I have seen. Dillenbr. rejects it, and calls the old reading "unice vera lectio." I cannot myself see the grounds upon which the new reading has been so unhesitatingly adopted. If the other be weak, as I think it is, and this somewhat more to the purpose, that may only prove it to be a more ingenious interpolation than the other, supposing both to be invented by the copyists, which is not unlikely. F. V. Fritzsche (in Aristoph. Thesm. p. 13), quoted by Wüstemann in his edition of Heindorf's Notes, and by Orelli in his excursus on this passage, says that Mavortius, a very early editor, found an hiatus after 'fugio' in his copies, and absurdly filled it up with the words 'rabiosi tempora signi.' [But Orelli observes that the recension of Mavortius only extended to the Odes and Epodes, not to the Sermones and Epistolae.] I have followed the judgment of such scholars as Gesner, Doering, Heindorf, Fea, Orelli, in receiving the new reading, which is undoubtedly neater than the other, but without much faith in the verse having been so written by Horace. [A Gotha MS. has 'Campum lusitque trigonem,' where the copier intended to write 'lusūque.' Ritter.] 'Lusum trigonem' was a game of ball only mentioned elsewhere by Martial. The players, as the name implies, were three in number, and stood in a triangle. Their skill appears to have been shown in throwing and catching the ball with the left hand:

"Sic palmam tibi de trigone nudo
Unctae det favor arbiter coronae;
Nec laudet Polybi magis sinistras."
(Mart. vii. 72.)

An unskilful player is represented as catching the ball with the right hand as well as the left:

"Captabit tepidum dextra laevaque trigonem
Imputet exceptas ut tibi saepe pilas."
(Ibid. xii. 83.)

Dillenbr. doubts whether this game was played in Horace's day. It is not mentioned earlier than Martial. Becker, from whom (Gallus, Exc. 'on the Games') the above account is taken, does not refer to this passage of Horace. From the above passage of Martial (vii. 72), Bentley proposes to read 'nudum' in place of 'lusum,' thereby (for the sake, as usual, of a mere verbal correspondence between passages

Pransus non avide, quantum interpellet inani
Ventre diem durare, domesticus otior. Haec est
Vita solutorum misera ambitione gravique;
His me consolor victurum suavius ac si
Quaestor avus, pater atque meus patruusque fuisset.

that have no connexion) weakening the slender authority on which his emendation rests.

127. *quantum interpellet*] As much as would prevent me from going all day on an empty stomach. The prose construction would be 'interpellet quin,' or 'quominus,' or 'ne durem.' [S. i. 9. 26, 'interpellandi locus'—'suavius ac si:' S. i. 1. 46.]

SATIRE VII.

I do not think many persons will agree with Franke in his high estimate of this Satire, the best of its kind, he says, and yielding to none or even preferable to all others, in elegance of composition, suavity of diction, and dramatic power. He wishes to prove that it was not the earliest of the Satires, as most commentators suppose, some judging from the quality, others with more reason from the subject. The subject is a dispute, travestied I think without much humour, between one of the officers on Brutus' staff and a merchant of Clazomenae (a town on the Gulf of Smyrna), arising it may be supposed out of some money transactions. Horace treats the matter much in the same way as the dispute got up between the two parasites for the amusement of Maecenas and his friends at Caudium (S. 5. 51 sqq.). He no doubt had some reason for disliking Rupilius, which the Scholiasts supply, whether with any sufficient authority it is impossible to say. They tell us that this man's native place was Praeneste (which may be gathered from v. 28); that he was banished from that town by his fellow-citizens; that he then served in Africa in the army of Attius Varus, propraetor of Cn. Pompeius; that he was received into favour by C. Julius Caesar and made Praetor; that after Caesar's death he was proscribed by the triumvirs and joined the army of Brutus. Finally, that he was disgusted at Horace, a man of low birth, being made a military tribune, and continually insulted him, which indignities Horace retorted in this Satire. Persius, the Scholiast says, was born of a Greek father and a Roman mother. Beyond this, which may or may not be true, we know nothing about him except what we gather from this Satire, that he was a wealthy man and carried on a large business of some kind at Clazomenae. Dillenbr. supposes he was employed as contractor for the supply of corn in Brutus' army, and that his dispute with Rupilius arose out of transactions connected with this business. D. and others (Spohn in Jahn's edition of Horace, ed. 2nd, p. 257) identify the hero of this Satire with P. Rupilius Menenia (that is, of the Tribus Menenia), the Roman 'eques' and 'publicanus,' recommended by Cicero to Crassipes the Quaestor of Bithynia (Ad Fam. xiii. 9). These theories are hardly worth mentioning in a case of so much obscurity. Comm. Cruq. says Persius was a 'negotiator' at Clazomenae. But the 'negotiatores' (money-lenders) in Asia and the other provinces were not natives (as Persius seems to have been), but Roman 'equites.' They were an important class, who gave no little trouble to the governors (Cic. ad Qu. Fr. i. 1, c. 1), and their commercial transactions in Asia particularly were on a large scale. The dispute arose when Brutus and his army were in Asia Minor, which was in A.U.C. 711—712 (see note on v. 18). How soon afterwards the Satire was written it is impossible to say; not long, I think. It may have been made on the spot, and shown to those who would find most amusement in it, in the camp. I think this is more likely than that Horace should have reverted to such a subject after his arrival at Rome,

where the scene must have been unknown or little known; when most of those who might have enjoyed the joke were dead or in exile, and his own feeling against Rupilius must have been forgotten in the scenes that he had since gone through. The poem is a mere fragment in the dramatic style so admirably sustained in the ninth satire; but in this there is no character brought out, none of the happy touches and traits of nature which there are found in every line. Certainly no two poems could bear less evidence of being the work of the same mind, and this may be taken as some indication of the early composition of the present Satire; but I rest more on the circumstance that the point of the story would have been lost in a great measure any length of time after the event it refers to. Perhaps we may infer from the abruptness of the conclusion that Horace intended when he began to make a longer poem, but found his materials or his time or his spirit fail.

Proscripti Regis Rupili pus atque venenum
Hybrida quo pacto sit Persius ultus, opinor
Omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse.
Persius hic permagna negotia dives habebat
Clazomenis, etiam lites cum Rege molestas,
Durus homo atque odio qui posset vincere Regem,
Confidens tumidusque, adeo sermonis amari
Sisennas Barros ut equis praecurreret albis.

1. *Proscripti Regis Rupili*] The Rupilia gens was a plebeian family of no great note in Rome. The only one of the name who was distinguished was P. Rupilius, consul in A.U.C. 622, who put an end to the first slave war in Sicily. He was the intimate friend of Laelius and the Younger Scipio (Cic. de Amicit. 27). As to Rupilius Rex and Persius, see Introduction.

2. *Hybrida quo pacto sit Persius ultus*] Acron says 'hybrida' is properly the offspring of an eagle and vulture; Porphyrion, of a low-bred dog and a hound; Pliny (N. H. viii. 53. 79) and Martial (viii. 22), of a tame sow and a wild boar. The word applies to all cross-bred animals, and was used for a man one of whose parents was a Roman and the other a foreigner.

3. *Omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus*] The apothecaries' and barbers' shops were constantly crowded with idlers, who had nothing to do but to gossip about the news of the hour. With the barbers it has been so in all ages and countries. The Romans were afflicted with weakness of the eyes, and this caused the apothecary to be as much mixed up with idlers as the barber. In Plautus' play, Amphitruo says (iv. 1) he has been looking for Naucrates in all the most frequented places:

"Nam omnes plateas perreptavi, gymnasia et myropolia:
Apud emporium atque in macello; in palaestra atque in foro;
In medicinis, in tonstrinis, apud omnes aedes sacras,
Sum defessus quaeritando."

The expression in the text is a proverbial way of speaking, and might have been used any where. It does not prove that the Satire was written at Rome, as some say. ['Negotia:' he was a 'negotiator.' See Introd. 'Durus,' an obstinate fellow, and one obstinate enough to surpass 'Rex' in hating.]

7. *Confidens tumidusque*] See C. iii. 4. 50 n.

8. *Sisennas Barros ut equis*] Of Sisenna and Barrus nothing is known; but it may be conjectured, from this place, that their names were proverbial for foul-mouthed abusive fellows. The plural number is used here, according to a usage common to all languages. So Aristoph. Ran. 1041: Πατρόκλων Τεύκρων θυμολεόντων. 1056: ἢν οὖν σὺ λέγῃς Λυκαβηττοὺς καὶ Παρνασῶν μεγέθη. Dem. adv. Lept. 496. 26: Λύκιδας καὶ Διονυσίους. Horace, Epp. i. 1. 64: Virg. Georg. ii. 169: "Haec Decios, Marios, magnosque Camillos, Scipiadas duros bello." Tac. Ann. i. 10: "Varrones Egnatios Iulos." Cic. Cat. Maj. 6: "Fabricii Curii Coruncanii." Liv. ix. 17: "Exactores regum Junii Va-

Ad Regem redeo. Postquam nihil inter utrumque
Convenit, (hoc etenim sunt omnes jure molesti
Quo fortes quibus adversum bellum incidit: inter
Hectora Priamiden animosum atque inter Achillem
Ira fuit capitalis ut ultima divideret mors,
Non aliam ob causam nisi quod virtus in utroque
Summa fuit: duo si discordia vexet inertes,

leriique; ita deinceps Fabii Quinctii Cornelii." Plut. de Fort. Rom. c. 3: βούλεσθε δὲ πυθώμεθα τίνες ποτέ εἰσιν οὗτοι; Φαβρίκιοί φασιν εἶναι καὶ Κάμιλλοι καὶ Λούκιοι καὶ Κικίννατοι καὶ Μάξιμοι Φάβιοι καὶ Κλαύδιοι Μάρκελλοι καὶ Σκιπίωνες. See also above, C. i. 12. 37, where Scauros is probably put for the best of that family, M. Aemilius. 'Equis albis' is equivalent to 'fleet steeds,' according to that line of Virgil, in which he describes the horses of Turnus "Qui candore nives anteirent, cursibus auras" (Aen. xii. 84). Plautus speaks of white horses in a proverbial way for swiftness (Asin. ii. 2. 12):—

"Nam si se huic occasioni tempus subterduxerit,
Nunquam edepol quadrigis albis indipiscet postea."

And as the horses of Jove were said to be white, this proverb connects itself with another in the Amphitruo (i. 1. 195):—

"*Mer.* Quo agis te? *Sos.* Domum. *Mer.* Quadrigis si nunc inscendas Jovis
Atque hinc fugias, ita vix poteris ecfugere infortunium."

The Scholiasts also refer the proverb in the text to the circumstance, that white horses were used in triumphal processions.

9. *Postquam nihil inter utrumque convenit*] When they found they could not settle their quarrel privately, they went before the praetor (v. 18). The digression that intervenes is a comparison between such disputants and the warriors of the Iliad. When men fall out, says he, they fight after the fashion of two brave heroes engaged in a deadly feud, even as Hector and Achilles, who hated each other so mortally, and were so exceedingly brave, that they could not be separated when they came together in conflict till one or other was killed; or else they behave as when two cowards meet and both are glad to give way; or as when the strong meets the weak, Diomedes meets Glaucus, and the weak gives in and humbles himself before his enemy.

[10. *hoc—jure—quo*] It is a disputed question whether the subject is 'omnes inter quos non convenit,' or, as some suppose, 'omnes quibus adversum bellum incidit:' but the second opinion is inconsistent with 'Quo fortes—incidit.' In either case 'molesti' is taken as the predicate. I am inclined with Ritter to take 'omnes molesti' as the subject: 'for all sturdy litigants are on the same terms as the brave:'—'capitalis' is that which touches the 'caput,' the head. See C. i. 24. 3 n. 'Capitalis ut' is like 'Dives ut metiretur nummos,' S. i. 1. 95.]

11. *inter Hectora—atque inter Achillem*] This repetition of 'inter' is not uncommon. See Cic. Lael. c. 25: "Contio—judicare solet quid intersit inter popularem civem, et inter constantem, severum, et gravem." And Epp. i. 2. 11:—

"—— Nestor componere lites
Inter Peliden festinat et inter Atriden."

Bentley, who does not seem to have remembered this passage of Cicero or Livy (x. 7), declares this way of speaking, with the double 'inter,' to be 'vitiosum sane loquendi genus et ἰδιωτικόν, quodque magni emerim nunquam ab Horatio prolatum." In these words he seems to admit that, vicious as the language is, it is Horace's. But that does not signify. He goes on to propose 'olim Hectora' here, and 'Primus Peliden' in the other place, declaring that the copyists, surprised at finding the preposition with the latter of the two names in each case, underlined the readings he has given with the word 'inter,' and so it got into the text. It is hard to say which one should admire most in his note—the perverseness or the want of taste shown in the proposed corrections. 'Animosum' belongs to 'Achillem,' 'atque' being often put by Horace after the first word of its clause. See Epod. xvii. 4: "Per atque libros carminum;" also S. i. 5. 4; 6. 131.

15. *vexet*] Some of Lambinus' MSS. had 'verset.' Bentley and some modern editors have adopted this reading. All the old editions, and the great majority of MSS., and the oldest, have 'vexet.' The

Aut si disparibus bellum incidat, ut Diomedi
Cum Lycio Glauco, discedat pigrior ultro
Muneribus missis:) Bruto praetore tenente
Ditem Asiam Rupili et Persi par pugnat, uti non
Compositum melius cum Bitho Bacchius. In jus
Acres procurrunt, magnum spectaculum uterque.
Persius exponit causam; ridetur ab omni
Conventu; laudat Brutum laudatque cohortem:
Solem Asiae Brutum appellat, stellasque salubres
Appellat comites excepto Rege; canem illum

meeting between Glaucus and Diomedes, in which the former loses heart and gives up his arms to his adversary, is related in Hom. Il. vi. 234 sqq. On 'ultro,' see C. iv. 4. 51 n.

18. *Bruto praetore tenente*] Brutus was praetor urbanus in the year A.U.C. 710, when Caesar was killed; and in the course of the same year he left Rome for the purpose of taking possession, as propraetor, of the province of Macedonia which had been assigned him; but the senate revoked his appointment before he had reached his province and assigned it to M. Antonius, and he made it over to his brother Caius. Brutus however took possession of the province of Macedonia, and retained it after the formation of the coalition between Octavianus and M. Antonius. He then led his troops into Asia Minor, and overran Lycia, and dealt with Asia as his own province. Proceeding through the country he probably held 'conventus' at particular places for the purpose of hearing disputes as propraetor; and it was at such a gathering at Clazomenae, that this cause of Persius and Rex was heard.

20. *Compositum melius cum Bitho Bacchius*] 'Compositum' agrees with 'par' understood, that word being used as a substantive for 'a pair,' both in the singular, as here, and Ovid. Met. xiii. 833: "Parve columbarum demptusve cacumine nidus;" and the plural, as Cic. Lael. c. 4: "Ex omnibus saeculis vix tria aut quatuor nominantur paria amicorum." So in the Epistle to Livia attributed to Ovid (v. 301), we have—

"Par bene compositum: juvenum fortissimus alter,
Altera tam forti mutua cura viro."

The received reading in Bentley's time was 'compositus:' on the authority of one MS. he altered it to 'compositi.' 'Compositum' has good authority; [but there is authority for 'compositus.'] Bithus and Bacchius were gladiators, according to the Scholiasts, of great repute, who after having killed many antagonists finally killed each other. Acron says they are mentioned by Suetonius, but the names do not appear in his existing works. The MSS. and editions vary between 'concurrunt' and 'procurrunt.' The old editions have 'concurrunt,' but 'procurrunt' is the more forcible word and is now generally received. 'In jus,' see S. 9. 77.

22. *ridetur ab omni conventu*] 'Ridetur' is used impersonally. [Or it may be 'Persius ridetur' as in Ovid, Ep. ex Pont. iv. 12. 15.] On the proper meaning of 'conventus,' which was a meeting, at fixed times and places, of the inhabitants of a province for the purpose of settling disputes and transacting business, and which was also applied to certain districts out of which such meetings were composed, see Long's note on Cic. in Verr. ii. 2. 13.

23. *laudatque cohortem*] The official staff of a provincial governor was called his 'cohors' and 'comites.' See Epp. 1. 3. 6: "Quid studiosa cohors operum struit." 8. 2: "(Celso) comiti scribaeque Neroni;" and v. 14: "Ut placeat juveni percontare utque cohorti." The lower officials, who did not belong to the 'cohors,' but were about the person of the governor, Cicero speaks of as those "qui quasi ex cohorte praetoris appellari solent" (Ad Qu. Fr. i. 1, c. 4, where see Long's note). See Catullus (x. 10):—

"Nec praetoribus esse nec cohorti," &c.

He also addresses Verannius and Fabullus as "Pisonis comites cohors inanis" (xxviii. 1). 'Comes' was retained as a title of honour during the empire, and has survived to the present day in the word 'count.'

25. *canem*] The 'dog-star,' as opposed to the 'stellae salubres.' 'Excepto Rege'

Invisum agricolis sidus venisse. Ruebat
Flumen ut hibernum fertur quo rara securis.
Tum Praenestinus salso multoque fluenti
Expressa arbusto regerit convicia, durus
Vindemiator et invictus, cui saepe viator
Cessisset magna compellans voce cucullum.
At Graecus, postquam est Italo perfusus aceto,
Persius exclamat: Per magnos, Brute, deos te
Oro qui reges consueris tollere, cur non

shows that Rupilius belonged to the 'cohors.'

27. *fertur quo rara securis*] Between precipitous banks covered with trees where the axe seldom comes from their inaccessible position.

28. *multoque fluenti*] The editors till Bentley had 'multum;' and all, with the exception of Dacier, including the Scholiasts, referred the words to 'arbusto,' with what meaning it is hard to imagine, even with their notes before us. Torrentius first brought the reading 'multo' to light from some good MSS., and it has since appeared in many. Bentley quotes aptly Dem. de Coron. (p. 272), *τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα.*

29. *Expressa arbusto*] The illustration Horace chooses for the abuse which the enraged Rupilius hurls back ('regerit') upon his antagonist [on Persius 'salso—fluenti,' who was flowing like a torrent salt and full] is that which the vine-dresser retorts upon the traveller, who provokes him in the first instance by calling to him 'cuckoo,' but who is fain to retreat before the storm of foul language the vine-dresser returns him, still however calling as he retires "cuckoo, cuckoo!" He was considered a tardy person who had not got his vines trimmed by the arrival of the cuckoo, and the joke consists in the passenger telling the vine-dresser that the cuckoo was coming, and would find his trees unpruned, which was as much as to call him a lazy fellow. [Plin. H. N. 18. c. 26. 66.] Lambinus aptly quotes Ausonius' poem on the Mosella (Idyll. x. 161):

"Summis quippe jugis tendentis in ultima clivi
Conseritur viridi fluvialis margo Lyaeo.
Laeta operum plebes festinantesque coloni
Vertice nunc summo properant, nunc dejuge dorso
Certantes stolidis clamoribus: inde viator
Riparum subjecta terens, hinc navita labens
Probra canunt seris cultoribus: adstrepit illis
Et rupes et silva tremens et concavus amnis."

The Greeks had a proverb to the same effect, explained by the Schol. on Aristoph. Av. 507. "The verse in Virgil, 'Hinc alta sub rupe canet frondator ad auras' (Ec. i. 57), naturally occurs, when in our walks under the rocky cliffs of Posilipo we see the peasant swinging from the top of a tree on a rope of twisted willows, trimming the poplar and the luxuriant tendrils of the vine, and hear him make the whole vale ring with his rustic ditty. A classic scholar cannot stroll under the groves of the plain without calling to mind Horace's 'durus vindemiator,' &c., if he attend to the vine-dresser sitting among the boughs lashing raw lads and bashful maidens as they return from market with the same gross wit and rough jokes that gave such zest of old to the farces of Atella" (Swinburne, vol. i. p. 116). In 'Vindemiator' the third syllable coalesces with the fourth. See C. iii. 4. 41, and add S. ii. 3. 245: "Luscinias soliti impenso prandere coemptas." S. i. 8. 43: "Imagine cerea Largior arserit ignis." S. ii. 2. 21: "Neque ostrea Nec scarus aut poterit," &c.

32. *Italo perfusus aceto*] 'Pus,' 'venenum,' 'sal,' 'acetum,' are all words well chosen for describing the poisonous character of these men's malice. Plautus uses the last of these words two or three times. Bacch. (iii. 3. 1): "Nunc experiar sitne acetum tibi cor acre in pectore." Pseud. (ii. 4. 49): "Ecquid habet is homo aceti in pectore? Atque acidissimi."

34. *qui reges consueris tollere*] [Since you are accustomed.'] It would have spoilt the Greek's joke, and lost him his cause perhaps, had it then been supposed, as some have in these days supposed, he alluded in 'reges' to the death of Caesar. It was not a subject for a jest, though Brutus might still believe he had done the state a service

Hunc Regem jugulas? Operum hoc, mihi crede, tuorum est.

by the part he took in that murder. The man must be supposed to allude to him whom Brutus claimed for his ancestor, L. Junius Brutus, who helped to expel the last of the kings. The plural 'reges' does not stand in the way of this explanation. Rupilius is brought into comparison with Tarquinius in the first line of the Satire "Proscripti Regis," &c. [Ritter takes the reference to be direct to C. Julius Caesar. Orelli (2nd ed.) seems to think that 'reges' includes both Tarquinius Superbus and Caesar. But he makes a better remark when he says: 'Lusus ipse explicatione non eget?']

SATIRE VIII.

On the outside of the city walls, in front of Mons Esquilinus lay the Campus Esquilinus, in which was a public burial-ground for the poorest of the people, and the place of execution for slaves and others of the lower sort, whose bodies were left unburied for the dogs and vultures to prey upon (Epod. v. 100). This place, which must always have been a public nuisance and a source of malaria, was given (as some say) by a decree of the senate to Maecenas, or else purchased by him, cleared, drained, and laid out in gardens, in which he afterwards built a handsome house (C. iii. 29. Epod. ix., xiv. Introduction. S. ii. 3. 309). His example was afterwards followed by a member of the house of Lamia, in whose gardens Caligula was buried (Suet. Calig. c. 59). The following Satire was suggested by a figure of Priapus set up in Maecenas' garden. The god is represented as contrasting the present state of the ground with what it once was, by which a compliment is conveyed to Maecenas for his public spirit in ridding the city of such a nuisance. Priapus also complains of the trouble he has in keeping the ground clear of trespassers, but more particularly of the witches, who, having formerly carried on their practices among the tombs and bones of the dead, continued to haunt the scene of their iniquity. This is introduced for the purpose of dragging in the woman whom Horace satirized under the name of Canidia. The description is in some parts very like that of the fifth Epode, and the two may have been written about the same time. It is not very likely Horace would have maintained his warfare with this woman, whoever she was or whatever her offence, for several years. Kirchner (Qu. Hor. p. 16), because in S. ii. 3. 312 reference is made to Maecenas as engaged in building, places these two Satires in consecutive years, this being written A.U.C. 721 (Introduction to Epod. v.). But there is not much in this argument. The clearing, draining, and enclosing of the ground must have taken some time, and it may have been several years before it was fit for living on, and no reference is made to a house in this Satire. Franke places it in A.U.C. 718. There is very little clue to the date.

Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,
Cum faber incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum,

[1. *ficulnus*] The adjective, as Ritter remarks, is not formed directly from 'ficus,' but 'ficula,' a possible word, but I do not know if it is found. Ritter also observes that there is both 'ficulnus' and 'ficulneus' as 'ilignus' and 'iligneus.]

— *inutile lignum*] The uselessness of the wood of the fig-tree was proverbial. Hence *σύκινοι ἄνδρες* meant men fit for nothing. See Theoc. x. 44:—

σφίγγετ' ἀμαλλόδεται τὰ δράγματα, μὴ παριών τις
εἴπῃ· σύκινοι ἄνδρες, ἀπώλετο χ' οὗτος ὁ μισθός.

Theocritus has an epigram about Priapus (4), in which he describes him thus:—

τήναν τὰν λαύραν τόθι ταὶ δρύες, αἰπόλε, κάμψας
σύκινον εὑρήσεις ἀρτιγλυφὲς ξόανον,
τρισκελὲς αὐτόφλοιον ἀνούατον.

Maluit esse deum. Deus inde ego furum aviumque
Maxima formido; nam fures dextra coërcet
Obscoenoque ruber porrectus ab inguine palus;
Ast importunas volucres in vertice arundo
Terret fixa vetatque novis considere in hortis.
Huc prius angustis ejecta cadavera cellis
Conservus vili portanda locabat in arca.

In this rough way all the images of this god were made, and the ancients had little respect for him, unless it were those of the lowest sort; though in the same epigram that contains the above absurd description of the god he is prayed to for deliverance from the power of love, and Horace, who treats him so contemptuously here, speaks of him elsewhere (Epod. ii.), in conjunction with Silvanus, as receiving the sacrifice due to him. No one could better have appreciated than a Roman of Horace's way of thinking, whether in respect to this deity or any other, the ironical description of the prophet Isaiah (xliv. 9—20), which corresponds so closely with this passage that I recommend the reader to refer to it. There is no stroke in the whole of that description more severe than Horace's "incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum maluit esse deum." Not much less in the same strain is that address of Martial (viii. 40):

"Non horti neque palmitis beati
Sed rari nemoris, Priape, custos,
Ex quo natus es et potes renasci,
Furaces moneo manus repellas,
Et silvam domini focis reserves.
Si defecerit haec et ipse lignum es."

The figures of Priapus were generally busts like the Hermae, but sometimes they were full length of the kind Horace describes. Usually they held a sickle or a club in the right hand by way of frightening thieves ['cum falce saligna,' Virg. Georg. iv. 110], and a wisp of straw, or something of that sort, to frighten the birds. Priapus also symbolized the fertility of nature in the later mythology of the Greeks as well as the Romans. In Agostini's collection of gems (part ii. pl. 13) there is one representing a sacrifice to Priapus, where he stands at full length on a high pedestal, with a thyrsus in one hand, resting on his shoulder. The offerings are a goat's head and fruits, which a woman is laying on a rude altar, while a man is bringing up a basket on his head containing more fruit and 'phalli,' which formed a feature in the worship of Bacchus as well as of Priapus. These two were honoured alike as presiding, the one over vineyards, the other over gardens: this accounts for the thyrsus in the figure, which is a combination of the two divinities.

6. *importunas volucres*] Virgil applies the same epithet to destructive birds: "Obscoenaeque canes importunaeque volucres" (Georg. i. 470). Cruquius explains the word thus: "Quod sine ulla Dei reverentia quovis tempore essent molestae."

7. *Huc prius angustis*] Outside of the walls in front of Mons Esquilinus lay the Campus Esquilinus, in which were buried the poorest of the people in ill-dug graves, which had the name 'puticuli, whether as the diminutive of 'putei,' or from the putrefaction of the corpses and the stench thereby occasioned, Varro hesitates to decide. The manner of their funeral is here stated with painful satire. The poor wretch is neglected by his master; and a fellow slave, out of his 'peculium,' goes to the expense of hiring ('locabat') 'vespillones' (common corpse-bearers, *νεκροφόρους*) to carry him out on a bier to the public burial-ground, where his corpse was tossed naked into a pit into which other corpses had been tossed before. [It is said indeed (Dig. 11. 7. 31) that if a man buried another man's slave, male or female, he could recover the expenses by action. But this rule of law may be late, as it is mentioned by Ulpian; and besides this, it does not mean that a slave could bring such an action.] The 'vilis arca' was called 'sandapila,' whose narrow dimensions are referred to in an epigram of Martial (ii. 81), where he says of the stout Zoïlus:—

"Laxior hexaphoris tua sit lectica licebit,
Dum tamen haec tua sit, Zoïle, sandapila est."

And again, speaking of a mistress whose extravagant demands were reducing her lover to poverty (ix. 3),—

"Octo Syris suffulta datur lectica puellae:
Nudum sandapilae pondus amicus erit."

Suetonius (Domitian, c. 17) says, "Cadaver ejus populari sandapila per vespillones exportatum."

Hoc miserae plebi stabat commune sepulcrum,
Pantolabo scurrae Nomentanoque nepoti:
Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
Hic dabat, Heredes monumentum ne sequeretur.
Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus atque
Aggere in aprico spatiari, quo modo tristes
Albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum;
Cum mihi non tantum furesque feraeque suëtae

11. *Pantolabo scurrae Nomentanoque nepoti*] As to these persons, see note above on S. i. 101. In consequence of their extravagance Priapus foretells they will come to a pauper's funeral. We need not understand them as already dead and buried in the Esquiliae, as Comm. Cruq. says.

12. *Mille pedes in fronte*] This public burial-ground was 1000 feet in breadth and 300 in depth. 'In fronte' means facing the public road, the Via Tiburtina (S. 6. 108), or the Via Praenestina, one of which, or both, must have passed very close to it. (See Caesar, B. G. ii. 8, and Mr. Long's note.) It was usual to engrave on monuments the following letters, H. M. H. N. S. which stand for "Hoc monumentum heredes non sequitur;" or H. M. AD H. N. TRANS. The words were sometimes given at full length. Sometimes EX T. (ex testamento) were inserted between H. and N. Lambinus has given four inscriptions, copied by himself, from ancient sepulchres, of which the following he found in Rome: —DIIS MANIBUS SACRUM MARIO L. LIB. HERMETI ET DOCITIAE FASIDI MARIUS L. LIB. FELIX PATRONIS SUIS BENE MERENTIBUS DE SUO FECIT ET SIBI ET LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQUE SUIS POSTERISQUE EORUM. ITA NE UNQUAM DE NOMINE FAMILIAE NOSTRAE EXEAT. HOC MONUMENTUM HEREDES NON SEQUITUR. IN FRONTE LAT. PED. XX. ET DIG. II. IN AGR. LONG. The others are of like import; that is to say, they specify for whose particular use the sepulchre was built, and provide against its going, with the rest of the man's property, to his heredes. Horace writes as if there were a stone (cippus) set up on some part of the boundary of this burial-ground, with the inscription usual on private monuments, H. M. H. N. S., which is obviously only a satire. The words could only apply to a private place of burial. All he really means is, that a space of ground of the extent he mentions was marked off for the burial of these poor people. For other examples of such inscriptions, see Fabretti Insc. Antiq. &c., Explic. Romae, 1699. [Ritter also takes the words 'Heredes,' &c., as added by the poet in joke. Acron's interpretation is, that some unknown person had given the land for public use; which can hardly be true. It was given by the city probably, and if so, the words 'Heredes,' &c., have no meaning here; but I do not see the joke nor the satire.]

14. *Nunc licet Esquiliis*] The whole of the Esquiline or fifth region of Rome, was called Esquiliae, and from having been an eye-sore and a plague-spot it was made a healthy and pleasant residence. Suetonius tells us that Augustus, when he was ill, went to Maecenas' house in the Esquiliae to recruit (Octav. c. 72). The 'agger' here referred to was a raised terrace commenced by Servius Tullius, and carried by him from the Porta Collina to the Porta Esquilina. It was continued (according to Cramer, who quotes Dion. Halic. iv. 54) by Tarquinius Superbus as far as the Porta Querquetulana, being in all about twelve stadia, and about fifty feet in breadth. It thus skirted on the east the whole of the fifth or Esquiline quarter, and the sixth, which had its name Alta Semita from this great work. Here the Romans walked in cold weather to get the sun, and had a full view of the pestilent plain which Maecenas converted into a paradise. Juvenal calls it 'ventosus' (S. viii. 43). Bentley edits 'qua' in v. 15, and is followed by some editors: but it is against all the MSS. and older editions, and 'quo,' in the sense of 'ex quo,' will do very well. [Ritter takes 'quo' as equivalent to 'in quo.']

17. *Cum mihi non tantum*] 'Cum' is thus connected with what goes before. Priapus says the locality is now made healthy, and the citizens may take their walk without being sickened with the sight of bones bleaching upon the plain, whereas (while) his vexations still remain, —the driving away of thieves and wild animals which still frequented the spot, and yet worse the punishment and scaring away of the witches who there continued to carry

Hunc vexare locum curae sunt atque labori,
Quantum carminibus quae versant atque venenis
Humanos animos. Has nullo perdere possum
Nec prohibere modo, simul ac vaga luna decorum
Protulit os, quin ossa legant herbasque nocentes.
Vidi egomet nigra succinctam vadere palla
Canidiam pedibus nudis passoque capillo,
Cum Sagana majore ululantem: pallor utrasque
Fecerat horrendas adspectu. Scalpere terram
Unguibus et pullam divellere mordicus agnam

on their abominable practices. We need not infer with Dacier that the place was not yet entirely changed or cleared of the bones that disfigured it, but may suppose the witches still continued to haunt the scene of their iniquities, and that the 'fures' and 'ferae,' are the depredators that came to rob the gardens which were the god's particular care. I am not aware of any other instance of 'suetus' being used as a trisyllable. Lucretius so uses 'suevit:' "Qui ferri quoque vim penetrare suevit."

23. *Vidi egomet nigra*] The god proceeds to relate a scene, in which the characters introduced are the notorious Canidia of whom we have seen enough in the Epodes, and Sagana, who is associated with her in Epod. v. 25. Their appearance and behaviour are much the same as there. The principal person is Canidia, who wears a dark 'palla,' is without shoes, and has her hair dishevelled (in Epod. v. 15 it is tangled with little snakes). The moon is up and she invokes her (Epod. v. 50), while her companion invokes one of the furies. They are both deadly pale. They grub up the earth with their nails, and pour into the hole the blood of a black lamb (black victims were sacrificed to the infernal deities), which they tear to pieces with their teeth, by which process they hope to evoke spirits of the dead to answer their inquiries about their lovers. Canidia has two images, one of wool and the other of wax, the first representing herself, the other her faithless lover, on whom she is going to wreak her vengeance. We may suppose it therefore to represent the unhappy Varus of Epod. v. Snakes and Hecate's hounds surround them, and at the height of their incantations the moon blushes with shame, and hides her face behind the tombs (great barrows perhaps, formed by the burial of a number of corpses in one pit). During the rites, in which they hide the beard of a wolf and the tooth of a spotted snake in the ground as a countercharm to thwart their adversaries, the Manes which have been evoked converse with them in a melancholy sharp voice; and just when the flames which were to melt the devoted image of wax are at their height the ludicrous catastrophe happens that puts them all to flight,—Canidia with her jaws chattering with fright, and her false teeth dropping out, Sagana with her wig flying off, and all her herbs and love-knots falling about, as they make the best of their way to the city.

— *nigra succinctam vadere palla*] The 'palla' was the upper garment worn by women out of doors as the men wore the toga. (S. i. 2. 29 n.) Here, in consequence of the expression 'succinctam,' Heindorf and other commentators, and Forcellini, suppose 'palla' to be put loosely for the under garment, which was gathered up and girt under the breast. But there is no necessity for this supposition. 'Succinctam' does not refer to 'palla' at all, but merely signifies 'expeditam,' as in Epod. v. 25. It is equivalent to 'praecinctis' in S. i. 5. 6 n. It occurs again S. ii. 6. 107: "veluti succinctus cursitat hospes."

25. *Cum Sagana majore*] The Scholiasts say that Sagana was the freedwoman of one Pomponius, and that she had a younger sister, whence she is called 'major.' It probably signifies that she was older than Canidia, as Doering says.

27. *pullam*] Aeneas offers a black lamb to Nox and Terra (Aen. vi. 249): "Ipse atri velleris agnam Aeneas matri Eumenidum magnaeque sorori Ense ferit." Tibullus uses the same word as Horace (i. 2. 61):

"Et me lustravit taedis, et nocte serena
Concidit ad magicos hostia pulla deos."

Coeperunt; cruor in fossam confusus ut inde
Manes elicerent, animas responsa daturas.
Lanea et effigies erat, altera cerea: major
Lanea, quae poenis compesceret inferiorem;
Cerea suppliciter stabat servilibus ut quae
Jam peritura modis. Hecaten vocat altera, saevam
Altera Tisiphonen; serpentes atque videres
Infernas errare canes, Lunamque rubentem
Ne foret his testis post magna latere sepulcra.
Mentior at si quid, merdis caput inquiner albis
Corvorum, atque in me veniat mictum atque cacatum
Julius et fragilis Pediatia furque Voranus.

28. *confusus*] 'Poured and stirred.' Compare Tibull. (i. 2. 45):

"Haec cantu finditque solum, Manesque sepulcris
Elicit, et tepido devocat ossa rogo."

['Inde' 'by these means,' the correlative of 'unde,' 'by which means.'—Doederlein, followed by Krüger, takes 'Manes animas' as adjective and substantive, like 'Dii Manes' (Epod. v. 94).]

30. *Lanea et effigies erat, altera cerea*] The meaning of the woollen image which was to punish the waxen one is not very clear. The wax was to melt, and as it melted so was the lover to consume in the fires of love, according to the witch's charm in Theocritus (ii. 28). See Epod. xvii. 76.

32. *servilibus — modis*] There was scarcely any imaginable form of cruelty to which slaves were not liable through the caprice of their owners, and this of roasting or half roasting alive may have happened to more than one poor wretch of this class. Tacitus (Hist. ii. 72) says of a runaway slave: "Sumptum de eo supplicium in servilem modum;" and again of a freedman of Vitellius (Hist. iv. 11): "Asiaticus malam potentiam servili supplicio expiavit." The old reading was 'utque.' 'Ut quae,' which Lambinus strongly denounces, Bentley very properly, and on good authority, received into his text.

34. *serpentes—infernas errare canes*] Snakes in her hair, round her waist, and in her hand for a whip, are insignia always found in the representations of Tisiphone. The infernal hounds are those that Virgil mentions as howling at the approach of Hecate (Aen. vi. 257): "Visaeque canes ululare per umbram Adventante Dea." So the witch in Theocritus (ii. 35) knows Hecate is coming by the howling of the dogs:

Θέστυλι, ταὶ κύνες ἄμμιν ἀνὰ πτόλιν ὠρύονται·
'Α θεὸς ἐν τριόδοισι.

36. *sepulcra*] See note on v. 17. [Ritter says: 'cogita monumenta virorum illustrium a cetero campo Esquilino discreta.' Heindorf suggests the same meaning. We must suppose then that after part of the ground was cleared of the bones, there was still a large cemetery that was left untouched, on which there were funeral monuments. It is instructive to observe the various ways in which people look at the same things; and it is a necessary discipline for those who wish to learn. For this reason, as there is room, I translate a note by Doederlein: "It is impossible that there could have been great funeral monuments, behind which the moon could hide herself, for a burial ground for the poor, as it is represented in v. 10, has no such monuments; and if it had contained such, they would have been removed when the place was changed into a park. That this change was not yet completed, as Dillenburger conjectures, is a desperate suggestion, which is hardly satisfactory. If the moon must hide herself to avoid seeing the scandal, why does not the poet rather make her hide behind clouds, which is certainly more natural? In fact he does this: we have only to understand 'quasi,' as is often the case; for instance, S. i. 1. 116; 7. 29; ii. 3. 8, 274; and 5. 47. The masses of clouds, in which she hides herself in the heaven, are compared to great funeral monuments, behind which she would conceal herself for the same purpose, if she moved about on the earth."]

39. *Julius et fragilis Pediatia*] The connexion between these persons, Julius

Singula quid memorem? quo pacto alterna loquentes
Umbrae cum Sagana resonarent triste et acutum,
Utque lupi barbam variae cum dente colubrae
Abdiderint furtim terris, et imagine cerea
Largior arserit ignis, et ut non testis inultus
Horruerim voces Furiarum et facta duarum:
Nam displosa sonat quantum vesica pepedi
Diffissa nate ficus: at illae currere in urbem.
Canidiae dentes, altum Saganae caliendrum
Excidere atque herbas atque incantata lacertis
Vincula cum magno risuque jocoque videres.

and Pediatius, is stated to have been of a kind not mentionable. Julius may have been a freedman of the dictator C. Julius Caesar, and the other person is said by Comm. Cruq. and Porphyrion to have been a Roman eques. The feminine termination is affixed to his name to indicate that he was addicted to the vilest practices, as Aristophanes (Nub. 678, 680) calls Sostratus and Cleonymus 'Sostrata' and 'Cleonyma.' Of 'Voranus,' Porphyrion and Comm. Cruq. give us the following piece of gossip: "Aiunt Voranum Q. Lutatii Catuli libertum fuisse adeo furacem ut nummos subreptos a nummulario in calceos demiserit; a quo cum deprehensus esset, quidam subridens Belle, inquit, si te non ἐκχαλκεύει: hoc est verberibus tanquam aes recudat, alludens ad calceos." It so happens that we meet with this man again in another Scholium on Juvenal viii. 186, where mention is made of a farce by one Catullus (an adaptation of the Phasma of Menander mentioned by Terence, Eunuch, Prol. 9), spoken of as a clever writer of plays by Martial (v. 30. 3), and by Aulus Gellius (xix. 9; [but in Gellius the name should be Catulus, ed. Gronov.]

41. *resonarent triste et acutum*] This corresponds with Virgil's description (Aen. vi. 492), "pars tollere vocem Exiguam." Bentley, seeing no difference between the continuous action in 'resonarent' and the complete action contained in the verbs that follow, invents, against all the MSS. and the usage of the language, 'resonarint,' and affirms positively, 'sua fide et periculo,' that this is the word Horace wrote. Independently of the imperfect being required in this place, who ever heard of such a perfect as 'resonaverim?' The participles are so formed, no doubt, as "os magna sonaturum" (S. i. 4. 44); but Bentley can produce no better authority than Manilius and Prudentius for 'resonavi.'

43. *cerea*] The two last syllables coalesce. S. i. 7. 30 n.

45. *Furiarum*] Horace calls the two witches Furies, by a way of speaking common to all times since the decline of the reverential feeling which made the Greeks shrink from mentioning the name of these σεμναὶ θεαί. Before Euripides no writer would have made so free with the name of the Erinyes. He applies it to Helen (Orest. 1390, περγάμων Ἀπολλωνίων Ἐρινύν), and to Medea (Med. 1260), ἔξελ' οἴκων τάλαιναν φοινίαν τ' Ἐρινὺν ὑπ' ἀλαστόρων.

[47. *currere in urbem*] The gardens of Maecenas, we must suppose, were not in the city. Comp. S. ii. 6. 32.]

48. *caliendrum*] This is variously stated to be a wig, or a cap, or some ornament for the head. The etymology is uncertain. I have supposed the most ridiculous of the above articles to be meant. [Ritter says: 'Epitheton *altum* non committit ut suppositos capillos accipiamus; immo fuit velamentum galero simile, quod de capite cecidisse additum *altum* significat.' The 'suppositi capilli' may be such monstrous knots of false hair as women wear now (1868). The teeth must be supposed to be artificial. Kirchner, quoted by Doederlein, refers to Cicero De Legibus, ii. 24, 'cui auro dentes vincti essent,' as evidence that the Roman dentists used gold to secure artificial teeth.]

50. *Vincula*] These may mean love-knots or long grass woven into chains for refractory and faithless lovers. [Comp. Virg. Ecl. viii. 74.]

SATIRE IX.

This Satire, which is justly popular for humour and great dramatic power, has an historical value as showing, undesignedly but more clearly than almost any description could do, the character of Horace. It puts the man before us as in a picture.

He represents himself as sauntering alone and early on the Sacra Via, when a person he knew no more than by name, a forward coxcomb, comes up familiarly and falls into conversation with him, to his great annoyance, for he wanted to be alone and knew the ellow's character. Horace does his best to shake him off, but he is too amiable to cope with the effrontery of his companion, whose object is to get through Horace an introduction to Maecenas, with whom the poet must therefore have been known to be on terms of intimacy at the time this Satire was written. The man's vulgarity and want of tact are conspicuous throughout the scene; while Horace exhibits in every part good breeding and an amiable temper; and though he is tried to the utmost by reflections on his patron and his friends, he is incapable of saying a rude word, is taken off his guard continually, and is amusingly conscious of his inferiority to the man of insolence on his own ground. The effect of this picture is heightened by the introduction towards the end of the scene of Fuscus Aristius, an old friend of the poet, and a man of the world, who, like Horace, understood character, but had that sort of moral courage and promptitude which his friend wanted. The readiness with which he takes up the joke and enters into Horace's absurd position, and the despair to which his desertion reduces the poet, are highly ludicrous.

If proof were wanting that the characters of men and the ways of the world are little affected by the lapse of centuries, this Satire would afford it. I look upon it as the most genial and characteristic of all Horace's productions. If we wanted to form an estimate of the man, I do not think we could go to any other part of his works with more likelihood of getting a correct one; and his powers as a moral satirist are, I conceive, feeble compared with his perception of, and ability to describe, a scene of dramatic humour like this. If he had left us only this amusing poem to judge by, his genius would have ranked high, and the goodness of his nature would have been acknowledged by all. Like our amiable poet Cowper, Horace appears as a satirist of human life and of the vices of society; but both are too gentle for that rough work, and shine most in scenes of quaint humour and inoffensive fun. As respects Horace at least, let any one read this Satire and judge for himself.

Ibam forte via Sacra, sicut meus est mos,
Nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis:

1. *Ibam forte via Sacra*] Horace does not mean that it was his custom to stroll on the Sacra Via, especially at that hour in the morning, about eight o'clock (v. 35); but that when he walked his mind generally diverted itself with trifles, being of an easy turn, and having few anxieties to trouble it. On the Sacra Via, see Epod. iv. 7 n.; vii. 8 n. The reader whose ear is accustomed to the expressive abruptness of this opening will dissent from Bentley, who inserts 'ut' after 'ibam.' All Lambinus' MSS. had 'et' before 'totus.' All Cruquius' but one were without 'et.' Those two editors insert the conjunction, and some later editors do the same, including Dacier and Gesner. Turnebus says "'et' legi in antiquis exemplaribus." Fea quotes some in the Vatican, but he rightly condemns the word as superfluous and inelegant. The old editions have no conjunction.

Accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum,
Arreptaque manu, "Quid agis, dulcissime rerum?"
"Suaviter ut nunc est," inquam, "et cupio omnia quae vis."
Cum assectaretur: "Num quid vis?" occupo. At ille,
"Noris nos," inquit; "docti sumus." Hic ego, "Pluris
Hoc," inquam, "mihi eris." Misere discedere quaerens
Ire modo ocius, interdum consistere, in aurem
Dicere nescio quid puero, cum sudor ad imos
Manaret talos. O te, Bolane, cerebri
Felicem! aiebam tacitus, cum quidlibet ille
Garriret, vicos, urbem laudaret. Ut illi
Nil respondebam, "Misere cupis," inquit, "abire;
Jamdudum video; sed nil agis; usque tenebo;

3. *Accurrit*] Some of the old editions have 'occurrit,' which is much less forcible.

[4. *dulcissime rerum*] 'Pulcherrime rerum,' Ovid, Her. iv. 125, and Met. viii. 49. The sense is not 'Quid rerum.']

5. *Suaviter ut nunc est*] 'Pretty well as times go;' by which, as Orelli says, he means nothing at all, not caring what he answers, but annoyed at the forwardness of his assailant. 'Cupio omnia quae vis' is a common formula of politeness.

6. *Cum assectaretur*] There is a pause, and they walk side by side a little way perhaps, in silence. Horace sees the man means to begin, and anticipates him ('occupat,' Epp. i. 7. 66) with a civil question tantamount to wishing him good morning, by which however the other is not disconcerted. "Surely you know me: I'm a man of letters;" at which Horace, who is too good-natured to be a match for such a fellow, is thrown off his guard and returns him a polite answer. The man has gained his advantage and goes on chattering about nothing; while Horace feels his weakness and is driven to common-place expedients for effecting his escape, at which his companion no doubt laughs in his sleeve. 'Numquid vis quin abeam?' 'is there any thing else I can do for you before I go?' Prof. Key (L. G. 1183) quotes this phrase from Terence (Ad. ii. 2. 39), and adds in a note, "This or a shorter form, 'numquid vis?' was a civil mode of saying good-bye." ['Noris nos,' says Heindorf, must be connected with 'Num quid vis?' as Acron explains it: 'You must become acquainted with me.' But I prefer Orelli's interpretation, which is the same as that given above: 'Vix aliter fieri potest quam ut tibi jam aliquatenus notus sim.' He adds as a reason, 'docti sumus.']

10. *Dicere nescio quid puero*] When the Romans walked abroad even for a stroll on the most ordinary occasions, they had one or more slaves with them. They were a particular class in the 'familia,' and called from their occupation 'pedisequi.'

11. *O te, Bolane, cerebri felicem*] The meaning of 'cerebri' is seen in the adjective 'cerebrosus' (S. i. 5. 21), and guided by the words of Horace, no doubt, Comm. Cruq. tells us that Bolanus was ὀξύχολος, one who 'nullius ineptias ferebat,' put up with no man's nonsense,—a temper which, under such circumstances, the amiable Horace might very well envy. But he was too well-bred to say what he felt aloud. Bolanus was a cognomen of one at least of the families at Rome. Vettius Bolanus was appointed governor of Britain in the last year of Nero's reign (Tac. Ann. xv. 3). It was derived from Bola, a town of the Aequi.

14. *Misere cupis, inquit, abire*] Here the man, feeling his power, puts on all the familiarity of an intimate friend, and insists upon offering his services and attendance, and this is better expressed by 'persequar' than 'prosequar,' which however has very good MS. authority, and Bentley adopts it. The majority of MSS. appear by Fea's account to have 'persequar,' which means 'I will follow you to the end.' In regard to the arrangement, the editions vary between 'persequar hinc: quo nunc iter est tibi?' 'persequar: hinc quo nunc iter est tibi?' and 'persequar hinc quo nunc iter est tibi,' without a question. It appears to me that the man asks a question, and that Horace's reply is an evasion.

Persequar: hinc quo nunc iter est tibi?" "Nil opus est te
Circumagi; quendam volo visere non tibi notum;
Trans Tiberim longe cubat is prope Caesaris hortos."
"Nil habeo quod agam et non sum piger; usque sequar te."
Demitto auriculas ut iniquae mentis asellus,
Cum gravius dorso subiit onus. Incipit ille:
"Si bene me novi non Viscum pluris amicum,
Non Varium facies; nam quis me scribere plures

18. *Trans Tiberim—cubat is*] 'Cubat' is generally taken to mean that his friend is lying sick, and I am inclined to think it can have no other meaning here. In other places where it occurs it might be supposed to derive this signification from the context. See Sat. ii. 3. 289:—

"Mater ait pueri menses jam quinque cubantis,
Frigida si puerum quartana reliquerit;"

and Epp. (ii. 2. 68):—

"—— cubat hic in colle Quirini
Hic extremo in Aventino, visendus uterque."

Plautus (Cas. Prol. 37):—

"—— servus qui in morbo cubat:
Immo hercle vero in lecto ne quid mentiar;"

and other places usually quoted for this meaning. But I see no other sense to give the word here that is supported by usage ("*He lives* above a mile of ground Beyond the Tiber," which is Francis's translation, is an unexampled meaning to give the word, but many have adopted it); and moreover it is likely Horace would invent this excuse by way of shaking off his companion. In Cic. Verr. (ii. 3. 23, where, see Mr. Long's note), 'cubaret' means no more than that the man was in bed. C. Julius Caesar had some pleasure-grounds, which he bequeathed to the Roman people, on the right bank of the Tiber. This would be a long way from the Sacra Via.

[21. *dorso subiit onus*] The last syllable of 'subiit' is generally said to be lengthened by the caesura: but the word may have been pronounced 'subyit.' The sense is when 'the ass is come under a load too heavy for his back.']

22. *non Viscum pluris amicum*] In the next Satire we have (v. 83) "Fuscus et haec utinam Viscorum laudet uterque;" and at the supper of Nasidienus (S. ii. 8. 20) we have "Summus ego et prope me Viscus Thurinus, et infra Si memini Varius." On the present passage Acron and Comm. Cruq. say that Viscus was "disertus illius temporis homo," and some said he was a poet, and a friend of Horace. Porphyrion has here the name 'Fuscum' (or, as it appears in Ascensius' text twice over, 'Tuscum'), and says he was a distinguished writer of tragedies. Here he is associated with Varius, and in the latter of the above passages a Viscus also appears in Varius' company. In the former there are two Visci and a Fuscus, and Varius just above. All this creates some doubt as to the reading here. Aristius Fuscus was one of Horace's most intimate friends (C. i. 22, Introduction), and we meet with him below (v. 61) in a very humorous character. It is perhaps better to suppose one of the Visci to be meant here, for he plainly held them both among his best friends (S. i. 10. 83). As to Varius, see S. v. 40 n.

23. *quis me scribere plures aut citius*] The ignorant fellow here fastens upon the very faculty that Horace held in the greatest contempt. On Hermogenes, see S. i. 3. 129 n. The opportunity for interrupting the prater which Horace seized upon is not very apparent. Orelli and others say because he was determined not to listen to the praises of Hermogenes, whom he detested. Horace gets in a word, and, trying to resign himself to his fate, and to turn the conversation to topics too unmeaning to give a handle to the man's vanity, he asks him if his father and mother are alive: 'quis te salvo est opus' is only a formula of civility. The man, who has no feeling for any one but himself, answers with indifference that he has buried them all, which gives occasion for Horace to exclaim internally, he wishes he was dead too. What follows ('Felices,' &c.) I suppose we must understand as a quaint notion passing through Horace's own mind,—one of those pleasantries that sometimes rise up to mock men in despair. Certainly we are not to imagine that he is speaking

Aut citius possit versus? quis membra movere
Mollius? Invideat quod et Hermogenes ego canto."
Interpellandi locus hic erat: "Est tibi mater,
Cognati, quis te salvo est opus?"—"Haud mihi quisquam.
Omnes composui."—Felices! nunc ego resto.
Confice; namque instat fatum mihi triste Sabella
Quod puero cecinit divina mota anus urna:
Hunc neque dira venena nec hosticus auferet ensis
Nec laterum dolor aut tussis nec tarda podagra;
Garrulus hunc quando consumet cunque; loquaces
Si sapiat vitet simul atque adoleverit aetas.
Ventum erat ad Vestae, quarta jam parte diei
Praeterita, et casu tunc respondere vadato

to his persecutor, for his behaviour and the absence of any reply show that he is not.

[25. *Invideat quod—canto*] 'And my singing might make Hermogenes envy:' 'quod canto' is like Sallust's 'quae homines arant,' Cat. 2:] see C. iii. 16. 26 n.

29. *Confice; namque instat*] 'Confice,' despatch me, finish me. It is a technical word for the transaction and completion of business. As to the Sabine witches, see Epod. xvii. 28; and on 'urna,' see C. ii. 3. 25 n. As Fate, so the witch shakes her urn, and the lot or name of this or that person falls out, on which she pronounces her prophecies. The Scholiasts Acron and Comm. Cruq. take 'mota' as the nominative case, in the sense of 'commota,' agitated. I believe all the three words—'divina,' 'mota,' and 'urna'—to be in the ablative, though Bentley says that this reading is "ita scabrum atque horridum ut ne proletario quidem vati, nedum Horatio dignum sit." He himself agrees with Cruquius, and transposing 'divina' and 'mota,' makes the former agree with 'anus.' 'Quandocunque' has sometimes, but rarely, the sense of 'aliquando,' 'sometime or other.' Bentley quotes two instances from Ovid. ['Divina,' 'the prophetic urn.' Ritter compares 'divina avis,' C. iii. 27. 10.]

35. *Ventum erat ad Vestae*] Three hours were now passed since sunrise ('quarta jam parte'), and having walked through the Forum they were approaching the Tiber, not far from which, and to the west of Mons Palatinus, stood the temple of Vesta, with the Atrium Numae and Lucus Vestae attached (C. i. 2. 16 n.). It is generally stated that the temple of Vesta was close to the 'puteal Libonis' (S. ii. 6. 35 n.), where the praetor held his court. But that appears to have been in the Forum, and this temple was not. Nardini places in its immediate neighbourhood the Basilica Julia, where the centumviri held their courts, in which also the praetor presided. Martial thus alludes to them (vi. 38):—

"Jam clamor centumque viri densumque coronae
Vulgus et infanti Julia tecta placent."

If this be so, we may suppose that it was here the man had to make his appearance, or forfeit his 'vadimonium.' It was now past the hour when the business of the courts commenced, as Martial says (iv. 8. 2), "Exercet raucos tertia causidicos."

36. *casu tunc respondere vadato*] This passage has been fully explained by Mr. Long in his note on Cic. Verr. ii. 3. 15:—"The expression 'vadari aliquem' means to require 'vades,' 'sureties,' of a party. The corresponding term is 'vadimonium promittere,' which is said of him who gives 'vades.' Bentley's correction of 'vadatus' for 'vadato' is against all the MSS. and the general usage of the word, though 'vadatus' is sometimes used passively, as he shows." The same may be said of the participles of other deponent verbs (C. i. 1. 24 n.) of which the passive sense however must be clearly made out before it can be admitted. The 'vadatus' therefore was the plaintiff in an action, in which the hero of this satire was defendant. He had entered into an engagement ('vadimonium') to appear on a certain day to answer to the action, and if he failed he would lose his cause, and forfeit the amount of his 'vadi-

Debebat, quod ni fecisset perdere litem.
"Si me amas," inquit, "paulum hic ades." "Inteream si
Aut valeo stare aut novi civilia jura;
Et propero quo scis." "Dubius sum quid faciam," inquit,
"Tene relinquam an rem." "Me sodes." "Non faciam" ille;
Et praecedere coepit. Ego ut contendere durum est
Cum victore sequor. "Maecenas quomodo tecum?"
Hinc repetit; "paucorum hominum et mentis bene sanae;

monium,' which was sometimes equal to the sum in dispute, sometimes only one-half. [Gaius, iv. 185, 186.] Orelli interprets 'litem' of the 'summa vademonii.' But it was rather the amount claimed by the plaintiff, as in certain actions it was the amount of damages assessed under a 'litis aestimatio.'

38. *Si me amas—hic ades*] "'Adesse' is a word of technical use, to accompany a person to court, there to give him your aid and advice" (Long on Cicero in Verr. ii. 2. 29. See also ii. 4. 36). 'Hic' shows they were within sight of the court to which the speaker points. His impudence is very amusing. ['Si me amas:' Ritter compares Virgil, Ecl. viii. 108, 'credimus, an qui amant.']

39. *Aut valeo stare*] Orelli and others take this as equivalent to 'adesse.' Comm. Cruq., whom Turnebus follows (l. xv. c. 18), says Horace intends to say he has not strength to stand about the court while this trial is going on, which is the meaning; and he knows nothing of the law; and besides, he adds, 'et propero quo scis,' which refers to his excuse in v. 18.

41. *Tene relinquam an rem*] Those commentators who are not aware that disjunctive questions may be put by 'ne—an' in oblique as well as in direct constructions, put a note of interrogation after 'rem.' But see Key's L. G., § 1423, b, and the example there quoted from Cicero:—"Quaero eum Brutine similem malis an Antoni." 'Res' is technically used here and elsewhere (in legal formulae) as an equivalent for 'lis.' It need not be considered unnatural that the intrusive fellow should hesitate between losing his cause and leaving the man he was tormenting. He had an object to gain which, if he could secure it, would (he might consider) be more than a compensation for the loss of the suit, and he was pretty sure Horace would never give him such an opportunity again.

42. *durum est*] Bentley and others after him omit 'est,' which in some MSS. of good character does not appear. The Scholiasts, and all editions before Bentley have that word, which, as Orelli says, may have dropped out of the text from having been united with 'durum,' thus 'durumst.' The example Bentley quotes from Terence (Phorm. ii. 1. 8), "Etiam idne lex coëgit? Illud durum. Ego expediam: sine," is nothing to the purpose. This is a narrative, and a very different case, as any one will see. Horace's dismay at the loss of this promising opportunity may be imagined. He gives up the battle and resigns himself to his fate, while the man pursues his advantage, and brings in that which is the chief purpose of his intrusion. 'Hinc repetit:' 'he resumes the conversation with this.' He asks abruptly, "How do you and Maecenas get on together? a shrewd man, and doesn't make himself common. No man ever made a better use of his opportunities. Could you not introduce me to him? I should be very happy to play into your hands, and if I am not very much mistaken, we should soon push aside your rivals." Other interpretations have been given, and the sentences differently divided. 'Paucorum hominum' has the same meaning as in Terence (Eun. iii. 1. 18):—

"—— Immo sic homo est;
Perpaucorum hominum. *Gn.* Immo nullorum arbitror
Si tecum vivit."

[It may also mean 'a rare kind of man,' as 'unus multorum,' v. 71, means 'a common sort of man;' and this is perhaps the better interpretation.] 'Ferre secundas' and 'adjutor' are scenic terms, and are said the first of the δευτεραγωνίστης, the other of all the subordinate players. 'Hunc hominem' is the Greek τόνδ' ἄνδρα. 'Tradere' is a conventional term for introductions, and 'submovere' for the duty of the lictor in clearing the way (C. ii. 16. 10). ['Submosses:' this tense signifies, as Doederlein observes, 'you would have removed all your rivals out of the way, if you had only introduced me.']

Nemo dexterius fortuna est usus. Haberes
Magnum adjutorem posset qui ferre secundas,
Hunc hominem velles si tradere; dispeream ni
Submosses omnes." "Non isto vivimus illic
Quo tu rere modo; domus hac nec purior ulla est
Nec magis his aliena malis; nil mi officit unquam
Ditior hic aut est quia doctior; est locus uni
Cuique suus." "Magnum narras, vix credibile?" "Atqui
Sic habet." "Accendis quare cupiam magis illi
Proximus esse." "Velis tantummodo: quae tua virtus,
Expugnabis; et est qui vinci possit, eoque
Difficiles aditus primos habet." "Haud mihi deero:
Muneribus servos corrumpam; non hodie si
Exclusus fuero desistam; tempora quaeram,
Occurram in triviis, deducam. Nil sine magno
Vita labore dedit mortalibus." Haec dum agit, ecce

48. *Non isto vivimus illic*] We may imagine the indignation with which Horace listened to the insolence of his companion. He represents himself throughout the scene as one wanting in the self-possession necessary for dealing with such a person, and here he shows it again. Instead of passing by such impertinence with contempt, or making it, as with more address he might have done, an excuse for leaving the man, he replies to him, and vehemently defends his patron and himself. His adversary's impertinence only rises higher with this, as might be expected, and is not diminished by the ill-timed irony in 'velis tantummodo: quae tua virtus, expugnabis,' &c., all of which may be supposed to be said in a state of excitement only calculated to give the coxcomb courage, he keeping his temper and pretending not to see Horace's indignation. This must have been worked up to a great height when the man, persisting in the notion that perseverance and intrigue are sure ways of access to the great man, declares he will take Horace at his word, and leave no means untried to secure not only an acquaintance, but the nearest place in Maecenas' regard (54). All this brings out the contrast between the two characters (the one a mere man of the world, of a low sort, and the other a well-bred but not very energetic gentleman) with great force and in a very amusing way. For 'vivimus' (v. 48) Bentley reads 'vivitur' on the authority of three inferior MSS., and quoting C. ii. 16: "vivitur parvo bene." But the cases are quite different, and there is more personal feeling expressed by 'vivimus' than by 'vivitur.' All the oldest and best MSS. and editions have 'vivimus.' Bentley also adopts, with bad taste, 'inquam' for 'unquam' in v. 50. The former word is quite out of place here; but it is not surprising that there should be this error in some MSS. [Ritter has 'inquam,' the reading of the better MSS., as he remarks.] 'Sic habet' is a literal adaptation of οὕτως ἔχει. On the construction 'quae tua virtus,' see Key's L. G. 1131.

[54. *Velis tantummodo: quae tua*] 'You need only try' (velis). Comp. 'Vis formosa videri,' C. iv. 13. 3. 'Such is your merit.' Compare Epod. v. 94 n., 'Quae vis,' &c.]

59. *deducam*] "Haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia quae videntur levia atque communia, salutari, appeti, decedi, assurgi, deduci, reduci, consuli" (Cic. de Senect. c. 18). To attend upon a person when he leaves home is 'deducere;' 'reducere' to accompany him on his return. Great men, when they went out of doors, were usually accompanied by friends, while numbers of parasites and expectants followed their steps and were eager to be seen by them and to be known to have been in their company. Elated with the idea of his intended success, the man becomes eloquent and breaks out with a sentiment worthy of the noblest ambition, like that of Sophocles (Elect. 945), *πόνου τοι χωρὶς οὐδὲν εὐτυχεῖ.* [And the line of Epicharmus: *τῶν πόνων πωλοῦσιν ἡμῖν πάντα τἀγάθ' οἱ θεοί.*]

Fuscus Aristius occurrit, mihi carus et illum
Qui pulchre nosset. Consistimus. Unde venis? et
Quo tendis? rogat et respondet. Vellere coepi
Et prensare manu lentissima brachia, nutans,
Distorquens oculos, ut me eriperet. Male salsus
Ridens dissimulare: meum jecur urere bilis.
"Certe nescio quid secreto velle loqui te
Aiebas mecum." "Memini bene, sed meliore
Tempore dicam; hodie tricesima sabbata: vin tu

61. *Fuscus Aristius*] See C. i. 22, Int. This is the most humorous part of the scene. Fuscus knows Horace's friend well by sight and character. He seizes the joke at once. They stop and begin with the usual questions. See S. ii. 4. 1, "Unde et quo Catius?" Virg. Ec. ix. 1, "Quo te, Moeri, pedes? an, quo via ducit, in urbem?" Fuscus goes on talking about nothing. Horace winks at him, twitches him by the toga, pulls him by the arm: to all which he gets no response; the arm seems not to feel, and the owner seems not to perceive, while all the time he sees the fun and laughs in his sleeve. Horace can bear it no longer. "I think you had something to say to me in private, had you not?" "True; I remember: but I'll take a better opportunity: don't you know what day it is?—the Jews' thirtieth Sabbath! You wouldn't think of offending those good people." "Pooh! I've no such scruples." "Ay, but I have: I don't profess to have your strength of mind. I go with the superstitious multitude, and dare not risk such an offence. You'll excuse me. Good morning!" And so another excellent opportunity of escape is lost.

62. *Qui pulchre nosset*] The meaning is, 'one who knew him well; but I am not aware of any passage that exactly corresponds with this. [If it were 'norat,' the meaning would be a plain affirmation that Fuscus knew the fellow well: but he means to say, Fuscus was the man to know him well. Comp. S. i. 7. 6, 'Durus homo atque odio qui posset vincere Regem.']

64. *Et prensare manu*] I prefer this to 'pressare,' which Orelli edits, referring 'vellere' to the 'toga.' Bentley reads 'prensare,' which appears in all the old editions, and was first altered by Lambinus. ['Male salsus:' 'showing his humour out of season.' Comp. S. i. 3. 45.]

69. *tricesima sabbata*] I do not find that it is made out on any authority that the Jews had any sabbath that they called the thirtieth, and I doubt the fact. The utter contempt with which the Romans, especially of Horace's class, looked upon the Jewish superstitions (as they counted them), is the essence of the joke in the text. That the Jews had a sabbath of course every body knew. That they had a sabbatical year and a year of jubilee no doubt was known to some, and that this came round every fifty years; also that they observed days and months and years with scrupulous exactness. Beyond this I should imagine Aristius Fuscus knew little or nothing of the Jews, except that they were a troublesome set of people, and lived by themselves on the other side of the Tiber, not far by the by from where the party were standing. 'Tricesima sabbata' I believe to be a mere extemporaneous invention made to cover his retreat and tantalize his unfortunate friend. Until some more definite account is given of the matter than any I have read, I shall venture to hold the above opinion. The plural σάββατα is commonly used by the writers of the New Testament for the sabbath day. The joke, however, would have little point if it were not the fact that there were at Rome superstitious people, especially women and persons of nervous habit and of the lower orders (S. ii. 3. 291 n.), who, being ready to be influenced by any superstition, were prepared to be frightened at the statements of the Jews, who were zealous in making proselytes (S. i. 4. 143), and no doubt terrified some by their representation of the curses denounced upon the transgressors of the sabbath. Ovid, advising a man how to get out of love, bids him above all things go away from his mistress, and let nothing stop him (Rem. Am. 219):

"Nec pluvias vites, nec te peregrina morentur
Sabbata, nec damnis Allia nota suis."

[Bentley has (v. 69) 'vis tu,' and refers to

Curtis Judaeis oppedere?" "Nulla mihi, inquam,
Religio est." "At mi; sum paulo infirmior, unus
Multorum; ignosces; alias loquar." Huncine solem
Tam nigrum surrexe mihi! Fugit improbus ac me
Sub cultro linquit. Casu venit obvius illi
Adversarius et: "Quo tu turpissime?" magna
Inclamat voce; et "Licet antestari?" Ego vero
Oppono auriculam. Rapit in jus; clamor utrinque;
Undique concursus. Sic me servavit Apollo.

S. ii. 6. 92. 'Vin tu,' that is 'visne tu,' means 'surely you will not.']

72. *Huncine solem tam nigrum surrexe*] 'Huncine' is compounded of the pronoun, the demonstrative enclitic 'ce' (for 'ecce,' 'behold'), and the interrogative enclitic 'ne' (Key's L. G. 293). As to 'surrexe,' see S. i. 5. 79; and Terence (Ad. iv. 2. 22), "Non tu eum rus hinc modo Produxe aibas?"

74. *Casu venit obvius illi adversarius*] Whether this 'adversarius' is the same person who was plaintiff in the action above referred to has been questioned. The point turns on the expression 'rapit in jus' (v. 77). 'In jus vocare' is a technical expression having reference to the first step in a civil action when both parties appeared before the praetor or other magistratus having 'jurisdictio,' with the view of fixing a day for the commencement of the trial. On this occasion the 'vadimonium' above described was entered into. This first step was usually avoided by the parties arranging the day between themselves, and giving each other security for their attendance. But when the defendant was obstinate and ill-disposed, the 'in jus vocatio' was resorted to. 'In jus vocare,' therefore, being the first step, could not follow upon the neglect of the 'vadimonium' by Horace's companion; and the 'adversarius' in this case cannot be the plaintiff in the other, unless Horace is speaking loosely. But as this unprincipled fellow may very probably have had plenty of creditors, there is no reason why Horace's deliverer should not be a new one sent by Apollo to his rescue. If we are to suppose the two to be identical, then Horace means that the plaintiff, not satisfied with the forfeit of the 'vadimonium,' would go through with the action, and hurried his adversary off to the praetor. If that be so, Horace uses a legal term in an unusual way, from want of accurate knowledge of the language of the courts. The above will be found better stated in Mr. Long's note referred to on v. 36, where the inconsistency between Orelli's views and his quotations from Plautus is also shown.

76. *Licet antestari*] This word signifies the calling a bystander to witness that there was nothing illegal in the conduct of the plaintiff in such a case as the above, and that the defendant had resisted, and that force was necessary. The process was by touching the ear of the person whose testimony was asked, who could not be compelled to be a witness, but after he had consented he was bound to appear and give evidence if required. Horace was only too glad to help in the forcible removal of his persecutor, and gives his ear with all readiness. The parties begin to wrangle: a crowd of idlers of course forms round them, and Horace makes his escape. The meaning of 'in jus vocatio' and 'antestari' is marked in a passage of Plautus (Pers. iv. 9. 8):

"*S.* Age ambula in jus, leno. *D.* Quid me in jus vocas!
S. Illi apud praetorem dicam. Sed ego in jus voco.
D. Nonne antestaris? *S.* Tuan' ego causa, carnifex,
Quoiquam mortali libero aures atteram?"

The words of the XII. tables quoted here by Porphyrion are "SI IN JUS VOCAT, NI IT, ANTESTATOR. IGITUR EM CAPITO." [Dirksen, Zwölf-Tafel-Fragmente, p. 129.] A Scholiast on Virg. Ec. vi. 4, "Cynthius aurem Vellit et admonuit," says, "Solebant testium aures tenere et ita dicere: Memento, quod tu mihi in illa causa testis eris: quod est antestari." Pliny (N. H. xi. c. 45. 103) accounts for the practice by saying the seat of the memory was in the bottom of the ear ('est in aure ima memoriae sedes, quam tangentes antestamur').

SATIRE X.

The line of self-defence Horace took in the fourth Satire (see Introduction, and v. 6 n.), led him into a criticism of Lucilius, which gave a fresh handle to his adversaries, who professed an admiration for that poet, but admired him for his worse faults of taste, and especially for his combination of Greek words with his mother tongue,—a practice the affectation of which no one would more instinctively feel and condemn than Horace. The occasion did not give scope for much good writing, and the Satire has little merit as a composition. Somebody wishing to try his skill in imitating Horace, prefixed to this poem the following verses, which are generally, though not universally, allowed to be spurious, but they appear in some good MSS. Franke (F. H. p. 107) says they are genuine. They are discussed in an Excursus by Orelli, and in a paper by Jacobs (Lect. Ven. xi.) :—

"Lucili, quam sis mendosus, teste Catone
Defensore tuo, pervincam, qui male factos
Emendare parat versus; hoc lenius ille
Est quo vir melior, longe subtilior illo,
Qui multum puer et loris et funibus udis
Exhortatus, ut esset opem qui ferre poëtis
Antiquis posset contra fastidia nostra,
Grammaticorum equitum doctissimus. Ut redeam illuc;"

ARGUMENT.

Well, I said that Lucilius' verses were rough. And who can deny it? But I gave him credit at the same time for his great wit. If allowing this I must allow him every thing, the farces of Laberius I must call poems of great beauty. It is not enough to raise a laugh, though that has its merit; there should be terseness and variety, going from grave to gay, from the severe orator or the keen satirist to the polished wit. A mixture of humour and severity is the way to settle grave questions. This was the ground of the old comedians, whom Hermogenes and his mincing tribe never read a word of.

"Oh! but Lucilius was great in the blending of Greek words with our own." Blockheads! Is that a great thing which Pitholeon can do? "But a language compounded of the two is surely so much sweeter, like mixing Chian and Falernian wines." Now I ask you, would you apply that rule to the language of the Forum? And while our great advocates are working out their speeches with much labour in the best possible Latin, would you mix up yours with Greek? When I once thought of writing Greek verses the shade of Romulus appeared to me by night, and bade me rather carry faggots to the forest. So while Alpinus is murdering heroes in bombast, I stick to my unambitious trifles. Fundanius may write comedy, as he does better than any man living; Pollio may write tragedy; Varius bold epics; Virgil bucolics; my strength lies in that style in which Varro and others have failed, though I am not equal to Lucilius who invented it. I have no wish to rob him of the crown that is his due.

But I said the flow of his verse was that of a muddy stream, carrying with it more faults than beauties. Well, do you never find a blot even in Homer, with all your learning? Did not Lucilius find faults in Accius and in Ennius? Why may not I in-

quire whether it was from the nature of his mind or of his subject that Lucilius wrote clumsy verses, such as any one would write who thought more of quantity than quality, like Cassius whose books were burnt on his own funeral pile? Grant him all the wit and eloquence you please, yet if he had lived till now he would have corrected much that he wrote, and taken more pains than he did.

If you wish to write well, correct what you write, and look for the approval not of the multitude but of the few. You are not ambitious surely of your verses being hacked in cheap schools. If you are, I am not. I look for the applause of better judges. Am I to be put out by the abuse of a vulgar rabble? Let my noble band of learned and loving friends be pleased and I want no more. Demetrius and Tigellius may go and whine to their pupils. And so, boy, let this be my valediction to them all.

NEMPE incomposito dixi pede currere versus
Lucili. Quis tam Lūcili fautor inepte est
Ut non hoc fateatur? At idem quod sale multo
Urbem defricuit charta laudatur eadem.
Nec tamen hoc tribuens dederim quoque cetera; nam sic
Et Laberi mimos ut pulchra poëmata mirer.

[1. *Nempe*] See the Introduction. The word 'nempe' concedes, as a Scholiast says. It also confirms. Compare S. ii. 3. 207; 7. 80. 'Nempe,' it is supposed, may be another form of 'namque' (S. i. 5. 101).]

3. *At idem*] "'At' denotes rather addition than opposition. It is commonly employed after a concession" (Key's L. G., 1445). 'You say and I admit it, still in the same Satire I praised him.'

4. *defricuit*] This word is nowhere else used in this sense. It means to give a hard rub, as we say. There are other vulgarisms in our own language akin to this expression.

[— *eadem*] S. i. 4. 8.]

6. *Et Laberi mimos*] Laberius was the most distinguished writer of this particular kind of play that we know of. He died the year before the battle of Philippi, A.U.C. 711, and therefore before this Satire was written. The Roman mimes were in the time of Laberius represented in the theatres with the regular drama, and were accordingly, we may believe, of a higher order than those representations which at an earlier period bore this name, though still they appear to have been of a licentious character. They were a combination of grotesque dumb-show, of farcical representations in verse-dialogue, of incidents in low and profligate life, and of grave sentiments and satirical allusions interspersed with the dialogue. Of these, as in the Atellanae Fabulae, the first element chiefly prevailed. That class of representation was gradually superseded by the mime, which came to be in great favour. This appears to have been the only purely Roman conception of the Drama; for though the name is derived from the Greek, the characters of the Greek and Latin mimes were essentially different. That they were very popular we know. When Ovid would excuse himself to Augustus, he writes (Trist. ii. 497 sqq.):

"Quid si scripsissem mimos obscaena jocantes,
Qui semper juncti nomen amoris habent?
In quibus assidue cultus procedit adulter,
Verbaque dat stulto callida nupta viro.
Nubilis hos virgo matronaque virque puerque
Spectat, et e magna parte senatus adest;"

and he adds that Augustus himself was a great patron of these licentious representations. From a prologue written by Laberius (and preserved in Macrobius, Saturn. ii. 7) on a famous occasion, on which C. Julius Caesar (B.C. 45) caused him though an 'eques' to act in his own farce, we may believe that Laberius did something to raise the tone of these plays. But, without meaning personally to disparage that writer, Horace might very well hesitate to call his mimes 'pulchra poemata,' since they could not even have pretended to the title of poems at all.

Ergo non satis est risu diducere rictum
Auditoris; et est quaedam tamen hic quoque virtus.
Est brevitate opus, ut currat sententia neu se
Impediat verbis lassas onerantibus aures;
Et sermone opus est modo tristi saepe jocoso,
Defendente vicem modo rhetoris atque poëtae,
Interdum urbani, parcentis viribus atque
Extenuantis eas consulto. Ridiculum acri
Fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.
Illi scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est
Hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi; quos neque pulcher
Hermogenes unquam legit neque simius iste

When Schlegel therefore (Drama, Lect. viii.) and others say that Horace speaks disparagingly of Laberius' mimes, and draw inferences from this fact adverse to his own judgment, they appear to me to mistake the meaning of this passage. He gives Laberius as much praise as he gives Lucilius, and though that is qualified praise, the nature of the compositions he employed himself on rendered this unavoidable. There can be no doubt that his wit would have adorned a higher sphere of writing, if he had selected it. Cicero, writing to Cornificius (ad Fam. xii. 18) says, 'Equidem sic jam obdurui ut ludis Caesaris nostri animo aequissimo viderem T. Plancum, audirem Laberii et Publii poemata,' which may imply that he had a great dislike to the mimes of Laberius and Publius Syrus, and he may very well be supposed to have been displeased at the character of the plays, while he may have appreciated the abilities of the authors.

[7. *rictum*] 'Rictum' and 'rictus' contain the root of 'ringi' (Epp. ii. 2. 128). Cicero (Verr. ii. 4. 43) uses 'rictum' for the mouth, where he is speaking of a statue.]

9. *Est brevitate opus*] The want of this quality in Lucilius he condemns in S. 4. 9 sqq. 'Tristi' signifies 'serious.' 'Defendente vicem,' supporting the part, like 'fungar vice cotis' (A. P. 304), and 'actoris partes chorus officiumque virile Defendat' (v. 193). On 'modo,' see S. i. 3. 12. The combination Horace commends is that of the orator sternly or gravely rebuking vice, of the humorous satirist (poetae) broadly ridiculing it, and of the polished wit who, instead of throwing himself with all his strength upon his victim, substitutes sarcasm for invective, and lets his power be rather felt than seen. Of these three the gravity of stern reproof Horace estimates lowest, saying that ridicule generally settles questions of however grave importance better and more decisively than severity. 'Secare' is used in the sense of 'decidere' in Epp. i. 16. 42: "Quo multae magnaeque secantur judice lites." Cicero (de Or. ii. 58) says, "Est plane oratoris movere risum—maxime quod tristitiam ac severitatem mitigat et relaxat odiosasque res saepe quas argumentis dilui non facile est joco risuque dissolvit."

16. *Illi scripta quibus*] See S. i. 4. 2 n. 'Hoc stabant,' 'stood on this ground,' as 'hinc pendet,' S. 4. 6. ['Stabant:' this word is used to signify a dramatic piece which pleases. Comp. Terence, Phormio, Prol. 9; Horace, Epp. ii. i. 176. Orelli.]

18. *Hermogenes*] See S. i. 3. 129 n. 'Simius iste' is said by the Scholiasts, with every probability, to mean Demetrius, whom we meet with below (v. 79) as an abuser of Horace and (v. 90) as a trainer of 'mimae,' like Hermogenes with whom he is associated. The Scholiasts say he was called an ape because of the shortness of his stature and the deformity of his person. It may be doubted whether that idea was not derived from Aristophanes' description of Cleigenes, Ran. 708, *ὁ πίθηκός γ' οὗτος Κλειγένης ὁ μικρός.* His only skill was to sing the love songs of Calvus and Catullus (and to imitate them, Acron adds, probably at a guess). Horace having mentioned the great masters of Greek comedy, cannot help stepping out of his way to aim a blow at these pitiful persons, Hermogenes and his ape. It has been rightly observed that Horace does not mean to disparage the two favourite poets and sworn friends, Calvus and Catullus, but merely to show that it required a more

Nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum.
"At magnum fecit quod verbis Graeca Latinis
Miscuit." O seri studiorum! quine putetis
Difficile et mirum Rhodio quod Pitholeonti
Contigit? "At sermo lingua concinnus utraque
Suavior, ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est."
Cum versus facias, te ipsum percontor, an et cum
Dura tibi peragenda rei sit causa Petilli?
Scilicet oblitus patriaeque patrisque, Latine

vigorous taste than Hermogenes or Demetrius possessed to appreciate or even to read such writers as Aristophanes and his brethren, for whom he had an unbounded admiration. It might be supposed that Horace intends to express a poor opinion of Calvus and Catullus: but I cannot see why if a man were to say of a modern English coxcomb who could do nothing better than please a circle of ladies with a popular song and agreeable voice, that he could sing Moore's ballads from beginning to end, but could not understand a line of Shakspeare, therefore he was disparaging that graceful song-writer, between whom and Shakspeare there can be no comparison, as there could be none between Catullus and Aristophanes.

20. *quod verbis Graeca Latinis*] This is a new fault in Lucilius' style not before mentioned. See the note on S. 4. 6. Cicero's advice in respect to the consistency of our lives is illustrated thus: "Ut enim sermone eo debemus uti qui notus est nobis, ne ut quidam Graeca verba inculcantes jure optimo rideamur, sic in actiones omnemque vitam nullam discrepantiam conferre debemus" (De Off. i. 31). 'Seri studiorum' represents the Greek ὀψιμαθεῖς, to whom Theophrastus devotes one of his least descriptive characters. In 'quine putetis' the interrogative enclitic is somewhat redundant, but not more than in many other instances, as S. ii. 2. 107, "Uterne Ad casus dubios fidet sibi certius?" and iii. 295, 317. Orelli says the construction is compounded of two, 'putatis ne?' and 'qui putetis?' comparing Plautus (Trucul. ii. 6. 53), "Quine etiamnum super adducas?" and Bentley thus quotes Terence (Adelph. ii. 3. 9), "Quine omnia sibi postputarit esse prae meo commodo"? in his note on Horace. [But he has the indicative in his Terence, and without (?).]

22. *Rhodio quod Pitholeonti*] The Scholiasts say he was an absurd writer of epigrams, in which he mixed up Greek words with the Latin. Torrentius was of opinion, and Bentley and Weichert (Poet. Lat. Rel. p. 333) of the same, that the person meant is a freedman of one Otacilius, whose name he bore (M. Otacilius Pitholaus), of whom Suetonius, in his life of C. Julius Caesar (c. 75), says that he attacked Caesar in some very abusive verses, but that Caesar took it with good temper. His name was Pitholaus, but Horace might change that termination without violating the Greek usage, as Τιμόλαος and Τιμόλεων, Μενέλαος and Μενέλεως, &c., are different forms of the same name. There is some probability in the conjecture.

24. *ut Chio nota si*] On 'nota' see C. ii. 3. 8. Here the Chian, a sweet wine, would represent the Greek as the rougher wine of Campania would stand for the less-polished Latin.

26. *causa Petilli*] See S. 4. 94 n.

27. *Scilicet oblitus*] Against all the MSS. Bentley suggests, and Heindorf adopts, 'oblitos,' to be governed by 'malis.' The received reading, which addresses itself to the supposed advocate of a mixed language, gives just as good sense as the other, in my opinion. Bentley revives the reading of the old editions, 'Latini,' which Lambinus, on good authority, since confirmed by other MSS., changed to 'Latine.' Bentley and Gesner, who follows him, can find no better explanation of 'patris Latini' than king Latinus. [This is also the explanation of Heindorf and Ritter, who have 'oblitos' and 'Latini.'] With 'oblitus' and 'Latine' the whole passage runs thus: "You say that the language is more elegant if it be set off with Greek. But I ask you yourself, is it only when you are writing poetry; or supposing you had on hand a difficult cause, such as that of Petillius, would you then likewise, forgetting your country and your birth, while our great orators Pedius and Messalla are

Cum Pedius causas exsudet Poplicola atque
Corvinus, patriis intermiscere petita
Verba foris malis, Canusini more bilinguis?
Atque ego cum Graecos facerem natus mare citra
Versiculos, vetuit me tali voce Quirinus
Post mediam noctem visus cum somnia vera:
"In silvam non ligna feras insanius ac si
Magnas Graecorum malis implere catervas."
Turgidus Alpinus jugulat dum Memnona, dumque

elaborating their speeches in their pure mother tongue,—would you, I say, prefer mixing up a foreign jargon with your native language, like a double-tongued man of Canusium?" He puts the composition of verses, on such themes as Lucilius chose, on a par with the gravity of forensic speaking, and asks why if the man would not apply the rule to the latter he should do so to the former. [The MSS. authority for 'Latini' is better than that for 'Latine.' Assuming then 'patris Latini' to be the right reading, we must choose between the MSS. reading 'oblitus' and the conjecture 'oblitos.' Now if we first omit 'cum Pedius—Corvinus,' the sense is, 'would you forgetting your country and your Latin father rather choose to mix foreign with native words?' and the connexion between 'oblitus' and 'malis' is clear. The difficulty is in 'cum Pedius—Corvinus.' When Horace says 'though they sweat over their cases,' we must suppose that it is implied that they talk pure Latin. If we read 'oblitos,' then we have the construction 'oblitos—intermiscere—malis,' and Pedius and Corvinus, to whom 'oblitos' refers, are introduced by a 'cum.' Such a construction is absurd, and the emendation 'oblitos' manifestly spoils the sentence. Whether 'patris Latini' means a 'Latin father' or old Latinus, the father-in-law of Aeneas is immaterial.]

28. *Cum Pedius causas*] It is doubted whether Poplicola should be taken with Pedius or Corvinus. The son or grandson of Julia, sister of C. Julius Caesar, was Q. Pedius, who died in the year of his consulship, A.U.C. 711. This Pedius, therefore, could not have been the orator of the text. He had a son, of whom history says nothing, but that he was the father of Q. Pedius, who was born dumb, and having been taught painting through the means of Messalla Corvinus his kinsman, became eminent as an artist. These are all the Pedii of this age that we know of; and if any of these was the orator, it must have been the son of the first Q. Pedius, and either grandson or great grandson of Julia. His family were connected by marriage with the Messallae, but there is no record of the cognomen Poplicola belonging to any of them. Neither is there any reason that I know of to suppose it was borne by Messalla Corvinus, to whom Horace here alludes. (See C. iii. 21, Int.). He had a brother by adoption named Gellius Poplicola, and it was a cognomen of the Valeria gens, to which Messalla belonged, but he is never so called himself. Acron takes Poplicola with Pedius, and says he and Messalla were brothers. Orelli says that Q. Pedius, the father of the dumb painter, adopted a brother of Messalla, whence he was named Pedius. Estré takes Poplicola with Corvinus, as in S. 5. 27, "Maecenas, optimus atque Cocceius;" and below, v. 82, "Octavius, optimus atque Fuscus." In respect to Messalla's religious reverence for his mother tongue, the Scholiasts write (the words are those of Comm. Cruq., but Porph. tells the same story), "a Graecis vocabulis ita abhorruerunt ut Messalla σχοινοβάτην Latino 'funambulum' reddiderit, ex Terentio in Hecyra, ubi ait, Funambuli eodem accessit expectatio;" which Estré interprets thus; that in the place in question (Hecyra, Prol. v. 26) Terence wrote originally, "Schoenobatae eodem accessit expectatio," and that Messalla substituted the word 'funambuli,' which was retained in all the subsequent copies. Quintilian describes Messalla (x. 1. 113) as "orator nitidus et candidus et quodammodo prae se ferens in dicendo nobilitatem suam." And Horace speaks again of his eloquence, A. P. 370. His intimacy with Horace began in Brutus' army, and continued unbroken till Horace's death.

30. *Canusini more bilinguis*] See S. i. 5. 91 n.

36. *Turgidus Alpinus*] See Excursus.

Defingit Rheni luteum caput, haec ego ludo,
Quae neque in aede sonent certantia judice Tarpa,
Nec redeant iterum atque iterum spectanda theatris.
Arguta meretrice potes Davoque Chremeta
Eludente senem comis garrire libellos
Unus vivorum, Fundani; Pollio regum

38. *Quae neque in aede sonent*] Sp. Maecius (Metius the Scholiasts call him) Tarpa was the lord-chamberlain of that day, and licensed plays before they were acted. It appears from a letter of Cicero to Marius (Ad Fam. vii. 1) that he was appointed to that duty by Cn. Pompeius, on the opening of his theatre, A.U.C. 699. He is mentioned again in the Ars Poetica (v. 387), though it is not certain from that passage that he still retained these duties. The 'aedes,' Comm. Cruq. says, was "Aedes Apollinis seu Musarum," and Bentley on Epp. ii. 2. 92, says it was either the library attached to the Palatine temple of Apollo, or the temple called 'Herculis Musarum,' rebuilt by Philip, the step-father of Augustus, and called from him 'Porticus Philippi.' But the former temple was not built till the autumn of A.U.C. 726. (C. i. 31, Int.). The latter (though this has been denied, see Estré, Prosop. p. 209) was probably the same temple, restored and beautified, as that erected to the Muses by Fulvius Nobilior, about A.U.C. 567. Temples of Apollo and the Muses are referred to by Juvenal (S. vii. 37) as the resort of poets, and there can be no doubt that other temples besides (Ovid. Trist. iii. 1. 69) had buildings attached where men of letters assembled. In one of these, therefore, or some building especially consecrated to the Muses (for 'aedes' in the singular number cannot signify a private house, nor does the context admit of that interpretation, which Masson, Franke, and others give it), poets who had plays they wished to get represented recited them, probably in the presence of Tarpa. Comm. Cruq. says that this duty was committed to Tarpa in conjunction with five others. It had previously formed part of the functions of the aediles, and it was not till political allusions became common, and the position of affairs too critical to bear them, that this special censorship was created.

42. *Unus vivorum, Fundani*] Of this Fundanius, who Horace says was the only man of the day who could write a comedy in the style of Menander and that school, nothing is known. Because he is mentioned with Pollio, who gave up arms for letters, Weichert (Poet. Lat. p. 51, n. 41) conjectures he may have been C. Fundanius, an eques who, we are informed by the author of the Bellum Hispaniense, (c. 11) deserted Cn. Pompeius, and went over to C. Caesar. But this is not a very good argument. He is mentioned with Pollio, because the one wrote comedies and the other tragedies. Fundanius is the narrator of the scene in S. ii. 8, the supper of Nasidienus. I think it probable Horace exaggerated his merits as well as Pollio's out of affection for the men. As to Pollio, see C. ii. 1, Int., and v. 10 n. "Pollio's political greatness might easily dazzle the eyes of his contemporaries as to the true value of his poetical works," is Schlegel's opinion (Drama, Lect. xv.); and he thinks that though "we cannot exactly estimate the extent of our loss (in the tragedies of the Augustan age), to all appearance it is not extraordinarily great." 'Regum,' such as the 'saeva Pelopis domus' (C. i. 6. 8 n.). 'Pede ter percusso' refers to the trimeter iambic, the common measure of tragedy. As to Varius, see the ode last mentioned, v. 8. 11, and S. i. 5. 40. The derived significations of 'ducere' are so various, as I have observed (C. iv. 6. 23), that it is hard to follow them. As applied to a poem it is supposed by some to be taken from the process of spinning, which receives support from Epp. ii. 1. 225: "tenui deducta poëmata filo," and S. ii. 1. 4: "Mille die versus deduci posse." Others suppose it to be applied to a poem as to a statue, to the making of which both in metals and in marble the word 'ducere' is employed. Whether Virgil had at this time published his Georgics or not is uncertain, from the doubt that hangs over both the date of this Satire and the publication of those poems. But at any rate Virgil had them in hand, and his friends had probably heard a great part of them recited in private. The Scholiasts say that Virgil appears to have written the Georgics and Bucolics; but they only gather this probably from the text. The Bucolics had been published some time, but until the Aeneid had made some progress we have no reason to suppose that Virgil was classed by his con-

Facta canit pede ter percusso; forte epos acer
Ut nemo Varius ducit; molle atque facetum
Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae.
Hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino
Atque quibusdam aliis, melius quod scribere possem,
Inventore minor, neque ego illi detrahere ausim
Haerentem capiti cum multa laude coronam.
At dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, saepe ferentem
Plura quidem tollenda relinquendis. Age, quaeso,
Tu nihil in magno doctus reprehendis Homero?
Nil comis tragici mutat Lucilius Acci?

temporaries with poets of the first rank. Certainly his Eclogues do not deserve a higher place than is due to polished versification, and will bear no comparison with the Idylls of Theocritus. — 'Facetum' signifies 'elegant,' as in a coxcomb it would be called 'fine,' S. i. 2. 26. [Quintilian (vi. 3. 20) says of 'facetum:' 'Decoris hanc magis et excultae cujusdam elegantiae appellationem puto.']

46. *Varrone Atacino*] Jerome (in Euseb. Chron. Olymp. 174. 3, A.U.C. 672) says "P. Terentius Varro vico Atace in provincia Narbonensi nascitur qui postea xxxv annum agens Graecas literas cum summo studio didicit." (See Clinton, F. H. sub an.) He was called Atacinus, whether from a district or, as the Scholiasts say, a river of Gallia Narbonensis (the district is not named, but there is a river Atax, the Aude), to distinguish him from M. Terentius Varro, who is sometimes called Reatinus. His attempts at satire, in which Horace says that he had failed, are nowhere noticed but here. Comm. Cruq. thus paraphrases Horace's words: "Hoc erat quod ego melius possem scribere quam Varro Atacinus et alii multi, qui conati sunt scribere Satyras quas non satis laudabiliter ediderant." Porphyrion explains 'quibusdam aliis' to mean Ennius and Pacuvius, which is very improbable. As we should not have known that Varro was a satirist, if Horace had not mentioned it, so we may suppose there are others even among the poets whose names have come down to us with credit, and many we have not heard of, who wrote in this style and made nothing of it. Estré mentions Saevius Nicanor and Lenaeus, from Suetonius de Illust. Grammat. c. 5 and 15; and L. Albutius from Varro de Re Rust. iii. 2. 17. (Addenda, p. 588.) [M. Terentius Varro wrote four books of Satirae. Ritschelii Comment. 'die Schriftstellerei des M. Terentius Varro,' Bonnae 1847. Ritter.]

50. *At dixi, &c.*] See S. i. 4. 11.—[Ritter writes 'dixti' on his own authority, and defends it thus: 'per totam eclogam adversus Horatium pugnat interlocutor.' He adds truly '*at* in Satiris ponit Horatius, quotiens aut adversarium inducit aut ipse quae opposita sunt refutare aggreditur, non ubi ad novam rem ipse transitum facturus est.' But this remark contains the answer to his 'dixti,' for 'At dixi' means, 'I said, as you will say, &c.:' and the alteration is useless.]

53. *Nil comis tragici mutat Lucilius Acci?*] 'Comis' is usually taken ironically. I think it is more in accordance with Horace's temper and the purpose of this Satire, which is conciliatory, to take it literally as Orelli does, referring to the description in S. ii. 1. 30, &c. (see below, v. 65). Accius was born B.C. 170, and was a writer of tragedies, chiefly from the Greek, but some 'praetextatae.' Cicero calls him "gravis et ingeniosus poëta" (pro Planc. c. 24), "summus poëta" (pro Sestio, c. 56). Quintilian's judgment will be found in the note on Epp. ii. 1. 56. Horace speaks elsewhere (A. P. 258) of "Acci nobilibus trimetris," where, as in the above Epistle, he is referring more to the popular judgment than giving his own. Gellius (xiii. 2) relates how Accius read to Pacuvius one of his early productions (Atreus, a tragedy), and that the old man said, "sonora quidem esse quae scripsisset et grandia; sed videri ea tamen sibi duriora paullum et acerbiora." Accius acknowledged it was so, but hoped that what was hard and harsh in him would be mellowed by time. Gellius finishes his account of Roman authors (xvii. 21) with "Q. Ennius et juxta Caecilius et Terentius ac subinde et Pacuvius, et Pacuvio jam sene Accius, clariorque tunc in poëmatis eorum obtrec-

Non ridet versus Enni gravitate minores,
Cum de se loquitur non ut majore reprensis?
Quid vetat et nosmet Lucili scripta legentes
Quaerere, num illius, num rerum dura negarit
Versiculos natura magis factos et euntes
Mollius ac si quis pedibus quid claudere senis,
Hoc tantum contentus, amet scripsisse ducentos
Ante cibum versus, totidem coenatus; Etrusci
Quale fuit Cassi rapido ferventius amni
Ingenium, capsis quem fama est esse librisque
Ambustum propriis? Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
Comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem
Quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor,

tandis Lucilius fuit." Porphyrion has a note about Lucilius: "facit autem hoc cum alias tum in tertio libro et nono et decimo Satirarum." ['Nil mutat,' 'does he change nothing?' is supposed to mean 'does he find fault with nothing in the writings of Accius?' Doederlein thinks that 'mutat' may mean that Lucilius parodied some of Accius' bombast.]

55. *non ut majore reprensis*] "Quando de se loquitur non sic dicit quasi melior sit illis poëtis," which interpretation of Acron's —the true one no doubt—I give because some editors, including Doering and Heindorf and [Doederlein], make another question of this verse, and translate it thus: "When he speaks of himself, is it not as of one superior to those he finds fault with?" —which is contrary to the spirit of the passage altogether. Horace seeks in Lucilius a precedent, not for commending himself, but only for noticing in a fair spirit of criticism the poets that have gone before him.

59. *ac si quis*] Orelli limits this use of 'ac' after words of comparison to the poets; but it is also employed in prose. (See S. i. 1. 46 n.) Horace says he is at liberty to inquire whether it is not a natural consequence of Lucilius' temperament, and the character of his subjects, that he wrote verses not more polished and smooth than might be expected of a man who was content with giving his lines the proper number of feet, and took delight in stringing together a vast number of them in the shortest possible time. 'Pedibus quid claudere senis' I understand to explain 'hoc,' contented merely with this, that is to say, comprising something (that he calls a verse, for there is contempt in 'quid') in six feet. Bentley puts 'hoc tantum' in a parenthesis, which is unnecessary. 'At,' which is the reading of some of the old editions and of Lambinus, and 'an' the conjecture of Dacier and Doering, are bad substitutes for 'ac.'

61. *Etrusci quale fuit Cassi*] Of this Cassius we know nothing, and what Horace says of him is no more than a jocular invention that his writings were of so little value that they were burnt on the same funeral pile with his body, or, rather, there was enough of them to form a funeral pile. The Scholiasts confound him with Cassius of Parma (Epp. i. 4. 3 n.): and many editors follow them, forgetting that Parma was not an Etrurian town, but belonged to the Boii in Cisalpine Gaul. Bentley again "sua vineta caedit" (C. iv. 12, Int.), for he takes the Etruscan Cassius to be Cassius of Parma, who was put to death by order of Octavianus after the battle of Actium (in which he took part with M. Antonius), in A.U.C. 723; whereas Bentley supposes in his chronological scheme that the first book of the Satires was finished in A.U.C. 717. Acron says his books were burnt with his body, by order of the senate; confounding him with Cassius Severus (mentioned on Epod. vi., Int.), in respect to whom we read in Suetonius (Calig. c. 16) that such a decree was passed.

63. *capsis*] See S. 4. 22 n.

64. *Fuerit*] See S. i. 1. 45.

66. *Quam rudis et Graecis*] Allow that he is more polished than as the inventor of a new style of writing unknown to the Greeks he appears to be, and than the mass of the older poets certainly are. ['Rudis' agrees with 'carminis:' but the meaning of the verse is doubtful. Some critics

Quamque poëtarum seniorum turba ; sed ille,
Si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in aevum,
Detereret sibi multa, recideret omne quod ultra
Perfectum traheretur, et in versu faciendo
Saepe caput scaberet vivos et roderet ungues.
Saepe stilum vertas iterum quae digna legi sint
Scripturus, neque te ut miretur turba labores,
Contentus paucis lectoribus. An tua demens
Vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis ?

think that the 'rudis carminis auctor' is some earlier poet than Lucilius, whoever he may be. It is also doubtful who are the poets whom Horace alludes to in 'poetarum seniorum turba.' Some suppose them to be all the poets from Livius to Lucilius : but Horace could not properly name these writers a 'turba,' and he appears to mean some very early writers, whose names are unknown to us. On the other hand it is in favour of Macleane's interpretation, that 'Graecis intacti carminis auctor' seems to be an allusion to Roman satire, of which Lucilius is named the father.] Horace means to say that Lucilius, from the novelty of his style, may possibly be judged unfairly, and may possess more beauties and even elegancies than are allowed him ; but still there can be no doubt, if he had lived to that time, he would have corrected many expressions and gone to a good deal of trouble in polishing his verses. The commentators have given a variety of interpretations from the Scholiasts downwards, which Orelli has collected. The above agrees with Heindorf's explanation, and is the substance of a paper on the subject by C. F. Hermann, which Orelli quotes with approbation.

The MSS. and editions vary between 'dilatus' and 'delatus,' 'dilapsus' and 'delapsus.' The first is more generally adopted. It means properly 'deferred,' had his birth been put off till now. 'Delatus' would mean, had his life been continued, brought down to the present time.

[69. *Detereret*] A metaphor derived from the file (lima) ; 'recideret,' a metaphor from the surgeon's knife ('immedicabile vulnus ense recidendum,' Ovid. Met. i. 190). 'Ultra perfectum,' that which is in excess, and therefore spoils a thing. 'Traheretur,' drawn out, and therefore feeble—'roderet ungues :' comp. Persius, S. i. 106 ; v. 162.]

72. *Saepe stilum vertas*] 'Stilum vertere' was the phrase for erasing what had been written, one end of the iron pen (stilus) being broad for the purpose of obliterating the letters made upon the wax tablet by the sharp end, which they called 'acumen.' [Cic. de Or. i. c. 33. Comp. Cic. Verr. ii. 2. 41.]

75. *Vilibus in ludis*] Such schools as Flavius' perhaps, if poetry was ever taught there, or in those cheap schools in the back streets mentioned in Epp. i. 20. 18. The word 'dictari' refers to the practice of the teacher reading out a passage for the pupil to repeat after him, one of the earliest steps in education being accurate pronunciation. This is what Macrobius means when speaking of Virgil he asks, "nunc quia cum Marone nobis negotium est, respondeas volo utrum poëtae hujus opera instituendis tantum pueris idonea judices, an alia illis altiora inesse fatearis. Videris enim mihi ita adhuc Vergilianos habere versus qualiter eos pueri magistris praelegentibus canebamus" (Saturn. i. 24). See also Martial 1. 36 :

"Versus scribere me parum severos,
Nec quos praelegat in schola magister,
Corneli, quereris."

Orelli explains 'dictari' here of the boy repeating what he has learnt, and in Epp. ii. 1. 71, where it is obviously said of the teacher, he explains it of his repeating the words to be taken down by the scholar and then got by heart. Comm. Cruq. and many of the editors understand it here of the master. The words 'canere,' 'cantare,' which are frequently applied to the recitation of the pupil, show that the modulation of the voice was a primary consideration in teaching. To help this I have no doubt was one principal purpose of the master's reciting to his scholars, which was done quite at the beginning, and probably before the boys could write ; whence Horace says (Epp. ii. 1. 126), "Os tenerum pueri balbumque poëta figurat." It was a good preparation for their subsequent training under the teacher of rhetoric.

Non ego; nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax
Contemptis aliis explosa Arbuscula dixit.
Men moveat cimex Pantilius, aut cruciet quod
Vellicet absentem Demetrius, aut quod ineptus
Fannius Hermogenis laedat conviva Tigelli?
Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Virgiliusque,
Valgius et probet haec Octavius, optimus atque
Fuscus et haec utinam Viscorum laudet uterque.
Ambitione relegata te dicere possum,
Pollio, te, Messalla, tuo cum fratre, simulque
Vos, Bibule et Servi, simul his te, candide Furni,

77. *explosa Arbuscula*] This actress has been mentioned before S. i. 2. 2 n. [See Cic. ad Att. iv. 15, 6, written B.C. 54. Arbuscula was therefore not on the stage now.] As she, when she was hissed off the stage, said she cared nothing for the rest of the spectators, and was satisfied if she pleased the front benches (the equites), so Horace says he only wishes to be read in the better sort of schools, where that class of people sent their sons.

78. *cimex Pantilius*] Comm. Cruq. says, "nomen est vilis poëtae et malevolentis," which is only gathered from the text. A more contemptible animal could not have been chosen to liken the man to, whether for its odour, its skulking, or its bite. So that *δήγματα κορέων, λαθρόδακναι κόρεις*, seem to have been proverbial expressions for the calumnies of such people. Philost. Vit. Soph. ii. 10. 1, and Antiphanes, quoted from the Anthology by Jacobs, Lect. Ven. p. 394.

79. *Demetrius*] See above on v. 18, and as to Fannius, see S. i. 4. 21 n. On Plotius, see S. i. 5. 40, and on Valgius, C. ii. 9. Int. Octavius is unknown. It has been supposed that he was the person to whom the poem Culex, attributed to Virgil, is addressed. On Fuscus (to whom the epithet 'optimus' belongs), see C. i. 22. Int., and S. 9. 61, and Epp. i. 10.

83. *Viscorum laudet uterque*] Here Acron writes, "Visci duo fratres erant optimi poëtae. Alii dicunt criticos fuisse. Pater eorum Vibius Viscus quamvis et divitiis et amicitia Augusti clarus esset in equestri tamen ordine perduravit." Comm. Cruq. has much the same. If Viscus be the correct reading in S. 9. 22 and S. ii. 8. 20, the persons there mentioned may be one or other or both of these brothers.

[84. *Ambitione relegata*] See C. ii. 1, and S. i. 6. 52 n. 'Laying aside all flattery,' which is the interpretation of Lambinus. Heindorf interprets 'ambitione' by 'vanity.' As 'ambitio' means a seeking of favour and good opinion, it may either mean seeking the favour of Pollio, or the good opinion of the many by showing an intimacy with this great man; and that would be vanity.]

85. *tuo cum fratre*] According to Estré this was Gellius Poplicola, Messalla's brother by adoption. He was with Brutus and Cassius in Asia Minor; but left them before the battle of Philippi, and joined M. Antonius, and he commanded the right wing of his army at Actium. (Dion. Cass. xlvii. 24). If this be the person Horace alludes to, his acquaintance with him began in Brutus's camp. He was consul in the year A.U.C. 718. Orelli [and Ritter] affirm that Messalla had a brother Q. Pedius Poplicola (v. 28 n.).

86. *Vos, Bibule et Servi*] M. Calpurnius Bibulus, who was consul in A.U.C. 695 with C. Caesar, and through the influence of Cn. Pompeius was appointed governor of Syria in 703, when Cicero was governor of Cilicia, had four sons, of whom two were killed in Egypt while their father was in Syria; one who was made legatus of Syria by M. Antonius, soon after the battle of Philippi (at which he was present), and who appears to have died in that province shortly after he went there; and one who was a little child (*παιδίον μικρόν*, Plut. Brut. c. 13) when his mother Porcia married M. Brutus, which could not have been earlier than A.U.C. 706, when the elder Bibulus died. He wrote an account of his stepfather's life, which Plutarch made use of. This is supposed to be the person Horace alludes to. He must have been still quite young, whichever date of those that are proposed is adopted. [Some critics suppose that there were only three sons of the consul Bibulus; but the son whom Plutarch mentions (Brutus, c. 13)

Complures alios, doctos ego quos et amicos
Prudens praetereo; quibus haec, sunt qualiacunque,
Arridere velim, doliturus si placeant spe
Deterius nostra. Demetri, teque, Tigelli,
Discipularum inter jubeo plorare cathedras.
I, puer, atque meo citus haec subscribe libello.

could not have been in the battle of Philippi (B.C. 42), for he was a little child in B.C. 48, if Plutarch's story is true. The MSS. have 'Bibuli.' 'Bibule' was suggested by Muretus and accepted by N. Heinsius and Bentley. As 'Servi' cannot be a contracted plural of 'Servii' (Bentley), the conjecture 'Bibule' seems probable, for Horace would hardly join a singular and a plural together here.] In the notice of Servius Sulpicius Rufus, the distinguished lawyer and friend of Cicero, in the Dict. Biog., it is said that he left a son named Servius. This son may be the person Horace refers to. Cicero says of him in a letter to the father, "Cum tuo Servio jucundissimo conjunctissime vivo, magnamque quum ex ingenio ejus tum ex virtute et probitate voluptatem capio" (ad Fam. xiii. 27. See also iv. 3 and 4, where Cicero speaks of his great literary attainments, and Phil. ix. 3, 4, 5, where his grief for his father's death, A.U.C. 711, is earnestly dwelt upon). Furnius was also the son of a friend and correspondent of Cicero, and was a favourite with Augustus. Shortly after the battle of Actium he got Augustus to take his father, who had followed M. Antonius, into favour, and his gratitude on that occasion is recorded by Seneca, de Benef. ii. 25. His words show at least that he was no mean courtier: "Hanc unam, Caesar, habeo injuriam tuam; effecisti ut viverem et morerer ingratus." Comm. Cruq. says of him, "historiarum fide et elegantia claruit." ['Simul his:' 'together with these.']

91. *Discipularum inter jubeo plorare cathedras*] Their pupils were chiefly 'mimae' (see S. 2. 2 n.), but some ladies of birth at this time learnt singing of professors, and it was not counted much to their praise. 'Jubeo plorare' corresponds to the Greek οἰμώζειν κελεύω, so common in Aristophanes; but Baxter for once has succeeded in finding a real διλογία in 'plorare,' which represents not only the above proverbial expression, but the drawling of the singing master teaching his pupils sentimental or melancholy songs. 'Cathedra' is an easy chair used chiefly by women. [Wieland suggests that 'discipularum' contains a foul insinuation against the male pupils of these music men.]

92. *I, puer*] Porphyrion explains this in the following way, "eleganter, quasi hoc ex tempore dixerit, praecipit puero ut in librum suum illud conferat, ne pereat tam opportunum et congruens in modulatores dictum." Authors had slaves, called 'pueri a studiis,' or generally 'librarii,' to whom they dictated. See S. 4. 10. Epp. i. 10. 49. The notion of this Scholiast is, that Horace extemporized this anathema against Demetrius and Tigellius, and then told his amanuensis to go before he forgot it and add it to the Satire as his 'subscriptio;' which in letters was the word 'vale,' or something civil of that sort. This interpretation may be admitted without disturbing the notion that 'libellus' signifies the whole book including these ten Satires, though it might equally suit the present one. See Pers. i. 120. I think 'subscribe' has the meaning above given, and am inclined to take 'libello' for the Satire, not the book, which Orelli and Dillenbr. take it to mean, following Bentley, who takes that meaning for granted. The editors are divided; Heindorf, Gesner, Doering, take it as I do, and so does Kirchner, Qu. Hor. p. 137.

EXCURSUS

ON VER. 36.

TURGIDUS ALPINUS.

On this Acron says, "Vivalium quendam poëtam Gallum tangit," which Comm. Cruq. repeats, though his editor changes 'Vivalium' into 'rivalem.' Porphyrion writes, "Cornelius Alpinus Memnona hexametris versibus descripsit." From which

notices Cruquius has inferred that Horace alludes to C. Cornelius Gallus, the intimate friend of all Horace's friends, and of Virgil in particular (Ecl. x.). No opinion can be more improbable than this. Out of the word 'Vivalium' (evidently corrupt) in Acron's note, Bentley has conjectured, with some appearance of probability, that M. Furius Bibaculus is the person referred to. This poet, who was born at Cremona A.U.C. 652 (see Clinton F. H. sub an.), is mentioned with respect by Quintilian (x. 1. 96), and classed with Catullus and Horace as a satirist. But Quintilian also quotes (viii. 6. 17) with disapprobation the verse of this same person imitated by Horace in S. ii. 5. 41, "Juppiter hibernas cana nive conspuit Alpes." The affectation noticed in this verse, and continued perhaps in others that followed, may account for Furius's cognomen, given him probably by his contemporaries generally and therefore sufficient for them to recognize him by. Some think he is so called from his birthplace, from which Acron calls him 'Gallum poëtam:' others because he wrote a poem (πραγματεία the Scholiasts call it) on Caesar's Gallic war, from which the above verse is taken. Bentley prefers the first of these three reasons, and I agree with him. The epithet 'turgidus' applies to his person, and is explained by the description given of him in the above place, "pingui tentus omaso." He is said to have murdered Memnon, and it is generally said that this refers to a translation he is supposed to have made of the Aethiopis of Arctinus, one of the cyclic poets, in which Memnon was one of the principal heroes. Dacier suggests that he wrote a tragedy with this title, to which notion the following lines give some probability. Horace says that Furius, like some rude artists, had made a figure of Rhenus with a head of clay, referring to the statues by which the different river gods were represented, and to some description this poet had given of the sources of the Rhine, probably in the above poem on the Gallic war. There is a very different representation of Rhenus on a medal of Drusus, in Oiselius' Thesaurus, Pl. 24, 6, where he appears as a majestic figure, reclining with his left arm resting on his urn, and in his right hand a reed partly broken; which latter symbol appears to have been familiar to Ovid, for he writes, describing the triumph of Tiberius, A.D. 12 (ex Pont. iii. 4. 107):

"Squalidus immissos fracta sub arundine crines
Rhenus et infectas sanguine portet aquas."

'Defingo' is to fashion out, and differs little from 'fingo:' 'diffingo' (C. i. 35. 39 n.) is to break up and fashion anew. Nevertheless some MSS. and editions have 'diffingit' here. Dillenbr. says this word "haud dubie reprehensionem continet ut simile verbum deformare." I do not agree with him. If 'deformare' were substituted it would either have the same meaning that I have given to 'defingit,' or it would signify disfigures, which sense the passage will not bear. There is a chapter in Gellius (xviii. 11) in which he defends Furius from the adverse judgment of Caesellius Vindex, who pronounced him affected, and said he had spoilt the Latin tongue by the invention of new words, of some of which he gives specimens. The heading of the chapter makes this Furius to be Aulus Furius of Antium; but as he was a poet held in high esteem, and one whom Virgil largely imitated (Macrob. Saturn. vi. 1), it has been assumed that "Furii Antiatis," in the lemma to Gellius' chapter, is a corrupt reading (Weichert, Poët. Lat. p. 350 sqq.). Whatever the merits of Furius of Antium may have been, it is possible he may have used the expressions Gellius quotes, and they would not be more or worse blemishes than one might find in most poems of the same length (his Annals extended to upwards of eleven books); and I see no good reason for supposing Furius Bibaculus to be meant. It is curious however that one of the affectations ascribed to the poet Gellius refers to, is "quod terram in lutum versam 'lutescere' dixerit." If Bibaculus were the author of this expression we might imagine that it had stuck to his name, and that Horace uses the expression 'luteum caput' as referring to this proverbial reproach.

Q. HORATII FLACCI

SATIRARUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.

SATIRE I.

C. Trebatius Testa was a jurisconsult of eminence and a man of honour. [He was intimate with Cicero, who wrote for him a letter of recommendation to C. Caesar during the Gallic war, and corresponded with Trebatius while he was with Caesar in Gallia (ad Fam. vii. 5—18).] He was also in the confidence of Augustus, who consulted him on legal matters [Dig. i. 2. 2 § 45; Inst. ii. 25.] Horace seems to have been well acquainted with him, though he was many years younger than Trebatius, and it is said that he was dead when this Satire was written. I am inclined to doubt this, for though it is possible Horace may have used the old man's name even if he was dead, it is more natural to suppose that he did so when he was alive. The Satire is placed by some chronologists after all the others of the second book. Franke argues from the allusion in v. 15 to the Parthians, that it must have been written in A.U.C. 724, when, after the battle of Actium, Augustus was in Asia settling the affairs of the East (C. i. 26, Int.). I think this is a weak foundation for his assumption. As I have said before, the conquest of the Parthians was a subject the Romans of this period had continually before them, and to allude to the wounds of the Parthian prostrate on the field of battle ("aut labentis equo describat vulnera Parthi") would have been more natural at almost any time than when Augustus was carrying on peaceful negotiations with that people, without any immediate intention or prospect of coming to blows with them. That the Satire was written after the eighth of the first book is plain, because a verse is repeated from that Satire in this (v. 22). Horace writes however as if he were just beginning his career (v. 60), full of the impulses of youth, and resisting the superior wisdom of his elder. As this is done only to keep up a little humour in the scene, no particular inference as to time can be drawn from it. Because Caesar is called 'invictus' (v. 11), Kirchner supposes the Satire could not have been written till after the death of M. Antonius and the final establishment of Augustus' power. He therefore assumes the date A.U.C. 726, which I believe to be much too late.

Horace pretends to lay before the old lawyer a case for his opinion, and asks what he had better do to meet the malevolence of his enemies. Trebatius advises him to cease from writing, which Horace says is impossible. He was born to write, and must do it. He has no capacity for heroic subjects, and has a passion for imitating Lucilius, to whom he pays a graceful compliment by the way. Trebatius warns him that he runs the risk of being frozen to death by his great friends, or of legal penalties for libel. But trusting in the goodness of his cause Horace sets these dangers at defiance, and resolves to indulge his inclination. It is not easy to suppose that a satire written in this strain was quite the last that Horace composed; and it might be supposed, not

unreasonably, that it followed at no great distance of time the eighth of the first book, from which Trebatius quotes and not from any in the second book, from which he might as easily and more naturally have quoted if they had been written at the time; for that they were published as soon as written, and not for the first time when they were collected in books, is sufficiently evident.

ARGUMENT.

Some men think my satire too severe, others think it wants power. Tell me, Trebatius, what am I to do?

Keep quiet.

What, not write at all?

That is my advice.

Well certainly it would be better; but I can get no rest.

Then go and swim the Tiber, or drink freely over-night; or, if you must write, write of Caesar's renown, and you will get your reward.

Good father, I have no strength for that: the battle-field is not a fit theme for every one.

But you may write of his virtues and his fortitude, as Lucilius wrote of Scipio's.

So I will when opportunity offers. But Caesar is only to be approached at the proper time. Stroke him clumsily and like a spirited horse he kicks.

But how much better is this than to libel buffoons and prodigals, and so make an enemy of every body.

What am I to do? Every man has his taste, and mine is to string words together, as Lucilius did. He trusted all his secret thoughts to his books: in prosperity or adversity he made them his friends; so that there you see the man's life drawn out as in a picture. Him the humble poet of Venusia follows. But I attack no one without provocation: why should I? I desire peace, but woe to the man that rouses me. He'll suffer for it, and find himself the talk of the town. And this is in the course of nature. Every animal defends itself with its own proper weapons. The long and short of it is, I must write whether I am to die presently or in a quiet old age, rich or poor, at home or an exile, whatever or wherever I may be.

Young man, I fear your life is not worth much: your great friends will freeze you to death.

Why, were Laelius and Scipio offended with Lucilius when he attacked all the great men of his day, sparing none but the virtuous? Nay, they loved him and lived with him most familiarly. I may be much beneath Lucilius in wealth and genius; but I too have illustrious friends, and if any one thinks to put his teeth into me he will find himself mistaken. Do you object to that, Trebatius?

No, I do not. But I must remind you that if any man write scurrilous verses against another, the law allows him a remedy.

I grant you, scurrilous: but what if they are good and proper verses, and the person worthy to be exposed?

Why then the court will laugh at the joke, and you will come off scot free.

"Sunt quibus in satira videor nimis acer et ultra
Legem tendere opus; sine nervis altera quidquid

1. *Sunt quibus—videor*] Bentley [and Ritter] have 'videar.' The MSS. and editions are divided. But Horace had no doubt in his mind those particular opponents, on some of whom he had retorted in S. 10 of the last book, and this being the case the indicative mood is wanted rather than the subjunctive (C. i. 1. 3 n., and compare S. i. 4. 24: "Quod sunt quos genus hoc minime juvat"). I do not agree with Orelli that 'tendere opus' is a metaphor taken from the stretching of the

Composui pars esse putat, similesque meorum
Mille die versus deduci posse. Trebati,
Quid faciam praescribe." "Quiescas." "Ne faciam, inquis,
Omnino versus?" "Aio." "Peream male si non
Optimum erat: verum nequeo dormire." "Ter uncti
Transnanto Tiberim somno quibus est opus alto,
Irriguumque mero sub noctem corpus habento.
Aut si tantus amor scribendi te rapit, aude
Caesaris invicti res dicere, multa laborum
Praemia laturus." "Cupidum, pater optime, vires
Deficiunt: neque enim quivis horrentia pilis
Agmina nec fracta pereuntes cuspide Gallos

strings of a lyre or a bow. Horace says he is charged with carrying his work, or straining it, beyond the licence properly allowed to satire, and that is all. The notion of a metaphor taken from Orelli's source would lead to confusion in respect to the next word 'nervis,' which might be supposed to be taken from the same idea. It merely means 'nerve,' 'vigour.' See S. i. 10. 53 n. As to 'deduci,' see S. i. 10. 44 n.

7. *Optimum erat*] Here as below (v. 16) the imperfect indicative is used where the subjunctive might be expected. The Greeks in similar cases sometimes used the imperfect indicative without ἄν, where the usual construction required that word.

— *Ter uncti transnanto Tiberim*] See S. i. 6. 122 n. The language is a little in the style of a 'lex.' 'Sub noctem' means at nightfall. See Epod. ii. 44 n. S. ii. 7. 109. Epp. ii. 2. 169. It appears from Cicero's letters to Trebatius that he was a great swimmer; and Cicero describes himself as having gone home from his house one night "bene potus seroque" (ad Fam. vii. 22). [Ritter connects 'ter' with 'uncti,' and he supposes this triple anointing to be 'ante cursum, luctationem, disci jactum.' He shows that a man who swam the Tiber from the Campus Martius would be forced by the stream to land much lower down on the Tuscan side, and if he swam back he would land on the inhabited bank of the city, 'ubi nemo natantem tulisset.' This is a good argument against swimming the Tiber even once. Ritter relies on the order of the words as evidence for his interpretation, but this argument is inconclusive in the case of Horace's Satires. 'Ter,' 'three times' is, as Krüger says, a kind of magical number.]

10. *rapit*] Bentley, with no authority worth consideration, substitutes 'capit,' and thereby weakens the sentence. There is force in 'rapit,' 'hurries you on like a torrent.'

13. *quivis*] This corresponds to ὁ τυχών in Greek, 'any one.'

14. *fracta pereuntes cuspide*] Plutarch, in his life of Marius (c. 25), relates how, on the occasion of a battle with the Cimbri, he altered the spears of the soldiers in such a way that they could not be of use to the enemy. He says that the spear-heads were formerly fastened to the shaft by two iron nails, and that Marius removing one substituted for it a wooden peg, which would give way when the spear struck the shield, where it would stick and drag along the ground. [It is not probable that Horace alludes to the fight between Marius and the Cimbri, though it is true that the Romans sometimes gave the name Celtae or Galli to the Cimbri.] In A.U.C. 715 Augustus was engaged in putting down disturbances in Gaul, and Agrippa was sent there by him two years afterwards. At sundry times between that and his victory at Actium he was engaged in the same quarter, as Franke has shown from the historians; and he included his victories over the Gauls in the first of his three days' triumphs A.U.C. 725 (Dion. Cass. li. 21). The Parthians falling under blows inflicted by the arms of Augustus, is a picture drawn from imagination; for the first time Augustus came in contact with the Parthians was in A.U.C. 724, when, after the battle of Actium and the taking of Alexandria, he went into Asia and Syria, and there Tiridates fled to him for protection from Phraates (C. i. 26, Introduction). Not a blow was struck, nor did he encounter any Parthian force at all, then or at any subsequent time. On 'la-

Aut labentis equo describat vulnera Parthi."
"Attamen et justum poteras et scribere fortem,
Scipiadam ut sapiens Lucilius." "Haud mihi deero
Cum res ipsa feret. Nisi dextro tempore Flacci
Verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem,
Cui male si palpere recalcitrat undique tutus."
"Quanto rectius hoc quam tristi laedere versu
Pantolabum scurram Nomentanumque nepotem,
Cum sibi quisque timet, quamquam est intactus, et odit!"
"Quid faciam? Saltat Milonius, ut semel icto
Accessit fervor capiti numerusque lucernis.
Castor gaudet equis, ovo prognatus eodem
Pugnis; quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum
Milia: me pedibus delectat claudere verba

bentis equo,' see C. i. 2. 39 n. ['Describat:' 'describit,' Ritter.]

16. *poteras*] See v. 7. As to 'fortem,' see what is said of 'Fortitudo' on C. S. v. 57.

17. *Scipiadam ut sapiens Lucilius*] Virgil uses this form (Georg. ii. 170), "Scipiadas duros bello" [and Lucretius, iii. 1034.] As the Elder Scipio had Ennius to praise him (C. iv. 8), so the younger had Lucilius, who was his intimate friend, and who served under him in the Numantine War. 'Sapiens' is applied to the poet as 'doctus' is elsewhere. See note on C. i. 1. 29.

18. *dextro tempore*] See S. ii. 4. 4: "cum te sic tempore laevo Interpellarim." ['Res feret,' 'when opportunity shall offer:' 'dumque aetas tulit,' Ter. Andr. ii. 6. 12.]

22. *Pantolabum*] S. i. 8. 11.

24. *Milonius*] When the Scholiasts know nothing about a man of this sort they usually call him a 'scurra,' a parasite, a low fellow who has no respect for himself, who lets himself out at the price of a dinner to entertain rich people and their guests with buffoonery and small talk. This man, as soon as the wine is in his head, would get up and dance before the company, the lowest proceeding in the eyes of a Roman that could be imagined. Cicero (pro Mur. c. 6) says it is wrong in Cato to call a Roman consul a 'dancer:' "Nemo fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit," and he calls it "omnium vitiorum postremum." 'Icto,' in this sense of 'wine-struck,' is expressive, but does not occur elsewhere. It is a Greek notion. Juvenal graphically describes the effect of tipsiness in doubling the candles and putting every thing out of its place (vi. 304).

"Cum bibitur concha, cum jam vertigine tectum
Ambulat, et geminis exsurgit mensa lucernis."

26. *Castor gaudet equis*] This difference in the tastes of Castor and his brother is expressed in one line of the Iliad (iii. 237), Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ πὺξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα. On what follows the Scholiasts quote the well-known sentence of Terence, "Quot homines tot sententiae; suus cuique mos" (Phormio, ii. 4. 14).

28. *claudere*] See S. i. 10. 59. Out of the common compliment in the next line, with which Rutgersius (Lect. Ven. p. 362) compares Lucretius (iii. 1025):—

"Lumina sis oculis etiam bonus Ancu' reliquit,
Qui melior multis quam tu fuit, improbe, rebus,"

the Scholiasts have extracted an allusion to Lucilius' ancestral connexion with Cn. Pompeius Magnus, whose great uncle he is said to have been. The description of Lucilius' affection for his books, his companions in cheerfulness and in sorrow, to whom he communicated as to sympathizing friends his most secret thoughts, and through whom his whole inner life was laid open to the world, is graceful and touching. It must have satisfied any reasonable person who had been disposed to quarrel with Horace for his remarks on the old poets.

Lucili ritu nostrûm melioris utroque.
Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
Credebat libris, neque si male cesserat unquam
Decurrens alio, neque si bene; quo fit ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita senis. Sequor hunc, Lucanus an Apulus anceps:
Nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus,
Missus ad hoc pulsis, vetus est ut fama, Sabellis,
Quo ne per vacuum Romano incurreret hostis,

[31. *male cesserat*] 'If things had turned out unfavourably.']

33. *Votiva—tabella*] On this practice see C. i. 5. 12 n. It was probably not confined to sailors. [Compare, 'ex voto,' S. i. 5. 66.]

34. *Vita senis*] Lucilius, who is said to have died in his forty-sixth year, A.U.C. 652, is here called old only in point of time, as in Epp. (ii. 1. 56), "Aufert Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti;" and above (S. i. 10. 67), "poetarum seniorum turba;" and as Aristophanes is called by Persius (i. 124), "praegrandis senex." [The authority for the year of Lucilius' birth (A.U.C. 606) and that he died in A.U.C. 652 is Hieronymus; but I agree with Ritter that there is an error in the dates, for Horace describes him as an old man, not as an old or ancient poet. Lucilius was the intimate friend of Scipio Africanus the younger, who died A.U.C. 625, at the age of fifty-six, at which time, according to the date of Hieronymus, Lucilius was only nineteen, and yet Horace makes him the intimate friend of Scipio and of Laelius, who was consul B.C. 614, and describes him as writing his bitterest satires in their lifetime (v. 65, &c.).]

— *Lucanus an Apulus anceps*] See C. iii. 4. 9 n. 'Anceps' I think with Heindorf is neuter. 'Sub' signifies 'close up to,' where 'sub' has its original meaning 'up,' and "the sense of 'to' belongs to the accusative termination, not to the preposition" (Key's L. G. 1374 note). As to 'colonus,' see C. ii. 14. 12 n. 'Romano' is used for the Romans, as in Epod. vii. 6, and Tac. Ann. xii. 58, quoted on S. ii. 5. 62. The colony of Venusia (Venosa) was formed in A.U.C. 463, the last year of the third Samnite War, when L. Postumius Megellus and C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus were consuls (Clinton, F. H.). The town, which was on the borders of Lucania and Apulia, belonged to the Samnites, from whom it was taken by Q. Fabius. Sabelli was the name given by the Romans to all the tribes which issued from the Sabine stock, of whom the Samnites were one. Apulia and Lucania were, at the beginning of this war, independent states in close alliance with the Samnites; but after the first year they deserted those allies and joined the Romans, with whom they united their forces till the end of the war. Horace's supposition that one or other of those states was meditating or carrying on war with Rome is not therefore strictly accurate. It was in consequence of the commanding position of Venusia, in reference to the three nations of the Samnites, Apulians, and Lucanians, that the Romans sent there in the above year (A.U.C. 463) a colony of 20,000 persons. This place was of great use to the Romans in the war with Pyrrhus. After their reverse at the battle of Heraclea, A.U.C. 474, the remnant of their army retreated to Venusia; and many found refuge here after the defeat of Cannae. There are very few monuments of antiquity or ruins at Venosa. A marble bust placed upon a column professes to be an ancient bust of Horace; but its authenticity is more than doubtful. Swinburne takes it to be the head of a saint, but observes that the inhabitants have not canonized Horace as the Neapolitans have Virgil. Horace commences this digression meaning to speak humbly of himself as compared with Lucilius, a Roman 'eques,' and continues it perhaps from affection for his native place, and to show that it had done good service and was not to be despised. The second syllable in Venusinus is short here, and in C. i. 28. 26. Juvenal lengthens it (vi. 167): "Malo Venusinam, quam te, Cornelia, mater Gracchorum." 'Quo ne' (v. 37) is an unusual expression, in which 'quo' is redundant. [Dig. 21. 1. 17, quoted by Heindorf, 'si celandi causa, quo ne ad dominum reverteretur, fugisset, fugitivum esse.']

Sive quod Apula gens seu quod Lucania bellum
Incuteret violenta. Sed hic stilus haud petet ultro
Quemquam animantem et me veluti custodiet ensis
Vagina tectus; quem cur distringere coner
Tutus ab infestis latronibus? O pater et rex
Juppiter, ut pereat positum rubigine telum,
Nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis! At ille
Qui me commorit,—melius non tangere! clamo;
Flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe.
Cervius iratus leges minitatur et urnam,
Canidia Albuci quibus est inimica venenum,
Grande malum Turius, si quid se judice certes.

39. *sed hic stilus haud petet ultro*] On this use of 'sed' see C. iv. 4. 22 n. 'Ultro' means here wantonly, without provocation or cause. (C. iv. 4. 51 n.) The MSS. vary as usual between 'destringere' and 'distringere.' See C. iii. 1. 17 n. Orelli [and Ritter] prefer 'destringere,' Heindorf 'distringere.' Having adopted 'distringere' in the above passage, I do so here, without feeling quite certain which is right. The same variation occurs in the MSS. in Caesar (B. G. i. 25. 'Ut pereat' is an imitation of the Greek use of *ὡς*, expressing a wish. From 'at ille' the construction is a little irregular, but the abruptness of the several clauses is well suited to the occasion: 'but for that man that provokes me, he had better not touch me, I cry; he'll suffer if he does,' &c. It spoils the sentence to put 'melius—clamo' in a parenthesis, as Bentley does, so that 'ille' may go with 'flebit.' [Ritter follows Bentley.]

47. *Cervius iratus—urnam*] Comm. Cruq. is the only Scholiast who gives any account of this man. He says: "Cervius Ascanii libertus calumniator accusavit Cn. Calvinum lege de Sicariis." Estré, following Lambinus, thinks we should read Servius, and that the person meant is Servius Pola, whom Cicero mentions as a low informer (ad Quintum Frat. ii. 13). His friend Coelius, writing to Cicero (ad Fam. viii. 12), mentions this Pola as one whom his enemies were trying to enlist to lay an information against him. The person he is said by the Scholiast to have informed against is Cn. Domitius Calvinus, consul A.U.C. 701. Another Cervius is mentioned below (S. ii. 6. 77). 'Urnam' means the urn into which the judices in criminal trials put their tablets, or that into which their names were put for drawing the jury, as the Scholiasts say.

48. *Canidia Albuci quibus*] Acron understands this to mean Canidia the daughter of Albucius. Porphyrion says, "Amphibolice posuit:" for it may be either what Acron says or the poison of Albucius: "hic enim Albucius veneno uxorem suam dicitur peremisse." Comm. Cruq. takes it the first way, referring to Virgil's "Deïphobe Glauci" (Aen. vi. 36). Duentzer goes farther, and supposes Canidia to have been 'amica Albucii;' that he is identical with the Varus of Epod. v., and had his name, as she hers, from his white hair, which is all mere invention. Porphyrion's story may be assumed to be the true one, or like the truth, Albucius being a person notorious for having poisoned somebody. We meet with another Albucius below (S. 2. 67), whom Porphyrion identifies with this person, and says he poisoned his wife because he wanted to marry another woman.

49. *Grande malum Turius*] Of this person we know nothing; but Porphyrion says, "Hic praetor fuit apud quem accusatus est a Cicerone Verres Hortensio defendente;" but on that occasion M' Acilius Glabrio was praetor. Comm. Cruq., in a note of which the text is very corrupt, calls him C. Marius Turius, and says he was 'judex corruptissimus,' that he presided at Verres' trial, and gave out tablets of different colours, that he might know which of the judices voted according to his wishes,—which is clearly all taken from a misunderstanding of the words Cicero puts into the mouth of Hortensius (Divin. c. 7). The words "magnus ille defensor et amicus ejus" (i. e. of Verres), by which Cicero means Hortensius, the Scholiast applies to Turius. The Pseudo-Asconius (p. 109, ed. Orelli) on the above

Ut quo quisque valet suspectos terreat, utque
Imperet hoc natura potens, sic collige mecum :
Dente lupus, cornu taurus petit : unde nisi intus
Monstratum ? Scaevae vivacem crede nepoti
Matrem ; nil faciet sceleris pia dextera : mirum,
Ut neque calce lupus quemquam neque dente petit bos ;
Sed mala tollet anum vitiato melle cicuta.
Ne longum faciam : seu me tranquilla senectus
Exspectat seu Mors atris circumvolat alis,
Dives, inops, Romae, seu fors ita jusserit, exsul,
Quisquis erit vitae scribam color." "O puer, ut sis

chapter of Cicero, has a note which may have led to the confused statements of the Scholiasts : "Terentius Varro consobrinus frater Hortensii reus ex Asia apud L. Furium praetorem primo de pecuniis repetundis, deinde apud P. Lentulum Suram est accusatus; absolutusque est a Q. Hortensio, qui corruptis judicibus hunc metum adjunxit ad gratiam ut discoloribus ceris insignitas judices tabellas acciperent," &c., where perhaps for Furium we should read Turium, though Cruquius prefers changing Horace's Turius into Furius, which the metre will not allow. Doering, however, follows him. As praetor, Turius could not be called judex. The threat has reference to a 'causa privata,' an action at law, in which Turius might act as judex. 'Si quis se judice certet' is the reading of Lambinus and the editions of the sixteenth century. 'Si quid—certet' is that of Ven. 1483 and others of the earliest editions. The reading of the text, Fea says, is in the Venetian edition of 1481. It is supported by the best MS. authority, and Bentley has done well to restore it to the text.

50. *Ut quo quisque valet*] In what follows it is Horace's purpose to show that it is a law of nature that every one should use the means of defence that are given him, and he is only acting on this law when he employs satire in self-defence. 'Unde' in v. 52 belongs to 'monstratum,' as in the next Satire, v. 31, "Unde datum sentis." Some punctuate the words 'unde, nisi intus monstratum ?' so as to mean 'how should they unless it were suggested from within ?' Comm. Cruq. says Scaeva was a luxurious liver, and poisoned his mother because she lived longer than he liked, which we may learn from the text without his help. Acron says he was given to magic arts and Porphyrion quotes by way of illustration a passage from a speech of Cicero, not extant, on behalf of Scaurus : "Libertus patronum non occidit, sed duobus digitulis gulam oblisit." Horace says that Scaeva, like other animals, resorted to the means most natural to him, which were not cold steel, to which cowards have an aversion, but poison. 'Mirum, ut neque,' &c., 'Strange! yes, as strange as that the wolf does not kick nor the ox bite.'

58. *seu Mors atris circumvolat alis*] The representations of Death in the works of art that have come down to us are very few. From medals, coins, seals, rings, &c., the figure of Death would be banished, as Spence says (Polymetis, p. 260), because it would be unsuitable and of ill omen ; and of ancient pictures we have few remaining. In those probably the representations of the poets were copied, or those which we find in the poets are copied from them, and this of death with dark wings hovering over a man looks very like the representation of a painting. Seneca describes Death with many wings :

"Mors alta avidos oris hiatus
Pandit et omnes explicat alas."
(Oedipus, Act i. Chor.)

[See C. ii. 17. 24.]

60. *Quisquis erit vitae scribam color*] This loose collocation of words is not uncommon in Horace.

— *O puer, ut sis*] See Introduction. This sentence illustrates the rule respecting verbs of fearing, that they "have the subjunctive with 'ne' if the object be not desired, with 'ut' if it be desired" (Key's L. G. 1186), to which the note is "observe that the Latin inserts a negative where the English has none, and vice versa." Persius has imitated this passage (S. i. 107):

Vitalis metuo et majorum ne quis amicus
Frigore te feriat." "Quid, cum est Lucilius ausus
Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,
Detrahere et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora
Cederet, introrsum turpis, num Laelius aut qui
Duxit ab oppressa meritum Karthagine nomen
Ingenio offensi aut laeso doluere Metello
Famosisque Lupo cooperto versibus? Atqui
Primores populi arripuit populumque tributim,
Scilicet uni aequus virtuti atque ejus amicis.
Quin ubi se a volgo et scena in secreta remorant
Virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli,

"Sed quid opus teneras mordaci radere vero
Auriculas? Vide sis ne majorum tibi forte
Limina frigescant."

64. *Detrahere et pellem*] Compare Epp. i. 16. 44:

"Sed videt hunc omnis domus et vicinia tota
Introrsum turpem, speciosum pelle decora."

Each of the Scipiones had a Laelius for his intimate companion. This is C. Laelius Sapiens, the friend of P. Scipio Africanus Minor, and well known through Cicero's treatises 'de Senectute' and 'de Amicitia,' in the former of which he is a listener, in the latter the principal speaker. As to the following verse see C. iv. 8. 18 n. ['Per ora cederet:' Sallust, Jug. c. 31, has 'incedunt per ora vostra,' 'they march before your faces;' and Ovid, Trist. iv. 2. 27:

"Hos super in curru, Caesar, victore veheris
Purpureus populi rite per ora tui."]

67. *Metello*] Q. Caecilius Metellus, who had the cognomen Macedonicus given him for his success against Andriscus, the pretender to the throne of Perseus, was a political opponent of Scipio; but it need not be supposed it was on this account that Lucilius satirized him. Horace's way of mentioning the subject is against that supposition. He means to say Scipio and Laelius were not offended at Lucilius' wit, nor feared it might turn upon themselves, when they saw him attack Metellus. But if Lucilius had done so because he was an enemy of Scipio, that alone would be a sufficient guarantee against his exercising his wit in an offensive way upon his friend, and Horace's argument would mean nothing. Metellus' opposition to Scipio in public life was conducted without acrimony, as Cicero says (de Off. i. 25. 87).

68. *Lupo*] Who Lupus was is not certain. His name appears in many of the fragments of Lucilius, and Persius writes (S. i. 114), "Secuit Lucilius urbem, Te Lupe, te Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis." The person most probably alluded to, as Torrentius suggests, is L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, who was consul A.U.C. 598. What he had done to provoke Lucilius' satire we do not know, but Cicero has preserved a verse of his in which Lupus is mentioned. "Quid de sacrilegis, quid de impiis perjurisque dicemus?' asks Cicero (de Nat. Deorum, i. 23); and he proceeds:

"Tubulus si Lucius unquam,
Si Lupus, aut Carbo, aut Neptuni filius,

ut ait Lucilius, putasset esse Deos, tam perjurus aut tam impurus fuisset?" where, if Lucilius' verse was in accordance with Cicero's argument, Lupus is classed with the perjured and profligate.

—*Atqui primores populi*] 'Atqui' means 'but he did, did he not?' (S. i. 1. 19). 'Tributim,' throughout all the tribes: he attacked the optimates and plebeians, and all without distinction. 'Aequus' means 'favourable to.'

72. *Virtus Scipiadae*] See v. 17, and S. i. 2. 32 n. on the expression 'virtus Scipiadae,' and compare Juv. iv. 81, "Venit et Crispi jucunda senectus." Laelius had the cognomen Sapiens, and any one who reads Cicero's treatise that bears his name will understand Horace's epithet 'mitis.' Cruquius' Scholiast relates a story of Laelius running round the dinner-table, and Lucilius pursuing him with a napkin to flog him. Lucilius was born

Nugari cum illo et discincti ludere donec
Decoqueretur olus soliti. Quidquid sum ego, quamvis
Infra Lucili censum ingeniumque, tamen me
Cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque
Invidia, et fragili quaerens illidere dentem
Offendet solido; nisi quid tu, docte Trebati,
Dissentis." "Equidem nihil hinc diffindere possum.
Sed tamen ut monitus caveas, ne forte negoti

A.U.C. 606 (see v. 34 note) according to Hieronymus, and the time of Scipio's death A.U.C. 625 is certain. Lucilius would therefore be only a boy at the time when he was thus playing with these distinguished men. [If Horace is telling the truth, the conclusion is certain that Lucilius was born long before A.U.C. 606.]

75. *Infra Lucili censum*] Horace had before intimated (v. 34 n.) that he, a poor man's son, born in a provincial town, was not to be compared with Lucilius, a Roman eques, who was rich and had a fine house in the Forum. [The mother of Cn. Pompeius Magnus was named Lucilia, and she was of senatorian stock, as Velleius (ii. 29) says. Porphyrion informs us that the sister of Lucilius was a grandmother of Cn. Pompeius Magnus; and if this is so, Velleius has given the wrong name for the mother of Pompeius.]

78. ['Offendet solido:' 'will meet with something hard.' This is the only example of 'offendere' with a dative given by Forcellini, except one from Papinian (Dig. 22. 1. 1), where the Florentine Pandect has 'ut legi non offendat.']—Nisi quid tu: this is equivalent to saying, 'this is what I think, Trebatius; but I shall be glad to defer to your opinion, if you differ from me.'

79. *nihil hinc diffindere possum*] This was the reading of Comm. Cruq.; for he explains it thus: "Infirmare, mutare, differre, utitur Trebatius juris antiqui verbo. Praetor enim solebat dicere 'hic dies diffissus esto.'" Porphyrion's note in Ascensius' text is "diffingere; legitur etiam diffidere," which I take to mean 'diffindere,' the usual mark over the 'ī' being omitted. The readings in the MSS. and editions here vary in the first place between 'hinc' and 'hic,' and for the verb they have 'diffundere,' 'diffidere,' 'defingere,' 'defindere,' 'diffindere,' 'diffingere,' 'diffigere,' 'defringere.' Fea says the balance of MSS. and editions is in favour of 'diffingere,' though he prefers 'diffindere.' Bentley argues for 'diffingere,' in the sense in which it is used in C. iii. 29. 47; "Diffinget infectumque reddet;" and Heindorf agrees with him. The oldest editions have that word, and Lambinus was the first to introduce 'diffindere.' Fea, with whom Orelli agrees, thinks Horace jocularly puts a legal term in Trebatius' mouth, because he was a lawyer, but without meaning it should have more than its primary signification, which would be 'to cut off,' and so Trebatius means there is no part of what Horace has said that he wished to cancel or separate from the rest, as the bad is separated from the good. I prefer this word to any of the others, but it is clear it has no technical sense here; and as to the supposed joke, it does not strike me very forcibly. Doering reads 'diffindere,' but supposes it to have the meaning of 'secare' above (S. i. 10. 15, and Epp. i. 16. 42); that is, to decide; and Trebatius, therefore, according to him, says he cannot decide the question from the premises Horace has put before him ('hinc'). Cicero has 'dissolvere' in a sense something like this (de Orat. ii. c. 58): "Orator odiosas res saepe quas argumento dilui non facile est joco risuque dissolvit." Doering's suggestion is worthy of consideration.

80. *Sed tamen*] If Doering's interpretation of 'diffindere' be correct, Trebatius means 'though I cannot pretend to decide the case you put before me, I think it right to warn you,' &c. If the other be Horace's meaning, Trebatius says 'though I have no fault to find with your remarks, still,' &c. [The Twelve Tables punished capitally (capite sanxerunt) any writing which tended to bring infamy or disgrace on another. Cicero de R.P. iv. 10. The 'sanctae leges' are 'leges' which contain a 'sanctio,' which 'sanctio' as Papinian says (Dig. 48. 19. 41) 'certam poenam irrogat iis qui praeceptis legis non obtemperaverint.'] See also Epp. ii. 1. 153. There was a 'lex Cornelia de injuriis,' which included the offence of libellous writings. (Dig. 47. 10. 5, § 9.) But Augustus himself (after this Satire was written) appears to have proposed a law on the subject, as we learn

Incutiat tibi quid sanctarum inscitia legum :
Si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, jus est
Judiciumque." "Esto, si quis mala; sed bona si quis
Judice condiderit laudatus Caesare? si quis
Opprobriis dignum latraverit, integer ipse?"
"Solventur risu tabulae, tu missus abibis."

from Suetonius (Octav. c. 55): "Id modo censuit cognoscendum posthac de iis qui libellos aut carmina ad infamiam cujuspiam alieno nomine edant." When Trebatius says there is 'jus judiciumque,' he means that there is law and also there are legal proceedings for this case. 'Ne forte' is used as in C. iv. 9. 1, where see note, and compare Epp. i. 1. 13, 18, 58; ii. 1. 208.

85. *latraverit*] There is a good deal in what Bentley says in favour of 'laceraverit,' which word he adopts. Lambinus had some MS. authority for it, and Heindorf adopts it. But 'latraverit' appears in nearly all the MSS. and editions, and the Scholiasts had that word, which is less likely to have been invented than the other. 'Latro' is used as a transitive verb in Epod. v. 58, and Epp. i. 2. 66, and therefore it may be here, which Bentley does not deny.

86. *Solventur risu tabulae*] Comm. Cruq. was as perplexed with this expression as modern commentators. He says "vel subsellia; vel leges XII tabularum; vel judices non erunt in eum severi." Acron explains 'tabulae' by 'subsellia,' by which he means that the benches of the judices would split with their laughter if there were a prosecution in such a case, like that expression in Juvenal (i. 13): "assiduo ruptae lectore columnae." The second of the above explanations ("leges XII tabularum") is adopted by Doering, Dilleubr., and Zeuni. Lambinus inclines to the same, or thinks 'tabulae' may be put for the judices, as representing the laws. Orelli takes 'tabulae' for the 'tabellae judiciariae,' the voting tablets, referring to the sentence quoted above (v. 79) from Cicero. The general meaning is that the matter will be treated as unworthy of serious consideration; the judices will laugh at the joke and acquit the defendant. I think with Orelli that the 'tabulae' are the tablets by which they declared their votes, and that Trebatius is supposed to say that the votes of the judices will be decided by the amusement of the scene, or else that the severity of their votes will be melted by the fun. [Ritter has here one of his wonderful notes: 'tabulae sunt quae cera illitae et notis C aut A aut N L inscriptae in causis quaestionum capitalium iudicibus a praetore quaestionis praeside dantur. Harum cera ridentibus iudicibus et prae risu sudantibus in manu dissolvetur ut litterae legi non possint, quo facto reus dimittetur.'

Doederlein, who has sometimes a good note, says that the text is equivalent to 'absolvetur reus cum risu per tabulas iudiciarias; tu dimissus abibis;' and he adds that in this construction the object which is in the mind is not mentioned, and in its place another member of the proposition, for instance, an instrumental member, is made the object. He illustrates this remark by various examples, of which 'pontem iungere' is one of the best.]

SATIRE II.

Of Ofella, the person into whose mouth Horace puts the chief part of the precepts contained in this Satire, we know no more than we may gather from the Satire itself, that in Horace's youth he was the owner of an estate near Venusia, and that his property was taken from him and made over to one of the veteran soldiers named Umbrenus (v. 133), and that he afterwards rented, as 'colonus,' a farm on that estate which was once his own. This transfer took place in all probability when the troops returned to Italy after the battle of Philippi, A.U.C. 712, at which time (among several other districts) the Venusinus ager was distributed among the soldiers. It has been supposed that Horace visited his native place, and renewed his acquaintance with Ofella, on his return from Brundusium (Introduction to S. i. 5, sub. fin.). The old man, unchanged by the reverses of fortune, industrious and uncomplaining, exhorting his sons to frugality and

contentment, is a pleasant picture, and helps by contrast to illustrate the gluttonous and luxurious habits of the city, which, though they had not yet reached the height they came to under the training of Apicius ("qui in ea urbe, ex qua aliquando philosophi velut corruptores juventutis abire jussi sunt, scientiam popinae professus disciplina sua seculum infecit." Sen. Cons. ad Helv. 10), were already very bad. As political activity grew dangerous and diminished, and wealth poured into the city, sensual indulgence grew rapidly. Dining began at what we should consider an early hour; and the rich passed most of their evenings over the table, which was furnished with delicacies and ornaments at enormous expense. The art of cooking must have been brought to great perfection in the course of that period during which eating and drinking was the chief feature in a Roman's day; but Horace probably only saw it in its infancy. Juvenal and Martial are more full on this matter. Flesh, fish, and fowl, and made dishes of every kind, were imported from all quarters. The art of digestion was as much studied as the art of the kitchen, but diseases of course multiplied. Convivial amusements were necessarily invented to beguile these long meals; the science of conversation flourished, and small talk was a trade, professional diners-out ('parasiti') being required to keep the company alive whenever their own resources failed. This deflection from the simplicity of the early days of Rome is a melancholy feature in the history of the Empire; but it required perhaps a stronger and sterner pen than Horace's to treat it thoroughly. This Satire, the fourth, and the eighth, throw some light on culinary details; but the vice of gluttony, which must have gone considerable lengths even at this time, might have been more vigorously attacked. It forms no part of the corruptions pointed out for reformation in the odes. Horace himself, though abstemious in his own appetite, dined a good deal with the rich, and may not have thought it expedient or gracious to attack them on such a point.

ARGUMENT.

The value of a moderate fare come learn from me (on the authority of the plain sensible Ofella), not with the glitter of plate in your eyes, but now, before you have broken your fast. He who would judge truly must have an unbiassed judgment.

(v. 9.) Go, get up your appetite with hunting or ball-play or the quoit, and then see whether you will despise humble fare and reject the drink that is not mingled with Hymettian honey. If the butler is abroad and no fish is to be had, your belly will be content with dry bread and salt. How is this? Why the pleasure of eating does not lie in the savour of the meat, but in yourself. Let labour supply you with sauce. The most tempting dainties give no pleasure to the bloated stomach. Yet scarce any argument will prevent your preferring a peacock to a barn-door fowl, merely because it has a fine tail, and costs more money. How can you tell where that fish was caught? You delight in a mullet of three pounds weight, and yet you must cut it into fragments to serve it to your friends. But why then don't you like the big lupus? Why, because the one is big by nature, the other small, and you like what is unnatural and rare. The hungry belly, on the other hand, seldom despises a thing because it is common. "I like to see a huge beast stretched out on a huge dish," says the glutton. Blow south winds and rot their dainties! But let them alone, they are as good as rotten already for appetites that want rather stimulants than food. But these luxuries are only of late growth, and some day we shall have roast gulls in fashion.

(v. 53.) But moderation is not meanness, and it is of no use to avoid one fault only to fall into another. Avidienus puts old fruit and sour wine before his friends, and is stingy of his stinking oil, even on holidays. Which would you rather imitate? Respectability lies in a middle course, avoiding excessive strictness, but equally avoiding a slovenly carelessness.

(v. 70.) Now I will tell you the advantages of moderate fare. In the first place it conduces to health, as you can easily tell, if you think how well your food agreed with you till you mixed up all manner of things in your stomach. How pale a man gets up from a mixed supper! Let the belly be oppressed with debauch and the soul is oppressed likewise. Another man takes a frugal supper, goes to bed early, and gets up equal to the duties of the day; and if a holiday comes round, or sickness or age requires extra indulgence, he may indulge himself with impunity: but what can you add to the indulgence you anticipate in your early days? Our ancestors, bent on hospitality, kept their meat till it was high, in hopes of a guest dropping in to share it. Would I had been born in those good old days!

(v. 94.) You do not disregard your character. But what disgrace as well as ruin these luxuries bring upon you! how your relations hate you, and how you will hate yourself when the last as is spent with which you would gladly have bought a rope to hang yourself!

(v. 99.) "But I can afford to be extravagant," says one. Well, if you have more than you want why not give alms, restore temples, contribute to public works? The world is never to go wrong with you, I suppose. But, tell me, you whose enemies shall one day laugh at you, which man is best fitted to meet the chances of fortune, he who seeks great things, or he who is content with a little and buckles on his armour in time of peace to meet the struggle that is coming? As an instance, look at Ofella. When I was a child he was rich, but he lived no more ostentatiously than now that he is poor. He lives on a hired farm, on the estate of which once he was master, and thus he talks to his children: "My fare on ordinary days was nothing but a dried pig's foot and vegetables; and when a friend dropped in we made ourselves merry with a chicken or kid from the farm, and plain fruit for a second course; and then we played and drank and poured libations to Ceres, who made our hearts cheerful and our faces merry. Let Fortune be as hard as she will, how can she rob us? Have we lived in less comfort since the stranger came, my children? Nature made neither him, nor me, nor any one else, perpetual owner of the soil. He has expelled me; he will be driven out in his turn. Now Umbrenus is owner; lately it was Ofella. So put on stout hearts and be ready to meet adversity when it comes."

QUAE virtus et quanta, boni, sit vivere parvo,
Nec meus hic sermo est, sed quae praecepit Ofella

1. *boni*] This opening being something like that of C. iii. 2, the word 'boni' has given some colour to the reading 'Angustam, amici, pauperiem pati.' It appears from Fea's various readings that nearly all the old editions read 'bonis,' which I find in Ven. 1483, and Ascensius, 1511. Many MSS. also have that reading. Fea adopts it; but, as Orelli says, it probably arose out of the 's' that follows. All his MSS., and all the Parisian (Pottier's) and the Blandinian, all Torrentius' but one of a late date, five of Lambinus', in short nearly all the best have 'boni.'

2. *quae praecepit Ofella*] The received reading in Bentley's time, and that of all the old editions, was 'quem praecepit Ofellus.' Torrentius preferred, but did not edit, 'quae,' which he found in three of his MSS. Bentley was the first to take it into the text. Heindorf and Dillenbr. retain 'quem.' Bentley also conjectured the reading 'Ofella' for 'Ofellus:' the former being a known Roman name, a cognomen of the Lucretii; and the other being met with neither in history nor in inscriptions. Bentley had not sufficient confidence in his own conjecture to adopt it in his text. He was deterred by the authority of John of Salisbury, who mentions one 'Ofellus' as the author of a homely proverb about superstitious people who trusted in dreams. The Scholiasts had 'Ofellus,' and every edition except Orelli's has the same, as far as I know. Estré adopts Ofella [Orelli says "*Ofella* corr. S. (Cod. Sangallensis) unde Bentleii conjecturam nunc firmatam secutus sum:" but Ritter says "miro errore Orellius ex codice Sangallensi *Ofella* lucratus est: ibi *Ofellus* et in inscriptione

Rusticus abnormis sapiens crassaque Minerva,
Discite, non inter lances mensasque nitentes
Cum stupet insanis acies fulgoribus et cum
Acclinis falsis animus meliora recusat,
Verum hic impransi mecum disquirite. Cur hoc?
Dicam si potero. Male verum examinat omnis
Corruptus judex. Leporem sectatus equove

et ceteris satirae locis clare legitur, sed hoc primo scribitur *Ofellas*, h. e. scriba incertus erat essetne *Ofellus* an *Ofellas* in exemplari suo expressum." Ritter, 'Ofellus.']

3. *abnormis sapiens crassaque Minerva*] A man wise without rule and of plain mother wit. Cicero (de Amicit. c. 5) uses the expression "agamus pingui Minerva" as proverbial. Orelli's idea that the proverb is derived "a textura rudi," I do not understand. Minerva was the goddess of wisdom, and 'crassa Minerva' therefore means a coarse rough kind of wisdom. (See Mr. Long's note on the above passage of Cicero.) 'Abnormi,' the reading of some of the best MSS., is quite out of place. 'Crassa Minerva' is proverbial; 'abnormi Minerva' is not so. [Ritter has 'abnormi.']

4. *inter lances mensasque nitentes*] The wealthy Romans had already learnt to fill their rooms with costly furniture, and to make a display of their plate, whether in the shape of useful or ornamental vessels, and the same fashion prevailed in the provinces, from whence in fact it must have been imported. One of Cicero's charges against Verres (ii. 4. 16) is, that he robbed one Diocles of all his plate, "ab hoc abaci vasa omnia, ut exposita fuerant, abstulit." 'Exponere' is the usual word for this display. 'Abaci' were slabs usually of marble, in later times even of silver. Their use was sometimes that of sideboards only. Of the same kind, used in the same way, were the 'Delphicae mensae' mentioned in the same oration of Cicero (c. 58; see Mr. Long's note). Much of the plate thus displayed was of foreign manufacture and very costly, much of it of great antiquity, and a good deal taken from Greek and Asiatic temples, and brought to Rome by various conquerors (Marcellus and Mummius in particular), by governors of Verres' school, or by the travelling mercatores, who thus brought home the proceeds of the goods they took abroad. There was no article in which the Romans showed more extravagance than their tables; and, though this did not come to its height till after the time of Augustus, the text shows that they were then very costly. Pliny relates of Cicero (N. H. xiii. 15) that he gave a million sesterces for a table of that sort which were called 'orbes.' These consisted of single slabs, sometimes of great diameter. Pliny (xiii. 15) mentions one made of the 'citrus,' a tree of the cypress kind, which was near four feet in diameter. These were called 'monopodia,' from their resting on a single stem, usually covered with ivory. The most expensive were spotted, and Pliny calls them by various names expressive of that appearance, 'tigrinae,' 'pantherinae,' &c. See Becker's Gallus, Sc. ii. notes 9. 11. The wood next in value to the citrus was the maple, and at such a table Nasidienus entertained his guests (S. ii. 8. 10). The dishes of the rich were very generally of silver, so that the 'lances' here mentioned would be not only those which appeared upon the 'abaci,' but those also in which the viands were served. 'Lances' is here used as a generic name for dishes; but there were other names, as 'patina,' 'catinus,' 'scutula,' 'gabata,' 'paropsis,' all of different shapes and for different uses.

[7. *impransi*] Comp. S. ii. 3. 257; and on the form 'impransi,' which is here used absolutely, see C. i. 2. 31 n.]

[8. *examinat*] Weighs. Cicero has the word, De Or. ii. 38. 'Examen' is the tongue of scales. Persius, S. i. 6, and ii. 101.]

9. *Corruptus judex*] Horace likens the man whose judgment is biassed by a fine table and good dinner to a judex who has been tampered with. (C. iv. 9. 39 n.)

— *Leporem sectatus equove*] There is some confusion raised in this long sentence by the introduction of the words 'pete cedentem aëra disco.' Horace means at first to say "when you have tired yourself with hunting the hare, with riding an unbroke horse, or (supposing the rougher sports are too much for you) with ball play or throwing the discus, and are dry and hungry, then see if you will despise the commonest food, and call for rich mulsum." Instead of which he says: "after hunting the hare

Lassus ab indomito, vel si Romana fatigat
Militia assuetum graecari, seu pila velox
Molliter austerum studio fallente laborem,
Seu te discus agit, pete cedentem aëra disco;
Cum labor extuderit fastidia, siccus, inanis
Sperne cibum vilem; nisi Hymettia mella Falerno
Ne biberis diluta. Foris est promus et atrum
Defendens pisces hiemat mare: cum sale panis

or wearying yourself with riding, or if (supposing you are only accustomed to Greek sports, and the Roman are too much for you) ball play occupies you or the discus, then throw the discus; but when fatigue shall have banished fastidiousness, and you are dry and hungry, then see if" &c. 'Romana militia' corresponds to what Cicero says (de Nat. Deor. ii. 64): "ut exerceamur in venando ad similitudinem bellicae disciplinae." The ball play, which was a common amusement in one shape or other among the Romans, was introduced from Greece, though the Romans had varieties perhaps of their own invention. The most violent form however, 'harpastum,' was borrowed from the Greeks, who also had the severer exercise of football, which the Romans had not. The throwing of the discus likewise was of Greek origin, and belonged to the heroic age. The nature of the discus is seen in the famous statue of the *δισκόβολος* by Myron, of which casts are common, and of which there is a good copy in the British Museum. The specimen of Greek effeminacy mentioned in C. iii. 24. 57, the 'trochus,' is more to the purpose than the 'pila' or 'discus,' which were manly amusements. But Horace assumes (v. 12) that the man's ball play is rather lazy. Bentley, doubting whether 'extuderit' can bear the meaning here required, reads 'expulerit.' The Scholiasts and the MSS. have 'extuderit' [except some MSS. in which 'extulerit' is a correction. Ritter.] 'Extundo' is nowhere else used in this sense, but it is a very apt word for the occasion. Hunger beating fastidiousness out of a man represents the power of the one, and the contemptible character of the other, very well.

15. *nisi Hymettia mella Falerno*] This constituted the drink called 'mulsum,' *οἰνομέλι*, which was commonly drunk at the preparatory course called 'gustus' or 'promulsis' (S. i. 3. 6 n.), the former name being taken from the dishes that were eaten as a whet to the appetite, and the latter from the mulsum that was taken with them. (Gall. Sc. 9: The Banquet.) The use of the strong Falernian wine for this mixture, in which the usual proportion was four of wine to one of honey, is condemned, S. 4. 25. Of the honeys used by the Romans of Horace's day (C. ii. 6. 18 n.) that of Hybla in Sicily was one of the best; the worst was that of Corsica, mentioned in various epigrams of Martial; 'mulsum' made with which was held to be drink fit only for the vulgar.

16. *promus*] This was one of the 'ordinarii' or upper domestic slaves, whose duty it was to take charge of the wine-cellar and larder. He was hence called 'cellarius,' also 'procurator peni,' 'steward of the provisions.' Another name he bore was 'condus,' because he had to take into store ('condere') the provisions that were left or brought in for consumption; and, as the same person who locked up also took out the provisions ('promere'), both names were united in one, 'conduspromus,' as in Plautus (Pseud. ii. 2. 14):

"*Ps.* Conduspromus sum procurator peni.
Harp. Quasi te dicas atriensem. *Ps.* Immo atriensi ego impero."

He therefore had authority over other slaves. The 'atriensis' had charge of the 'atrium,' and was also one of the principal slaves.

17. *hiemat mare*] Seneca (Epp. 114) says that Sallust (somewhere not known to us) writes, "aquis hiemantibus," and that Arruntius, the author of a history of one of the Punic wars, and an imitator of Sallust, was always dragging in this word 'hiemare.' Pliny uses it occasionally. Horace's taste was insensibly affected by his study of the Greek poets, and he copied their *χειμάζεται*, though he may also have seen and approved more than Seneca does Sallust's "aquis hiemantibus." [Persius, S. vi. 7 has 'hibernat mare.'] With 'latrantem stomachum,' compare 'iratum ventrem' (S. ii. 8. 5). A hungry man is vulgarly said to have a wolf in his belly to this day.

Latrantem stomachum bene leniet. Unde putas aut
Qui partum? Non in caro nidore voluptas
Summa, sed in te ipso est. Tu pulmentaria quaere
Sudando; pinguem vitiis albumque neque ostrea
Nec scarus aut poterit peregrina juvare lagois.
Vix tamen eripiam posito pavone velis quin
Hoc potius quam gallina tergere palatum,
Corruptus vanis rerum, quia veneat auro
Rara avis et picta pandat spectacula cauda;
Tamquam ad rem attineat quidquam. Num vesceris ista
Quam laudas pluma? Cocto num adest honor idem?
Carne tamen quamvis distat nil, hac magis illam
Imparibus formis deceptum te petere! Esto:

19. *Qui partum*] The subject is only to be gathered from the context. 'Whence do you suppose this appetite springs, or how is it got?'

20. *pulmentaria quaere*] The Scholiasts tell us a story of Socrates, that, when he was taking a long walk, he accounted for his activity by saying ὄψον συνάγω, "I am getting sauce for my dinner." ['Pinguem vitiis albumque.' Persius, S. iii. 98: 'turgidus hic epulis atque albo ventre lavatur.']

21. *ostrea nec scarus*] These were all served up with the 'gustus' to stir up the appetite. Oysters were eaten raw or dressed. The 'scarus' was a fish not known in these days. [Epod. ii. 50.] (Pliny, H. N. ix. c. 17.) Martial says it was good for the stomach, but of poor flavour. The 'lagois' is described by the Scholiast as 'avis leporini coloris.' 'Ostrea' is here a dissyllable. Of the other things of which the 'promulsis' usually consisted, some are given below (S. 8. 8, sq.). The peacock was brought into fashion by Q. Hortensius the orator, Cicero's rival [Varro, de R. R. iii. 6. 6], and was for a long time considered an indispensable dish at great entertainments, which leads Cicero (in his cheerful letter to Paetus, quoted on S. i. 3. 6, and C. iii. 16. 21) to call himself a bold man, in that he had entertained Hirtius at dinner and given him no peacock. 'Ponere' for putting on the table occurs below (S. 4. 14). 'Tergere palatum,' 'to wipe the palate,' is a novel expression. As to 'vanis rerum' see C. iv. 12. 19 n.

28. *Cocto num adest*] The 'm' is pronounced with the following word, as is common in Terence. So Lucretius (iii. 1082): "Sed dum adest quod avemus id exsuperare videtur Cetera." ['Has it the same beauty when it is cooked?' When it is cooked, we don't see the fine feathers. Ritter says that the meaning has escaped all the Commentators whom he has consulted. He takes 'coctus' as opposed to 'assus,' and supposes that when it is boiled and cut up and drenched with sauce, the tail could not be fitted to it, as it could be to a roasted peacock.]

30. *deceptum te petere*] Porphyrion's note (in Ascensius' text) is "Carnem tamen hanc magis quam illam petere non debes," which shows that his reading was 'petere;' and this reading Torrentius adopts from more than one of his MSS. Orelli finds it in his St. Gallen MS. with 'patet' superscribed, as a correction of 'patet' in *b*, and as the reading in *c*, but corrected to 'patet.' These three are excellent MSS., and the authority for the reading is ample. As early as Acron and Comm. Cruq. the word 'patet' had got into the text, probably because the copyists did not perceive that the infinitive 'petere' expressed a feeling of indignation. (See Key's L. G., 1247, note, where it is stated that "this infinitive is dependent on some such phrase as 'credendum est.'") All the editions have 'illa,' which, on the authority of some of his MSS., since confirmed by Orelli's St. Gallen and Berne, Torrentius changed to 'illam,' making the sense as follows: "to think that, although in the quality of the flesh there is no difference, you should prefer the peafowl to the other, deluded by the superiority of its beauty." According to this reading, which I have adopted as the simplest, 'hac' refers not to the bird last

Unde datum sentis lupus hic Tiberinus an alto
Captus hiet, pontesne inter jactatus an amnis
Ostia sub Tusci? Laudas, insane, trilibrem
Mullum in singula quem minuas pulmenta necesse est.
Ducit te species video: quo pertinet ergo
Proceros odisse lupos? Quia scilicet illis
Majorem natura modum dedit, his breve pondus.
Jejunus raro stomachus volgaria temnit.
"Porrectum magno magnum spectare catino
Vellem," ait Harpyiis gula digna rapacibus. At vos,
Praesentes Austri, coquite horum obsonia,—quamquam

mentioned, but to that which the speaker prefers, or is defending; just as we have 'his' and 'illis' changing places below (36, 37). ['nihil hac magis illa,—patet:' Orelli (3rd ed.) and Ritter, who adds that 'pavo' is the 'subjectum,' that 'hac' refers to a peacock boiled (cocto), which has just been mentioned, and 'illa' to the same bird roasted 'et cauda ornatam de qua paulo ante dictum est' (v. 26). He says that the explanation given in this note is shown to be false by the fact that there is a difference between the flesh of a fowl and a peacock. But there is also a difference between boiled and roasted. Doederlein explains this verse in a way of his own; which the curious may see.]

31. *Unde datum sentis*] The sentence goes on thus: 'be it so: grant that you may be taken in by the eye in the matter of the bird with a fine tail; but what sense can tell you whether such and such a fish was caught in a particular part of the river, or at its mouth, or in the open sea?' That part of the river which is meant by 'inter pontes' lay between the Pons Fabricius, which joined the Insula Tiberina with the left bank, and the Pons Sublicius, and between these bridges the Cloaca Maxima emptied itself. It would not require a very keen epicure to distinguish a fish caught in those waters; and the fish taken at sea, if it was the same fish, would be out of seasón and coarse. [Pliny (H. N. ix. c. 54) quoted by Ritter, says, 'lupi pisces (meliores sunt) in Tiberi amne inter duos pontes;' that is, they were the best that were caught in the Tiber.] The 'lupus' is said to have been of the pike kind. ['Unde datum hoc sumis?' Persius, S. v. 24.]

33. *Ostia sub Tusci*] 'Sub' with an accusative of place generally has a verb of motion, and means 'close up to;' and if it be so understood here, the verb of motion must be supplied, 'as you approach close up to.' The Tiber is called Tuscus amnis, as (C. i. 20. 5) it is said to be Maecenas' 'paternum flumen,' because it rises in Etruria.

34. *Mullum*] Martial speaks of one of two pounds as the least that should be put upon a fine dish:

"Grandia ne viola parvo chrysendeta mullo;
Ut minimum libras debet habere duas."
(xiv. 97.)

This Pliny (H. N. ix. 30) says was a size it rarely exceeded. The bearded mullet, as it was called, was held in highest esteem.

36. *Quia scilicet illis*] 'Illis' does not refer to the more remote object here, but to the nearer, as in v. 29 (see note). 'His' refers to the mullets. [Ritter makes 'illis' the mullets and 'his' the pike; and takes it ironically.]

[38. *Jejunus raro*] A stomach seldom hungry despises common things, as Ritter and others take it.]

[40. *Vellem*] Heindorf says that it ought to be 'velim,' and so he conjectures 'velle ait.' But 'vellem' seems to mean that the glutton is expressing his dissatisfaction with the dish which is before him, because it does not correspond to what he would choose, if he could choose.]

— *At vos, praesentes Austri*] 'Now may ye, O potent south winds.' 'At' is a particle of exclamation when a sudden emotion is expressed, as mentioned above (Epod. v. 1). The winds are invoked as deities. As to 'praesens' in this application, see C. i. 35. 2.

41. *Quamquam*] 'Though I need not invoke your help; for the boar and the turbot lose their flavour when the stomach is gorged and seeks stimulants.'

Putet aper rhombusque recens, mala copia quando
Aegrum sollicitat stomachum, cum rapula plenus
Atque acidas mavolt inulas. Necdum omnis abacta
Pauperies epulis regum; nam vilibus ovis
Nigrisque est oleis hodie locus. Haud ita pridem
Galloni praeconis erat acipensere mensa
Infamis. Quid, tunc rhombos minus aequora alebant?
Tutus erat rhombus tutoque ciconia nido
Donec vos auctor docuit praetorius. Ergo
Si quis nunc mergos suaves edixerit assos,
Parebit pravi docilis Romana juventus.
Sordidus a tenui victu distabit, Ofella
Judice; nam frustra vitium vitaveris illud,
Si te alio pravum detorseris. Avidienus,
Cui Canis ex vero dictum cognomen adhaeret,

42. *rhombus*] This fish, if it was the turbot, was not less esteemed by the Romans than by ourselves. The finest were caught in the Adriatic, whence the fish that caused such a sensation in Juvenal's story (S. iv. 37 sqq.) he calls "Hadriaci spatium admirabile rhombi." Respecting 'rapula' and 'inulae,' see below, S. 8. 51. On the use of eggs at the 'promulsis,' see S. i. 3. 6. The sense in which Horace uses the words 'pauper' and 'rex' is well marked here (see C. i. 1. 18, and C. i. 4. 14). ['Nigris oleis:' some olives were prepared for keeping, "cum jam nigruerint nec adhuc tamen permaturae fuerint;" Columella, xii. 49. 1.]

47. *Galloni praeconis erat acipensere*] "Hic est qui primus acipenserem conviviis apposuit" (Porph.). This was in the time of Lucilius and of Laelius. A few verses of the former have been preserved by Cicero (de Finn. ii. 8), in which he repeats the indignation of Laelius against this epicure, his own taste being, as we have seen (S. ii. 1. 72 n.), of the simplest kind:—

"O lapathe ut jactare necesse est cognitu' cui sis.
In quo Laeliu' clamores σοφὸς ille solebat
Edere compellans gumias ex ordine nostros:—
'O Publi, O gurges Galloni, es homo miser,' inquit.
'Coenasti in vita nunquam bene quum omnia in ista
'Consumis squilla atque acipensere cum decumano.'"

'Acipenser' is said to be a sturgeon. The fish was out of fashion in Pliny's days (N. H. ix. c. 27). In respect to 'praeconis,' see S. i. 6. 86 n. ['Aequor alebat.' Ritter.]

50. *auctor docuit praetorius*] On this Porphyrion tells us that one Rufus was the first to bring into fashion the eating of young storks; and when he was a candidate for the praetorship (which is a little contradiction, since after Horace he calls him 'praetorius,' but that does not much matter, the story is equally good), being rejected, the following epigram was made upon him:—

"Ciconiarum Rufus iste conditor
Hic est duobus elegantior Plancis:
Suffragiorum puncta non tulit septem.
Ciconiarum populus ultus est mortem."

When Rufus lived it is impossible to say; or whether he was the first to introduce the 'rhombus' as well as the 'ciconia.' The stork went out of fashion, as Ofella predicts; and though gulls did not take its place, cranes came into vogue, as Estré has pointed out from Pliny (N. H. x. 23, § 30). See S. ii. 8. 87. As to 'auctor,' see C. i. 28. 14, n. The word 'edixerit' is a play upon the 'edictum' of the 'praetor.' ['pravi docilis': 'docilis modorum,' C. iv. 6. 43].

55. *pravum detorseris*] Literally, 'turn yourself awry.' Bentley, on the authority of one MS., reads 'pravus.'

56. *dictum*] The MSS. are divided between 'ductum' and 'dictum.' In this, as in the last case, either would do.

Quinquennes oleas est et silvestria corna,
Ac nisi mutatum parcit defundere vinum, et
Cujus odorem olei nequeas perferre, licebit
Ille repotia natales aliosve dierum
Festos albatus celebret, cornu ipse bilibri
Caulibus instillat, veteris non parcus aceti.
Quali igitur victu sapiens utetur, et horum
Utrum imitabitur? Hac urget lupus, hac canis, aiunt.
Mundus erit qua non offendat sordibus, atque
In neutram partem cultus miser. Hic neque servis,
Albuci senis exemplo, dum munia didit

58. *defundere*] 'Diffundere,' which is the reading of the old editions and many others, as well as some of the best MSS., signifies, as mentioned before, to draw from the 'dolium' into the 'amphora,' 'testa,' or 'cadus' (all the same kind of vessel), in which it was kept till it was fit to drink. When poured from thence into the 'crater' to be mixed for drinking it was said to be 'defusum,' and that is the only word that has any meaning here. This man's wine was of a poor kind, probably not fit to be bottled, but only to be drunk from the 'dolium.' He bottled it, and did not produce it for consumption till it was sour.

59. *licebit ille repotia*] On 'licebit,' see Epod. xv. 19. 'Repotia' was a 'coena' sometimes given the day after marriage by the husband. I am not aware that there is any explanation of the custom. The marriage-dinner was given by the husband. As that was usually a scene of unrestrained merriment, perhaps the religious ceremonies required properly to inaugurate the new life of the married couple, and to propitiate the penates and lares, were usually deferred to this day; and the sobriety of the 'repotia' was probably designed to make amends for the licence of the 'coena nuptialis.' The Romans observed their birthdays with much religious accuracy, and with festivities equal to our own. See note on C. iv. 11. 8. They took care on every holiday to have their toga especially clean. The ordinary toga was not dyed. The natural whiteness of the wool was increased by the process of cleaning, in which it was rubbed with different kinds of fuller's earth ('creta fullonis'), and also exposed to steams of sulphur, which removed stains of any kind. 'Albatus,' therefore, signifies in a toga which has just come from the 'fullo.' It was usual for persons who were canvassing for offices to have their toga unusually whitened with an extra supply of 'creta,' whence they were called 'candidati,' Theophrastus (Charac. *περὶ μικρολογίας*) speaks of mean persons as *πρὸς τοὺς γναφεῖς διατεινομένους ὅπως τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῖς ἕξει πολλὴν γῆν ἵνα μὴ ῥυπαίνηται ταχύ.*

61. *cornu ipse bilibri*] The 'cornu' was the horn vessel in which the oil was kept. Instead of having a cruet or small vessel suited to the dinner-table, such as wealthy people usually had of silver and others of cheaper material, he would bring down the big horn, and with his own hand, lest others should be too liberal, drop the smallest quantity of oil upon the cabbage, while of his old vinegar, which would turn his guests, if he had any, from the dish, he was free enough. So that the reading 'largus' for 'parcus' which Gesner supports is out of place. It has little authority.

64. *aiunt*] τὸ λεγόμενον, 'as the saying is.' It was perhaps a common proverb, though not now met with elsewhere. The old editions without any exception I believe (till Lambinus), and Porphyrion, have 'angit' for 'aiunt.' Fea says it appears in all his MSS., which is hardly credible; and he edits 'angit.' All Cruquius' but two of little value had 'aiunt.' Torrentius edits 'angit,' but approves of 'aiunt,' on the authority of his best MSS. The majority of the Parisian MSS., and Orelli's three best, have 'aiunt.'

65. *Mundus erit qua non*] 'A man will be decent so far as ('qua') not to offend by meanness, ['and so far as not to be an object of pity or contempt (miser) in either way of living.' He will not fall into either extreme. Orelli supposes that the genitive 'cultus' depends on 'miser.']

67. *Albuci senis*] See S. i. 48, n. What more is given by the Scholiasts is not worth repeating, for it is only drawn from the text as any one may see. 'Didere,' to

Saevus erit; nec sic ut simplex Naevius unctam
Convivis praebebit aquam; vitium hoc quoque magnum.
Accipe nunc victus tenuis quae quantaque secum
Afferat: imprimis valeas bene: nam variae res
Ut noceant homini credas memor illius escae
Quae simplex olim tibi sederit; at simul assis
Miscueris elixa, simul conchylia turdis,
Dulcia se in bilem vertent stomachoque tumultum
Lenta feret pituita. Vides ut pallidus omnis
Coena desurgat dubia? Quin corpus onustum
Hesternis vitiis animum quoque praegravat una,
Atque affigit humo divinae particulam aurae.
Alter ubi dicto citius curata sopori

distribute, contains the root 'da': it is often used by Lucretius. To illustrate the character Horace gives of Naevius, Lambinus refers to the story told by Plutarch (Caesar, c. 17) of Valerius Leo, who put before C. Caesar some asparagus covered with ointment instead of oil. Such 'simplicity,' amounting to an indifference to the decencies of life, and a want of consideration for others, which some people almost look upon as a virtue, Horace properly describes as a vice.

[69. *'praebebit aquam'*] See S. i, 4. 88 —'valeas,' the subjunctive, for it corresponds to 'afferat.']

73. *Quae simplex olim tibi sederit*] 'Which before you mixed it with other things remained quiet upon your stomach.' 'Lenta pituita,' the viscous mucus secreted by the intestines. The first and third syllables of 'pituita' are long; the second therefore here coalesces with the third. 'Coena dubia' is an expression copied from Terence, and means such a good dinner that you cannot tell what to eat first. Phorm. ii. 2. 28:—

"*Ph.* Coena dubia apponitur,
Get. Quid istuc verbi est? *Ph.* Ubi tu dubites quid sumas potissimum."

79. *Atque affigit humo*] This is the reading of all the old editions and the Scholiasts, together with the great majority of the MSS., and all the oldest and best. Lambinus, on the authority as he says of twelve MSS., has 'affligit,' and Bentley has defended that reading in a long note. [Ritter has 'affligit.'] It appears to me that 'affligit humo,' which would signify dashes to the ground, does not express Horace's meaning, and that the examples Bentley quotes in support of that phrase have no resemblance to this passage: for instance, Ovid (Met. xii. 139):—

"Quem super impulsum resupino pectore Cygnum
Vi multa vertit terraeque afflixit Achilles."

If 'afflixit' in this case expressed the same meaning as the text, then 'vi multa vertit' should be analogous to 'praegravat,' which it is not, and the latter word is incompatible with the notion of dashing to the ground: you cannot be said to weigh a thing down and dash it down in the same breath. Any one who remembers the words of David, "My soul cleaveth to the ground," will see how much more force there is in 'affigit' than 'affligit.' The debauch might have been said to dash the soul to the ground: the state of the body consequent on the debauch can only be said to keep it there. The same sense, though in a different connexion, is conveyed by Cicero's words (de Senect. c. 21.): "Est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinae naturae aeternitatique contrarium," which illustrates 'divinae particulam aurae.' This expression has an archaic aspect, and may have been taken from some older writer, ['divinae particulam aurae': Antoninus, ii. 1, *θείας ἀπομοίρας μέτοχος*, 'participator of a portion of the deity': ii. 4. he speaks of man as an efflux (*ἀπόρροια*) of the deity. Again, xii. 26, 'every man's intelligence is a deity and an efflux of the deity.' This is also expressed thus, 'the deity in man.' ii. 13, iii. 5. 6.]

[80. *dicto citius curata &c.*] His body quickly refreshed with eating and drinking: 'dicto citius,' 'quicker than words can tell.' The short and frugal meal is con-

Membra dedit, vegetus praescripta ad munia surgit.
Hic tamen ad melius poterit transcurrere quondam,
Sive diem festum rediens advexerit annus,
Seu recreare volet tenuatum corpus, ubique
Accedent anni et tractari mollius aetas
Imbecilla volet: tibi quidnam accedet ad istam
Quam puer et validus praesumis mollitiem, seu
Dura valetudo inciderit seu tarda senectus?
Rancidum aprum antiqui laudabant, non quia nasus
Illis nullus erat sed credo hac mente, quod hospes
Tardius adveniens vitiatum commodius quam
Integrum edax dominus consumeret. Hos utinam inter
Heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset!
Das aliquid famae quae carmine gratior aurem
Occupat humanam: grandes rhombi patinaeque
Grande ferunt una cum damno dedecus; adde
Iratum patruum, vicinos, te tibi iniquum,
Et frustra mortis cupidum, cum deerit egenti
As laquei pretium. "Jure," inquit, "Trausius istis
Jurgatur verbis; ego vectigalia magna
Divitiasque habeo tribus amplas regibus." Ergo
Quod superat non est melius quo insumere possis?

trasted with the luxurious protracted dinner. In v. 85 Ritter, following the best MSS., omits 'et' and takes 'ubique' in the sense of 'atque ubi.']

82. *quondam*] See C. ii. 10. 17 n.

87. *mollitiem*] 'Indulgence,' which, as applied to youth, must be understood in a bad sense; but to age or sickness in a good, as that which infirmity or disease requires.

89. *Rancidum aprum*] Their hospitable forefathers, rather than eat their boar while it was fresh by themselves, would keep it till it was high, in case a stranger should drop in to eat of it with them. Horace was a 'laudator temporis acti,' and in respect at least to simplicity of social and domestic habits there is no doubt he was right. How far he was sincere in the wish that bursts forth in v. 93 is perhaps doubtful. He himself suggests the doubt (S. 7. 23), and he probably knew his own mind.

93. *tellus me prima*] See S. i. 3. 99.

94. *Das aliquid famae*] 'I suppose you have some consideration for your character.'

95. *patinaeque*] The 'patina' was a covered dish in which meats were brought in hot from the kitchen. 'Patruus' was as proverbial a name for tyranny on the male side of the family as 'noverca' on the female. See C. iii. 12. 3, and Cicero pro Cael. 11: "Fuit in hac causa pertristis quidam patruus, censor, magister." S. ii. 3. 88.

99. *As laquei pretium*] This was a proverb, or became so. See Lucian (Tim. c. 20): ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πολλοὺς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμί σοι χθὲς μὲν οὐδὲ ὄβολον ὥστε πρίασθαι βρόχον ἐσχηκότας, ἄφνω δὲ τήμερον πλουσίους καὶ πολυτελεῖς. The old reading 'aes,' as Orelli observes, destroys the proverb. We may infer that Trausius lived profusely upon small means and ruined himself, which the speaker considers himself too rich ever to do. 'Vectigalia' is a private fortune in C. iii. 16. 40. Its use is appropriate here in connexion with 'regibus'; 'rich men.'

[102. *quod superat*] 'Is there then nothing better on which you could spend your superfluous wealth' (quod superat)? 'Quo' is equivalent to 'in quod,' as 'eo' sometimes is equivalent to 'in' with an accusative.]

Cur eget indignus quisquam te divite? Quare
Templa ruunt antiqua deum? Cur, improbe, carae
Non aliquid patriae tanto emetiris acervo?
Uni nimirum recte tibi semper erunt res.
O magnus posthac inimicis risus! Uterne
Ad casus dubios fidet sibi certius? Hic qui
Pluribus adsuerit mentem corpusque superbum,
An qui contentus parvo metuensque futuri
In pace ut sapiens aptarit idonea bello?
Quo magis his credas, puer hunc ego parvus Ofellam
Integris opibus novi non latius usum
Quam nunc accisis. Videas metato in agello
Cum pecore et gnatis fortem mercede colonum,

103. *indignus*] This has the same sense as 'immeritus' (C. iii. 6. 1, and elsewhere), 'innocent.' Orelli inquires why Horace, who professes (C. i. 34. 1) to have been at this time careless about religion, should reproach the rich man with letting the temples go to ruin. He suggests that Horace speaks as a man of taste, who lamented the decay of the temples as a spectator rather than a worshipper. But if Horace was not so piously disposed as this fit of zeal for the temples might seem to show, he knew the value of religion as a political instrument, and that the neglect of sacred rites went hand in hand with civil disorders. We can hardly suppose Augustus and Tiberius to have been influenced by much higher motives than these when they applied themselves to the restoration of the sacred buildings, which during the civil wars had fallen so much into ruin. See C. ii. 15, Introduction, and note on C. iii. 6. 1.

106. *Uni nimirum*] The practical good sense of Horace's writings may often be illustrated from Scripture (where human nature is touched in all its features) more frequently than I have cared to illustrate it, for obvious reasons. "He hath said in his heart, I shall not be moved: for I shall never be in adversity" (Ps. x. 6), is very like the argument Horace puts in his rich man's mouth, the man whose fortune was large enough for three men. Bentley spoils the sentiment by adopting N. Heinsius' conjecture 'eunt' for 'erunt.' Horace's man argues that he is so rich that he never can be otherwise.

107. *Uterne ad casus dubios*] On 'ne,' see S. i. 10. 21, S. ii. 3. 295 and 317, and with 'dubios,' compare C. iv. 9. 36: 'Secundis temporibus dubiisque rectus."

111. *aptarit*] 'Has fitted on his armour,' as it were.

113. *latius*] This word, for which 'lautius' and 'laetius' have been proposed as substitutes, is used as 'angustius' in the opposite sense. It means more profusely [Comp. Juv. xiv. 234]. ['accisis': Comp. Epp. ii. 2. 50, 'decisis pennis.'] 'Metato in agello' is the farm which has been marked out by the public surveyor ('metator'), and assigned to Umbrenus. This participle is used passively in C. ii. 15. 15. 'Fortem' has been explained in the note on C.S. 58, and for 'colonum,' see C. ii. 14. 12, n. As 'colonum' signifies a tenant [Dig. 19. 2. 3], 'mercede' is only added to give additional force to the contrast. Dig. 19. 2. 21: "Quum venderem fundum convenit ut donec pecunia omnis persolveretur, certa mercede emptor fundum conductum haberet." Farms were held either on payment of rent, or of a certain part of the produce of the land; [and 'merces' means the rent: 'locatio et conductio contrahi intelligitur, si de mercede convenerit.' Dig. 19. 2. 2]. A colonus who paid part of the produce was called 'partiarius.' 'Temere' signifies that which is done without consideration (compare Epp. ii. 2. 13). [Among the eighteen cities promised by the Triumviri to their soldiers were Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, and others: Appian, B. C. iv. 3. We may conjecture that the estate of Ofella was in the territory of Venusia. Ritter supposes that Umbrenus employed Ofella as a labourer for hire (merces), but if 'colonus' can have that meaning, it certainly does not mean so here. The soldier would not be the man to pay wages].

"Non ego," narrantem, "temere edi luce profesta
Quidquam praeter olus fumosae cum pede pernae.
Ac mihi seu longum post tempus venerat hospes,
Sive operum vacuo gratus conviva per imbrem
Vicinus, bene erat non piscibus urbe petitis,
Sed pullo atque haedo; tum pensilis uva secundas
Et nux ornabat mensas cum duplice ficu.
Post hoc ludus erat culpa potare magistra,
Ac venerata Ceres, ita culmo surgeret alto,
Explicuit vino contractae seria frontis.
Saeviat atque novos moveat Fortuna tumultus,
Quantum hinc imminuet? Quanto aut ego parcius aut vos,

[120. *bene erat*] Like 'recte . . erunt' v. 106.—'pensilis — ficu': Grapes were sometimes preserved in pots. These were hung up, as Pliny and Columella describe them.] Comm. Cruq. interprets 'duplice' by 'bifida.' ["Teste Gargallo Siculi has nunc vocant *chiappe di fichi*, ubi cum siccantur, una inversa inversae alteri cogitur et retinent mollitiem" (Orelli). The 'duplex ficus' is still made in the island of Ischia near Naples by splitting open from the broad end a fig, and leaving the two narrow ends attached: another fig, split open the same way, is placed on the first so that the two insides fit, and a double fig is made.]

123. *Post hoc ludus erat*] "After this we amused ourselves by drinking with 'culpa' for our 'magister,' or 'rex bibendi,' συμποσίαρχος." Perhaps they agreed as to some mode of drinking, and established a penalty for the transgression of it, which transgression ('culpa') was to do that which at drinking parties, where a president was appointed, he might do arbitrarily, that is, either mulct a guest of a cup of wine, or make him drink an extra cup, or any thing else he chose, as a fine for misbehaviour. [Acron's explanation is: 'culpatur ille qui multum bibit.'] In short, Ofella means it was a quiet and primitive sort of way of proceeding, unlike the new fashion introduced from Greece, and followed in fine houses, of having a symposiarch to preside (S. ii. 6. 69, n). A scene of this kind is in the Stichus of Plautus (v. 4). Bentley calls this, which is Turnebus' interpretation, "dura et coacta expositio;" but as he has no better to propose, nor have any of the other commentators, I am willing to accept it, though the expression is very singular, and like other phrases in Horace which have a conventional aspect, we may have to go further than the surface for the explanation of it. Bentley can only suggest the substitution of 'cupa' for 'culpa,' and by 'cupa' he understands 'copa,' the hostess of a neighbouring tavern where Ofella bought the wine to entertain his friend. He also suggests 'nulla,' but prefers 'cupa,' which is more ingenious. Forcell. supposes 'cupa' to be the reading, but is doubtful whether he takes it with Lambinus for the wine-vessel of that name, which was as big as a hogshead, or with Bentley for the hostess. Heindorf reads 'culpa,' but supposes they played at some game, and that the penalty of any mistake committed by either party was to drink off a cup of wine, which would be rather a premium upon mistakes than a penalty.

124. *Ac venerata Ceres ita*] On this use of 'veneror,' see C. S. 49, n. 'Ita' introduces the object of the prayer. It is usually followed by 'ut' introducing a condition. But as with 'sic' that is not always the case. See note on C. i. 3. 1: "Sic te Diva potens Cypri." 'Ita' is the reading of all the best MSS., and all the old editions. 'Uti' and 'ut' got into the text afterwards, till Bentley restored the true reading. ['Explicuit': Comp. C. iii. 29. 16.]

127. *parcius—nituistis*] 'Have ye been in worse condition, less sleek and fat.' 'Ut,' 'ever since,' as "Ut tetigi Pontum vexant insomnia" (Ovid, Trist. iii. 8. 27). 'Propriae' signifies one's own in perpetuity, as below (v. 134), "erit nulli proprius;" and S. ii. 6. 5. Aen. (i. 73): "Connubio jungam stabili propriamque dicabo." [From 'proprius' is formed 'proprietas,' which means 'property.' (Gaius, ii. 30)]. 'Vafri' (v. 131) is generally understood of the cunning tricks and

O pueri, nituistis ut huc novus incola venit?
Nam propriae telluris herum natura neque illum
Nec me nec quemquam statuit: nos expulit ille;
Illum aut nequities aut vafri inscitia juris,
Postremum expellet certe vivacior heres.
Nunc ager Umbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofellae
Dictus, erit nulli proprius, sed cedet in usum
Nunc mihi nunc alii. Quocirca vivite fortes
Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus."

chicanery of the law, which is a mistake derived from modern practice. The law was as plain as the subjects admitted, though to ignorant people it must often have appeared subtle, and that may be the meaning of 'vafri.'

133. *Umbreni*] See Introduction.

SATIRE III.

A.U.C. 722.

This Satire appears to have been written during the Saturnalia in the month of December, A.U.C. 722. In the year before, Agrippa had been Aedile, and his Aedileship is alluded to in v. 185. It was written at Horace's country house, not long, it may be supposed, after it was given him. He was improving the house at the time, as we may infer from v. 308. The Satire is general, taking in the leading vices and follies of human nature,—ambition, avarice, extravagance, lust, superstition, which are brought together with some ingenuity.

One Damasippus, a man who had wasted a good fortune in speculating as an amateur in all sorts of costly articles, particularly works of art, in which he was held to be a connoisseur, is introduced in a new character as a Stoic philosopher, reproving Horace for his laziness, and urging him to write. He relates the story of his own conversion to philosophy, which was this: When he had lost all his fortune, and got hopelessly involved with money-lenders, and found himself laughed at and called madman whereever he went, he grew desperate, and was going to throw himself into the Tiber, when he was arrested by Stertinius, an oracle of the Stoics, who remonstrated with him and consoled him, and at the same time armed him against his enemies (v. 297) with a long homily, in the course of which he proved that all the world but the good and wise were as mad as he was. In this discourse he enumerates the chief features of this universal madness, and this forms the bulk of the Satire.

To Damasippus a Scholiast gives the gentile name Junius. [There was a Praetor L. Junius Brutus Damasippus, who was killed B.C. 82 in the fight before the walls of Rome.] Ernesti, in his Clavis to Cicero, says that it was a cognomen of the Licinia gens, and Orelli calls him Licinius Damasippus; but Cicero, who mentions him three times, names him only Damasippus. Cicero, wishing to purchase a piece of ground on which to erect a shrine to the memory of Tullia, heard that Damasippus had some to dispose of on the bank of the Tiber, and commissioned Atticus to negotiate with him for it (ad Att. xii. 29. 33). On another occasion he commissioned a friend (Fabius Gallus) to buy him some statues to put in his library. He bought some which Cicero did not like, and thought too costly. It appears that Damasippus had bid for them too, and wanted to have them; for Cicero writes, "Velim maneat Damasippus in sententia—si enim non manebit, aliquem pseudodamasippum vel cum jactura reperiemus" (ad Fam. vii. 23); by which he means, if Damasippus will not take them off his hands, he must look

out for some one less knowing or less bold, and part with them if necessary at a sacrifice. There can be little doubt that the Damasippus here mentioned is the person Horace introduces in this Satire. Doering and other commentators, following Com. Cruq. (who says "consumpto per mercatum patrimonio"), call him a 'mercator,' which it is plain he was not. That he was not a regular trader is clear from the people calling him 'Mercurialem' (v. 25). The 'mercatores' were always under the protection of Mercury ("Mercuriales viri"), and there would be nothing particular in the application of the word to Damasippus if he had not been merely a private person, who had turned his hand to trading. Why Horace should have chosen this man as the mouthpiece of his Satire does not appear. He says himself, it is true, that having ruined his own affairs he had nothing to do but to attend to the affairs of others; which Horace interprets to mean, that he had taken to giving advice when it was not asked (see v. 27 n.). But Horace may have had better reasons for employing this man's name, which we have no means of knowing. He may have ruined himself and taken to cant, as Horace here represents; but we know nothing farther about him.

Stertinius appears to have been an authority among the Stoics of the day. The Scholiasts tell us he wrote 220 books on the doctrines of that school. Damasippus calls him (v. 286) "sapientum octavus." His books, if he ever wrote them, have not rescued him from oblivion. Horace mentions him again in Epp. i. 12. 20 as the representative of the sect. Estré suggests that he may have been the Stertinius mentioned by Quintilian (iii. 1, 21) as the author of a treatise on oratory, though, as he says, the Stoics troubled themselves less with rhetoric than with dialectic.

The discourse of Stertinius turns upon this dogma, that every man in the world, high or low, is mad except the sage (see note on v. 46). Cicero has argued the same doctrine of the Stoics in his Paradoxa (iv. ὅτι πᾶς ἄφρων μαίνεται), but he does not go very deep into the subject, or throw much light upon it.

ARGUMENT.

You write so seldom, and destroy what you have written, and are angry with yourself because you are too lazy to write any thing worth speaking of. What do you mean to do? You acknowledge you came to this retreat to escape the noise of the Saturnalia. Well, then, begin: let us have something suited to your intentions. It's of no use to find fault with your pens and beat the wall. Where are all your promises? What have you brought out all your books for? Do you mean to avoid odium by shirking your duty? Men will only despise you for your pains. 'Tis nothing but sloth. Flee from the Siren, or be content to forfeit all you have earned in better days.

(v. 16.) Heaven reward you, Damasippus, with a barber for your good advice. But how came you to know me so well?

Since the usurers robbed me of all my money, I have taken to managing other people's affairs. I used to be such a successful driver of bargains in all sorts of property, that people called me every where the ward of Mercury.

I am aware of that. How did you get rid of that mania? You seem, however, only to have exchanged it for another, as a pain in the head is transferred to the stomach, or as the patient in a stupor suddenly falls to fighting his doctor. Only don't follow his example, and you may have it all your own way.

(v. 31.) My good friend, you need not deceive yourself. You, and all fools I may say, are mad, if there be any truth in Stertinius, who saw me one day as I was ready to throw myself into the river; and "for shame," said he: "why should you mind being called mad when all are so? For what is madness? Folly and blind ignorance of the truth. All are mad from the highest to the lowest, except the wise. As in a wide wood where all lose their way, though all go in different directions, so is it with fools. One is afraid where there is no fear; another wantonly rushes into danger,

and is deaf to the voice of warning. You, Damasippus, have a madness for buying old statues. But is the man who trusts you less mad? If I were to beg you to accept a present from me, would you be mad if you accepted it, or not rather mad if you refused your good luck? 'This rascal, get what security you will from him, tie him fast in a thousand knots, like Proteus he will still get out of them;' but, friend Perillius, if he is mad for mismanaging his affairs, you are much more so for lending him money.

(v. 77.) "Come listen to me, ye ambitious, ye avaricious, ye luxurious, ye superstitious, and I will prove you all to be mad.

(v. 82.) "The avaricious are the worst, almost past cure. Staberius would have the amount of his fortune engraved upon his tomb. Why? Because he believed poverty to be the greatest possible disgrace; and if he had been dying an as poorer, he would have considered himself a worse man in that proportion: he thought that virtue, fame, every thing gave way to wealth, and that its possessor was noble, brave, and just. What, wise too? Ay, and a king to boot or any thing else. 'But which is most mad (say you), Staberius or Aristippus, who to lighten his slave's sack bade him throw away some of the money that was in it?' It does not help one moot point to raise another. A man that should buy a quantity of musical instruments who knew nothing of music, awls and lasts who was no shoemaker, sails who was no trader,—all would say he was mad. Is he less mad who gets money together which he knows not how or fears to use? A man who watches over his heap of corn but eats only bitter herbs, who has his cellar full of the best wine and drinks only sour, handsome bed-clothes in his chest and sleeps upon straw, he is not called mad, only because it is the madness of so many. Are you keeping all this for your heir to squander, old fool? or for fear you should come to want? How much would it take from you to put a drop of better oil to your cabbage, or to clean your dirty head? What do you lie, steal, rob for, if so little is enough for you? What, are you sane? If you began to throw stones, every one would call you mad; but you may strangle your wife, or poison your mother, and you are all right, because you are no Orestes of Argos but a gentleman of Rome. But was not Orestes mad before he betrayed it by murdering his mother? And after that he did nothing worse than yourself. Opimius the miser was sick, and nigh unto death. His heir was exulting in the prospect of succession. His physician however had his money-bags brought out and emptied before him, and set people to count the contents. This roused his patient. Then says the doctor, 'If you don't take care, your heir will carry off all your money.' 'What, before I am dead?' 'Well, then, get up: take some nourishment, or you'll die. Come, take some broth.' 'How much did it cost?' 'Oh not much.' 'But how much?' 'Eight asses.' 'Alas, alas! what difference does it make whether I die of disease or robbery?' Who then is sane? He who is not a fool. But the covetous? He is a fool, and insane. But if a man is not covetous is he sane? No. A man may be sick though he has not the heart-burn. A man may not be a perjurer or a miser, for which he may be thankful; but if he is ambitious and headstrong, let him go to Anticyra.

(v. 166.) "It makes no difference whether you throw away your money or forbear to use it. One Servius Oppidius had two farms, which he gave one to each of his two sons, and on his death-bed he called them to him and said: 'I have watched you, my sons, one throwing or giving away his toys, the other hiding them in holes. Take heed lest you fall under opposite follies: do you beware of diminishing, and you of increasing, the fortune I leave you. I caution you both against the temptations of ambition. My curse be upon you if you ever aim at public offices. You may be tempted to ruin yourselves for popularity, aping the munificence of Agrippa as the fox might ape the lion.'

(v. 187). 'Why refuse burial to the great Ajax, O king?' 'Because he was so mad as to kill a flock of sheep and thought he was killing Ulysses, Menelaus, and me.' 'But were you sane when you offered your child at Aulis? Ajax spared his own flesh and blood; and, though he cursed the Atridae, he did not kill either Teucer or even Ulysses.' 'But to loose the fleet I propitiated the gods with blood.' 'Yes, madman, with your own.'—Any man who takes up false fancies is out of his mind, whether it be from folly or passion. Ajax was mad; but when you commit crimes for the sake of empty titles, are you not as mad as he? If a man were to carry about a lamb and call it his daughter, he would be treated as a lunatic. If on the other hand he were to take his daughter for a lamb and sacrifice her, he would be called mad too. The fool then is mad, the depraved is more mad, but the ambitious is maddest of all.

(v. 224.) "Then for the spendthrift, he is certainly mad. A young man comes into his father's property: he sends for all the tradesmen and flings his money at random among them. Another takes a jewel from his mistress' ear, melts it down and swallows it: another dines habitually on nightingales. Are these mad or not mad?

(v. 247). "If we see an elderly gentleman riding on a stick, and playing at children's games, we say he is mad. Is not he as mad who whines after a harlot? And if so, is it not better to follow Polemo's example, to listen to the voice of wisdom, and to cast away the ensigns of lust and repent? The child who refuses the fruit you offer him, and if he cannot get it longs to have it, only represents the caprices of lovers squabbling and making it up again. Is not the man prattling and playing lovers' games with his mistress as mad as the dotard we have mentioned? to say nothing of the bloodshed lust often leads to, as in the case of Marius the other day, who murdered his mistress and destroyed himself.

(v. 281.) "There was once a libertinus who went about from shrine to shrine praying the gods to give him immortality. A certain mother vowed if her son recovered from his fever he should stand up to his chin in the Tiber. The boy recovers, the vow is performed, and the fever comes back. Now what was *their* madness?—Superstition."

(v. 296.) Thus has Stertinius armed me against all the world. If any one says I am mad, I can tell him to look at home.

Friend, success attend you. Pray tell me what is my particular madness. I am not aware that I am otherwise than sane.

Did Pentheus' mother think herself mad even when she carried the head of her poor slaughtered son?

Well, I admit I am mad. But tell me how.

Why, you are aping Maecenas and building beyond your means, as the dwarf might ape the giant, or as the frog in the fable aped the bull. Then you write verses. I say nothing of your horrible temper—

No more of that!

—or of your living beyond your income—

Mind your own business, Damasippus.

—and your thousand mad amours.

O, greater madman, spare one who is less mad than thyself.

"Sic raro scribis ut toto non quater anno

1. *Sic raro scribis*] The MSS. and editions are nearly all in favour of 'scribis,' notwithstanding the metre. The Blandinian MSS., which Cruquius follows, had 'si' for 'sic.' Bentley, followed by Cunningham and Sanadon, edits 'si raro scribes,' and makes 'quid fiet?' (v. 4) the interrogative following this hypothetical

Membranam poscas, scriptorum quaeque retexens,
Iratus tibi quod vini somnique benignus
Nil dignum sermone canas. Quid fiet? At ipsis
Saturnalibus huc fugisti. Sobrius ergo
Dic aliquid dignum promissis: incipe. Nil est:
Culpantur frustra calami, immeritusque laborat
Iratis natus paries dis atque poëtis.

clause. The common reading appears to be the simplest and best. ['Scribis tu ut:' the conjecture of Meineke followed by Ritter.]

2. *Membranam poscas*] Horace speaks of parchment only twice (A. P. 389), 'charta,' which means the Egyptian papyrus, being his usual equivalent for a book. From the thin coats of the papyrus the name 'liber' was derived, and parchment was less generally used in Horace's day than the papyrus; though the word 'membrana' is here used with sufficient familiarity to show that this material was also commonly employed. 'Retexens' applies more properly to the papyrus, 'texere chartam' being a common expression for putting the pieces of the papyrus together. 'Retexere scripta' therefore means to take to pieces or tear up what is written, or to take out leaves and substitute others with different writing upon them. Some of the interpreters not wisely refer the metaphor to Penelope and her web.

3. *vini somnique benignus*] A Greek construction: 'freely indulging in wine and sleep.' (C. i. 17. 15.) 'Dignum sermone,' 'worthy of being talked about.'

4. *At ipsis Saturnalibus*] The old editions, and all till Bentley, together with most of the MSS., have 'ab;' but the eldest of the Blandinians had 'at,' which Bentley restored to the text. Horace's use of 'at' in replies is so common that I think Bentley is right. 'But, say you, while the Saturnalia were going on you ran away to this place (his farm);' i. e. that he might write something worth reading. 'Well, then,' Damasippus proceeds, 'since you have kept yourself sober, give us something equal to what you have led us to expect.' [The Saturnalia were originally celebrated on the nineteenth of December; but after C. Caesar reformed the Calendar, they began on the 17th of December, and continued the two following days. Macrobius, Sat. i. 10.] They represented the liberty of the golden age of Saturn (S. ii. 7. 4: "libertate Decembri"), and one of the chief features was the licence granted to slaves. They had all the mockery of freedom for a few hours, which they spent like their betters in rioting. The feast belonged more to the country than the town, and was properly a farmer's festival. But it was attended with greater disturbances in the city; and one who wanted to be quiet at that time would be glad to retire to the country. Bentley thinks he disposes of 'ab' by asking, how a man could run away from the Saturnalia: were they not celebrated in the country as well as in the town? The same question would apply to the other reading just as well; for if a man went into the country during the Saturnalia, it would be to retire from the tumult of it; and that is the answer, whichever reading is adopted. Bentley joins 'sobrius' with 'fugisti,' which takes away all its force.

6. *Nil est*] 'It's no use.' Plaut. (Truc. iv. 3. 76):

"At ego ab hac puerum reposcam ne mox inficias eat.
Nihil est: nam ipsa haec ultro, ut factum est, fecit omnem rem palam."

['Nil est' may mean, 'you produce nothing.' Orelli.]

7. *calami*] The reed used by the Romans for writing appears to have been precisely the same as the 'kulum' now used throughout the East. Like the papyrus, it was chiefly brought from Egypt, and when cut and ready for use, differed scarcely at all from the pens we employ. As the bad workman finds fault with his tools, the poet is supposed to get in a passion with his pen and beat the wall by his bedside, because his ideas would not flow fast enough. So Persius (i. 106) says of trashy poetry, "Nec pluteum caedit nec demorsos sapit ungues;" it shows no evidences of the beating of the wall or the biting of the nails. He who was unfortunate was said to have been born when the gods were angry; here Damasippus adds, 'and the poets too.' Compare S. ii.

Atqui voltus erat multa et praeclara minantis,
Si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto.
Quorsum pertinuit stipare Platona Menandro,
Eupolin, Archilochum, comites educere tantos?
Invidiam placare paras virtute relicta?
Contemnere miser; vitanda est improba Siren
Desidia, aut quidquid vita meliore parasti
Ponendum aequo animo." "Di te, Damasippe, deaeque

7. 14: "Vertumnis quotquot sunt natus iniquis."

9. *minantis*] 'Promising.' So the Greeks sometimes used ἀπειλεῖν:

αὐτίκα δ' ἠπείλησεν ἑκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀρνῶν πρωτογόνων ῥέξειν κλειτὴν ἑκατόμβην. (Il. xxiii. 872.)

And, on the other hand, 'promittere' is used in the sense of 'minari,' as Comm. Cruq. observes, quoting "Promisi ultorem et verbis odia aspera movi" (Aen. ii. 96), to which passage Servius gives the same sense, but it is doubtful.

10. *tepido*] Comm. Cruq. writes on this that Horace disliked the cold, and in the winter was glad to retreat to his country-house, where he could have a good fire. (Epp. i. 7. 10 sq.) But his residence in the valley of the Licenza was sheltered, and probably at some seasons warmer than Rome. Bentley's conjecture of 'lecto' for 'tecto,' which he could not refrain from publishing, though he did not adopt it, lest any one else should think of it and charge him with having stolen it, is as bad as his haste was unnecessary. I know no other Commentator that is likely to have thought of Horace retiring to his farm to enjoy the luxury of a warm bed.

11. *Quorsum pertinuit stipare Platona Menandro*] On the formation of 'quorsum,' that is, 'quovorsum' (which occurs several times in this Satire) and similar words, see Key's L. G. 798. From the connexion it might be supposed that the comic rival of Aristophanes was here meant, and I am not so sure as Orelli that the philosopher is intended. What Damasippus wants is something in the satirical way, and Horace is supposed to have come into the country prepared to produce something worthy of his fame. The books he would bring with him would be of a kind suited to his purpose, which the writings of the comedians and of Archilochus, the bitterest of all satirists, would be. I do not see what Plato, the philosopher, has to do with Menander, Eupolis, and Archilochus, or the design for which Horace is supposed to have carried them into the country with him. Plato's comedies were greatly admired by his contemporaries. Their character also in some instances approximated to that of the New Comedy. Plato is on this account associated with the so-called Middle Comedy; and so if we take Menander to represent the new, and Eupolis the old, we shall have all the three styles of Greek comedy here assembled. Orelli states that C. Passow understands 'Platona' to mean the writer of comedies. Dacier did the same. 'Tantos' Acron refers to the size of the volumes, Orelli to the greatness of the writers. Perhaps Horace meant both: *διλόγως*, as Baxter would say. ['Menandro' is the ablative. Ritter.]

13. *virtute relicta*] I have more than once remarked that the notion of perseverance is involved in the Roman 'virtus' (C. S. 59), and it is so here, being opposed to 'desidia' (v. 15). But it means more, for it implies moral courage and a strong will, which were in great esteem among the Romans. Damasippus supposes the poet to be consulting his ease and his cowardice at the same time; and says if he thinks to silence jealousy by ceasing to write, he will only find himself the object of contempt; and if he means to be idle now, he must be content to lose the reputation won in his better days of energy. As to 'Siren,' see Epp. i. 2. 23.

16. *Damasippe*] See Introduction. Horace prays that heaven will send Damasippus, to reward him for his good advice, a barber to shave his long beard. He may be supposed to have let his beard grow long with the affectation peculiar to those who called themselves philosophers; and to be delivered from that folly would be the best boon that could be bestowed upon him. (See v. 35, and note on S. i. 3. 133.) Aulus Gellius (N. A. ix. 2) tells a story, of which he was an eye-witness, of a man going to Herodes Atticus, "palliatus et

Verum ob consilium donent tonsore. Sed unde
Tam bene me nosti?" "Postquam omnis res mea Janum
Ad medium fracta est, aliena negotia curo,
Excussus propriis. Olim nam quaerere amabam,
Quo vafer ille pedes lavisset Sisyphus aere,
Quid sculptum infabre, quid fusum durius esset:
Callidus huic signo ponebam milia centum;
Hortos egregiasque domos mercarier unus
Cum lucro noram; unde frequentia Mercuriale

crinitus barbaque prope ad pubem usque porrecta," and asking him for money to buy bread. When he was asked who he was, he answered in a tone of reproach that he was a philosopher, and that he was surprised that Atticus should ask a question which his own eyes would enable him to answer. The good man's reply was, "Video barbam et pallium; philosophum nondum video." ἐκ πώγωνος σοφοί was the Greek way of representing such persons,—men whose wisdom lay in their beards.

18. *Janum ad medium*] There appear to have been three arches dedicated to Janus in the Forum Romanum. They are alluded to again Epp. i. 1. 54: "Haec Janus summus ab imo Perdocet;" i. e. the whole Forum. Near the middle arch were the 'tabernae' of the principal money-lenders. Cicero mentions them (de Off. ii. 25): "de quaerenda, de collocanda pecunia, vellem etiam de utenda commodius a quibusdam optimis viris ad Janum medium sedentibus quam ab ullis philosophis ulla in schola disputatur." [As we have Janus Summus, Imus and Medius, it is possible that Janus may mean a place, street, or passage, the two ends and middle of which are respectively designated by the three adjectives.]

20. *Olim nam*] This position of 'nam' is peculiar to the poets. See below, v. 41, and elsewhere.

21. *vafer—lavisset Sisyphus aere*] Homer (Il. vi. 153) calls Sisyphus κέρδιστος ἀνδρῶν. Damasippus says he used, before he lost all his money, to employ himself in purchasing and selling all kinds of valuable property; among the rest, vessels of Corinthian bronze (often, but improperly, called brass), of such antiquity that the founder of Corinth might be supposed to have used them for washing his feet. This satire upon the rage for antiquated pieces of furniture would have applied still more to the habits of the Romans at a later time. It appears to have gone to absurd lengths during the Empire. Martial (ix. 58) speaks of the worn handles "veterum Corinthiorum." He has an epigram on Euctus, who was a collector of such pretended antiques, one of which still showed the dent it had received in the battle between the Centaurs and Lapithae. The handle of another (a dove) was worn by the hand of Nestor. Another was the cup in which Dido drank Bitias' health, and so on. We have had (S. i. 3. 91) mention of a dish handed down from Evander. Martial (ix. 60) speaks of a gentleman who went about to all the most extravagant shops, pretending he wanted to purchase, and ended by buying two cups for an as:

"Consuluit nares an olerent aera Corinthon,
Culpavit statuas et, Polyclete, tuas.
Expendit veteres calathos et si qua fuerunt
Pocula Mentorea nobilitata manu."

22. *sculptum infabre*] 'Sculptured in an unworkmanlike manner.' The reverse of this is 'affabre,' used by Cicero (in Verr. Act. i. c. 5): "Deum denique nullum Siculis qui ei paulo magis affabre atque antiquo artificio factus videretur reliquit." The art of founding (fusum) is of great antiquity, though the earliest metal statues were beaten out with the hammer. Casting was a process of much nicety, and the fitting of the parts required great skill.

24. *unus*] See A. P. 32; S. ii. 6. 57.

25. *Mercuriale*] There appears to have been a mercantile association called Mercuriales at Rome. Cicero calls it a 'collegium' (ad Qu. Frat. ii. 5): "M. Furium Flaccum equitem Romanum, hominem nequam, Capitolini et Mercuriales de collegio ejecerunt." But Damasippus merely means that his skill in making bargains was so well known that he was called all over the town a ward of Mercury, and we need not suppose him to

Imposuere mihi cognomen compita." "Novi,
Et miror morbi purgatum te illius. Atqui
Emovit veterem mire novus, ut solet, in cor
Trajecto lateris miseri capitisve dolore,
Ut lethargicus hic cum fit pugil et medicum urget.
Dum ne quid simile huic, esto ut libet." "O bone, ne te
Frustrere; insanis et tu stultique prope omnes,
Si quid Stertinius veri crepat, unde ego mira
Descripsi docilis praecepta haec, tempore quo me
Solatus jussit sapientem pascere barbam
Atque a Fabricio non tristem ponte reverti.

have been a mercator. (Introduction.) All the MSS. and Acron have 'Mercuriale.' Sanadon and some others have the dative, which is the more usual construction. See below, v. 47 n., and Key's L. G. 984 note. See also Gellius xv. 29: "Duae istae in loquendo figurae notae satis usitataeque sunt 'Mihi nomen est Julius' et 'mihi nomen est Julio.'" 'Compita' were those spots where two or more streets converged to a point or crossed one another. At these places idlers lounged, and passengers sometimes stopped to offer a prayer to the Lares publici or Compitales, whose altars were erected there. (See v. 281 n.)

27. *morbi purgatum*] This genitive follows the Greek construction. 'Purgare' comes under the category of verbs of removal and separation referred to in Key's L. G. 940, where he quotes this example and C. ii. 9. 17, "desine mollium Tandem querelarum," where see note. Horace calls the man's mania for bargains a disease, and he is surprised how he ever got over it. 'But,' says he, 'you have only exchanged that disorder for another (that of giving advice where it is not wanted), as the patient in a lethargy has been known suddenly to jump up and assault the doctor. Provided however you don't follow his example, be it as you please.' On 'trajecto' Porphyrion remarks, "Proprie 'trajecto;' ita enim medici dicunt." 'Miser' is also said to be a medical word for 'diseased.' 'Hic' means 'any one,' 'such an one.' [The words 'Atqui . . . urget' are given to Damasippus by Orelli, Ritter, and Krüger, who thus make nonsense of the passage, as Doederlein, I think, has shown. Orelli maintains that 'Atqui' proves that the words 'Atqui . . . urget' are not Horace's words, which is a weak objection].

31. *O bone, ne te Frustrere*] 'My good sir, don't deceive yourself.' We have 'o bone' (S. 6. 51), like the Greek ὦ 'γαθέ.

32. *prope omnes*] Stertinius would not allow of any exceptions to this rule (see note on v. 44), and 'prope' therefore may be looked upon, not as limiting 'omnes,' but perhaps as softening the expression a little. It is hard to give the word a distinct meaning in C. iv. 14. 20, and in this Satire v. 268. The Greeks use ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν in the same way.

33. *Stertinius*] See Introduction. 'Crepo' is nowhere else used in a good sense, and it is put into Damasippus' mouth ironically. 'Unde' may mean 'from whom,' i. e. Stertinius, or from which preaching, the antecedent implied in 'crepat.'

35. *pascere barbam*] See above, v. 17 n. πωγωνοτροφεῖν is a term used by the later Greek writers. The Pons Fabricius connected the Insula Tiberina with the left bank, and was just outside the walls, facing the south end of the Mons Capitolinus. It was (A.U.C. 692) rebuilt with stone, having been formerly (as may be supposed) made of wood. (Dion Cass. xxxvii. 45.) The ruins of this bridge bear the name Ponte di Quattro Capi. The Fabricius who built it, and whom Comm. Cruq. calls Consul, was Curator Viarum, as appears by an inscription upon one of the arches. The same Scholiast says in his time it was called Pons Lapideus, which may have been the common name. [Fabretti, Inscript., p. 240:

L. FABRICIVS. C. F. CVR. VIAR.
FACIVNDVM. COERAVIT
IDEMQVE. PROBAVIT.

Orelli, following Dezobry, gives a third line, which is supposed to show that this bridge was repaired A.V.C. in the consulship of Q. Lepidus and M. Lollius. Fabretti says: "Lineam tertiam mihi exacte perquirenti certe invisam nescio unednam exscripserit Smetius."]

Nam male re gesta cum vellem mittere operto
Me capite in flumen, dexter stetit et, Cave faxis
Te quidquam indignum; pudor, inquit, te malus angit,
Insanos qui inter vereare insanus haberi.
Primum nam inquiram quid sit furere: hoc si erit in te
Solo nil verbi pereas quin fortiter addam.
Quem mala stultitia et quemcunque inscitia veri
Caecum agit, insanum Chrysippi porticus et grex
Autumat. Haec populos, haec magnos formula reges
Excepto sapiente tenet. Nunc accipe quare
Desipiant omnes aeque ac tu qui tibi nomen
Insano posuere. Velut silvis ubi passim
Palantes error certo de tramite pellit,
Ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum abit, unus utrique
Error, sed variis illudit partibus; hoc te
Crede modo insanum, nihilo ut sapientior ille

38. *Cave faxis*] The last syllable in 'cave' used with the subjunctive (sometimes with and sometimes without 'ne') is always short [or 'cave' was pronounced a monosyllable]. In respect to the forms 'faxo' ('fac-so') for 'fecero,' 'faxim' ('fac-sim') for 'fecerim,' 'faxem' ('fac-sem') for 'fecissem,' see Key's L. G. 566. 'Pudor malus' is the French 'mauvaise honte.'

39. [*Pudor malus*] 'It is a false shame which torments you, since you are afraid (qui vereare) of being reckoned a madman among those who are mad.']

41. *Primum nam inquiram*] 'Nam' is sometimes used to introduce an explanation as here and in Epp. i. 1. 76. Compare Caesar (B. G. iii. 28): "Morini Menapiique longe alia ratione ac reliqui Galli bellum agere instituerunt. Nam quod intelligebant maximas nationes, quae proelio contendissent, pulsas superatasque esse," etc. (See Key's L. G. 1452.)

43. [*mala stultitia*] 'Stultitia cum malitia conjuncta,' 'a wilful folly,' the same as 'prava stultitia' v. 220: Doederlein. Thus folly from badness of purpose is well distinguished from simple ignorance, 'inscitia veri.']

44. *Chrysippi porticus*] This was the στοὰ ποικίλη at Athens, in which Zeno first taught, and from which his followers derived their name (Diogenes Laertius, vii. Zeno). The Stoics seem to have admitted no mean between perfect wisdom or virtue and absolute folly or vice. The fool therefore was a madman, and he was a fool who was ignorant of the truth; and this applies to all mankind, high and low, except the sage; the sage therefore is he who is perfectly acquainted with the truth, which is the Stoics' equivalent for a virtuous man. This theory of virtue led to the doctrine of punishments ridiculed by Horace in the third Satire of the first book. The Stoics allowed no gradations of virtue, and therefore admitted no gradations of punishment. Their notion of a sage altogether was irrational, because no such being as they imagined a sage to be ever existed. Perhaps it was intended to put before the world the highest standard of virtue, wisdom, and self-control, and by withholding all credit from any stage short of perfection to lead men on to desire perfection: a very discouraging method it must be admitted.

45. [*formula*] This is a legal term, a set form of words, which may contain a definition or a rule of law, or form of action, as Gaius iii. 222: 'Veluti si quis alienum servum verberaverit, et in hunc casum formula proponitur.' See Cicero, de Off. iii. 14.]

47. *qui tibi nomen insano*] Lambinus reads 'insani,' but the dative is right. See above, v. 25 n.

48. [*passim*] 'As their steps may lead, 'in all directions,' 'huc et illuc.' Comp. Ovid, Met. i. 57.]

50. *utrique*] The MSS. vary, but the majority are in favour of 'utrique.' Heindorf and some others have 'utrisque.'

Qui te deridet caudam trahat. Est genus unum
Stultitiae nihilum metuenda timentis, ut ignes,
Ut rupes fluviosque in campo obstare queratur;
Alterum et huic varum et nihilo sapientius ignes
Per medios fluviosque ruentis. Clamet amica
Mater, honesta soror cum cognatis, pater, uxor:
"Hic fossa est ingens, hic rupes maxima, serva!"
Non magis audierit quam Fufius ebrius olim
Cum Ilionam edormit, Catienis mille ducentis,
Mater, te appello! clamantibus. Huic ego vulgus
Errori similem cunctum insanire docebo.
Insanit veteres statuas Damasippus emendo:
Integer est mentis Damasippi creditor? Esto!

53. *caudam trahat*] "Ut pecus, i. e. stultus; aut ex consuetudine puerorum sumptum: solent enim pueri deridentes nescientibus a tergo caudam suspendere ut velut pecus caudam trahant" (Porph.). Mischievous boys play tricks of this sort upon half-witted people [or upon one another]. In some such way the proverb may have arisen.

— *Est genus unum*] Compare with this the language of Socrates in Xenophon (Mem. i. 1. 14), *τῶν τε γὰρ μαινομένων τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ τὰ δεινὰ δεδιέναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ μὴ φοβερὰ φοβεῖσθαι.*

56. *varum*] Baxter gives from a Scholiast "Pedes in diversum flexos habentes varos dicimus," and he was the first to take 'varum' into the text, the universal reading before having been 'varium,' which Bentley reads, not noticing 'varum' (S. i. 3. 47 n.). There is MSS. authority for 'varum' and 'varium.'

57. *clamet amica mater*] "Haec composite proferenda sunt: videntur autem sumpta a Graeca tragoedia *φίλη μήτηρ*" (Comm. Cruq.). This Scholiast is no doubt right: but some commentators take 'amica' for the man's mistress [and point thus: 'Clamet amica, Mater honesta, soror,' &c.]. The word 'cognatis' embraces all blood relations who can trace back their origin to a common pair of ancestors. ['Clamet,' 'though she should cry out.']

59. *serva*] 'Take care!' a word common in the comic writers. [Ter. Ad. ii. 1. 18.]

60. *Fufius*] Or Fusius. Nothing more is known of this actor or of Catienus. The story of Polydorus, the son of Priam, is that which Euripides relates in the Hecuba, that he was entrusted to the care of Polymestor, king of Thrace, and murdered by him for his gold. Another legend makes him entrusted to the care of his sister Ilione, who was wife of the above Polymestor. She, for some reason, put him in the place of her own son Deiphilus, and the latter was brought up as her brother. When the Greeks took Troy they required Polymestor to put Priam's son to death, and he accordingly killed Deiphilus. On this story Pacuvius founded a tragedy called Ilione, and in one of the scenes the ghost of Deiphilus is introduced in his mother's bed-chamber, calling upon her to give his body burial in these words (Cic. Tusc. Disp. i. 44):—

"Mater, te adpello quae curam somno suspensam levas,
Neque te mei miseret; surge et sepeli natum."

Fufius acted Ilione, and Catienus was Deiphilus. Fufius was so drunk that he fell fast asleep, and Horace says if twelve hundred Catieni had screamed in his ear he would not have heard. His part was to start up and cry to the vanished ghost, like Hamlet,—"Age, adsta, mane, audi, iteradum eademmet ista mihi" (Cic. Acad. Prior. ii. 27). Cicero made a proverb of these words, 'Mater, te appello,' using them in various illustrations. See pro Sestio, c. 59. ['Edormit:' 'sleeps out his part' instead of acting it. 'Edormire crapulam,' 'to sleep off drunkenness.']

63. *Errori similem*] 'Errorem' is understood, and it is governed by 'insanire' as a cognate accusative, 'error' being equivalent to 'insania.' Comp. Epp. i. 1. 101: "Insanire putas sollemnia me neque rides."

65. *Esto*] *εἶεν*, 'be it so,' a way of

Accipe quod nunquam reddas mihi, si tibi dicam,
Tune insanus eris si acceperis? an magis excors
Rejecta praeda quam praesens Mercurius fert?
Scribe decem Nerio; non est satis: adde Cicutae

passing on to the disproving of the proposition.

68. *quam praesens Mercurius fert*] This notion appears to be taken from a painting; at least the language calls to mind that of Persius (vi. 61, sqq.):—

"Qui prior es cur me in decursu lampada poscis?
Sum tibi Mercurius: venio deus huc ego, ut ille
Pingitur. An renuis? Vin tu gaudere relictis?"

It is common, in ancient works of art, to represent Mercurius with a purse in his hand, and wings on his cap or feet, offering the purse as in haste to some figure by him. In Montfaucon's collection (vol. i. pl. 76. 2) he is represented, on a gem, offering his purse to Fortune, who has her hands full (a cornucopia in one and a rudder in the other, as usual), but shows by her face that she is ready to take it. Spence has an engraving from an ancient picture (Polymetis, Pl. xv. 4), in which Mercurius offers his purse to Minerva, and she, with the discretion that belongs to her, is taking only a little of the money it contains; while on a gem, of which a copy is given in the same plate, he is offering it to a female, who, Spence suggests, may be Pudicitia, and she rejects the offer with disdain. The last gem, in which the god is evidently in the act of taking his departure hastily, illustrates the text very well. 'If I offer you a purse of money as a free gift,' says Stertinius, 'are you mad if you accept it? Is not he the fool who rejects the treasure that Mercurius in his bounty offers, seeing he may never be so kind again?'

69. *Scribe decem Nerio*] This is a difficult passage. In the first place it may be doubted who is the speaker of these words. They appear to me to be meant for an invective of the money-lender Perillius against his slippery debtor Nerius. If that be so, the Stoic replies to him in ver. 74 and the two following verses. The Scholiasts, it is true, make Cicuta and Perillius the same person; but Acron adds, "quidam dicunt istum Nerium Perillium," and this is as likely as the other, but more likely that they are all different. Taking it so, the sense seems to me to be this. 'Make an entry of ten (minae, or any thing else) lent to Nerius; add by way of security, a hundred such bonds as Cicuta employs, and to this any number of fetters you please (that is, take what security of him you choose), still the rascal will escape.' To which the Stoic replies, 'If he is mad who ruins himself and cannot pay his debts, you are more mad for lending him money which you have no chance of getting back again.' The banker ('argentarius') through whom the money was advanced would make an entry in his books, which entry was legal evidence of the debt; but Perillius says with such a slippery fellow it would not be sufficient. Bentley (on Epp. ii. 1. 105) says 'scribe' in this passage is addressed to the debtor, quoting, among other places, Dig. 12. 1. 40, "Lucius Titius scripsi me accepisse a P. Maevio quindecim mutua numerata mihi de domo." That the word is used elsewhere in connexion with the acknowledgment given by the borrower is true. It explains that transaction of the unjust steward in the Gospel of St. Luke (xvi. 6), δέξαι σου τὸ γράμμα καὶ καθίσας ταχέως γράψον πεντήκοντα. But here it is impossible that the debtor can be addressed. The entry of the debt must be meant. With 'decem,' Doering and Heindorf, and most of the editors since them, including Orelli [and Ritter], propose to understand 'tabulas.' This spoils the passage. There is no doubt that 'decem' expresses the sum lent, as 'quindecim' does in the above passage from the Digest. And again, in Dig. 45. 2. 9, "Titius et Maevius Sempronio decem danto;" and 12. 1. 19, "veluti si Titio decem dedero, ut Stichum intra Kalendas manumittat," and elsewhere. Acron and Porphyrion omit the preposition 'a' before Nerio, as I have done, but Porph. says, "quidam Anerio legunt," and this means 'a Nerio,' which Comm. Cruq. has [and Orelli, Ritter, and Krüger]. The Schol. on Persius ii. 14 ("Nerio jam tertia conditur uxor"), and Servius on Aen. vii. 422, quote this passage without the preposition. All the early editions till Lambinus omit it. Fea quotes several MSS. in which 'a' does not occur. It appears in most MSS. and modern editions. The Roman expression for entering a debit against any one was 'expensum referre alicui;' to put to his credit was 'acceptum

Nodosi tabulas centum, mille adde catenas:
Effugiet tamen haec sceleratus vincula Proteus.
Cum rapies in jus malis ridentem alienis,
Fiet aper, modo avis, modo saxum et cum volet arbor.
Si male rem gerere insani est, contra bene sani,
Putidius multo cerebrum est, mihi crede, Perilli
Dictantis quod tu nunquam rescribere possis.
Audire atque togam jubeo componere, quisquis
Ambitione mala aut argenti pallet amore,
Quisquis luxuria tristive superstitione
Aut alio mentis morbo calet; huc propius me,

referre alicui;' sometimes, but rarely, 'abs aliquo,' not 'a.' (See Cicero, Orat. c. 47, and other authorities quoted by Mr. Long on Caesar, B. G. viii. 38.)

The Scholiast on Persius (l. c.) says that the Nerius there mentioned made a great deal of money through the death of his wives 'and was a notorious usurer, being the same that Horace alludes to.' I put no faith in this. The name in either case stands for any body that the case may suit, though it may have become proverbial through some person that bore it. 'Cicuta' is a nickname, the Scholiasts say, given to some notorious usurer for his sour temper. Horace represents him as a shrewd person to have dealings with; one who when he advanced money looked well to the security, and when he bound a debtor tied the knot tight. [See note at the end of the volume.]

71. *Proteus*] For the story of Proteus, see Hom. Odyss. iv. 410, sqq., 455 sqq.:—

οὐδ' ὁ γέρων δολίης ἐπελήθετο τέχνης
ἀλλ' ἤτοι πρώτιστα λέων γένετ' ἠϋγένειος,
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα δράκων, καὶ πάρδαλις, ἠδὲ μέγας σῦς·
γίγνετο δ' ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ, καὶ δένδρεον ὑψιπέτηλον.

(which Virgil has imitated, Georg. iv. 405 sqq.). Ovid, Fast. i. 369; A. A. i. 761:—

"Utque leves Proteus modo se tenuabit in undas;
Nunc leo, nunc arbor, nunc erit hirtus aper."

As to 'rapies in jus,' see note on S. i. 9. 77. 'Malis ridentem alienis' is a proverbial way of expressing a hypocrite who puts on a face not his own. The words are taken, without strict regard to their application, from the Odyssey (xx. 347), *οἱ δ' ἤδη γναθμοῖσι γελοίων ἀλλοτρίοισι,* where the suitors of Penelope laugh when they would rather have cried, like "Quin et Ixion Tityosque vultu Risit invito" (C. iii. 11. 21). The sense is, that this cunning debtor, when his creditor sues him, will put on all kinds of characters, tell all manner of lies, get out of the obligation, and laugh at his creditor, let him do what he will to bind him. The reading 'in jura,' which appears in a great many MSS., and in most of the old editions, has no meaning. It arose from a misunderstanding of 'malis alienis,' which was supposed to mean another person's misfortunes. Compare Valerius Flac. (Argon. viii. 163), "Errantesque genae atque alieno gaudia vultu Semper erant."

74. *Si male rem gerere*] See v. 40 n.

75. *Putidius*] Forcellini explains, I believe correctly, "insanius et quasi corruptius." Perillius is supposed to be the 'Cicuta' mentioned above, v. 69, but see note. As 'scribere' signifies to make an entry, 'rescribere' signifies to make another entry which destroys the effect of the first. 'Quod tu nunquam rescribere possis' therefore means 'what you can never repay.' 'Dictare' is to dictate the form of the obligation for the borrower to write out or the sum to be entered either in the books of the borrower or of his agent, the banker; and either way is equivalent to lending money.

77. *togam jubeo componere*] This only means to sit down and composedly attend to what he is going to say. He turns from Damasippus to an imaginary mixed audience.

78. *pallet*] Persius (S. iv. 47) uses this word probably in imitation of Horace, "Viso si palles, improbe, nummo."

Dum doceo insanire omnes, vos ordine adite.
Danda est ellebori multo pars maxima avaris;
Nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem.
Heredes Staberi summam incidere sepulcro:
Ni sic fecissent, gladiatorum dare centum
Damnati populo paria atque epulum arbitrio Arri,
Frumenti quantum metit Africa. Sive ego prave
Seu recte hoc volui, ne sis patruus mihi. Credo
Hoc Staberi prudentem animum vidisse. Quid ergo

83. *Nescio an Anticyram*] On the phrases 'nescio an,' 'haud scio an,' 'I incline to think it is so,' see Key's L. G. 1421. Anticyra, called by Strabo Ἀντίκιῤῥα, was a town of Phocis on the Sinus Corinthiacus, and was celebrated for hellebore, a medicine used very generally in cases of madness. It would seem probable from ver. 166 and other places that patients went to reside at Anticyra sometimes. The modern name is Aspra Spitia, that is, 'hospitia.' There were two other places of the name (Strabo, pp. 418. 434), one in Thessaly, another in Locris, each of which is said to have produced hellebore. Whether the number three can be supported by A. P. 300, "Si tribus Anticyris caput insanabile nunquam," is more than doubtful (see n.). 'Destinare,' Orelli says, is a medical term for prescribing.

84. *Staberi*] There is no information about this person in the Scholiasts. The praenomen of Arrius was Quintus (below, ver. 243, "Quinti progenies Arri par nobile fratrum"), and he is known from several allusions in Cicero. He was the person Verres wanted to succeed him (in Verr. ii. 2. 15), being a person of like mind with himself, and of the lowest origin. See Brut. c. 69, where he is said to be an instance how, in those days as in these, without learning or talent and merely by time-serving, a man might rise to honour and wealth. He was praetor in A.U.C. 682 (Liv. Epit. 96), and stood for the consulship A.U.C. 695, but was rejected (Cic. ad Att. ii. 7). He gave a great funeral entertainment, which is mentioned by Cicero in his speech in Vatinium, c. 12. He there calls him "familiaris meus," which raises a doubt whether he is the person mentioned in the Brutus. If the Schol. Gronov. in Cic. Divin. is right, the Arrius of A.U.C. 695 was the son of the praetor. The exhibition of gladiators was originally a funeral ceremony, and so continued after the practice became common as a popular entertainment. After the funeral of a wealthy man a distribution of meat to the people ('visceratio') was not uncommon, and a public banquet ('epulum') was very common, to which persons of the highest distinction that the friends could get to attend were invited. The distribution of corn ('frumentatio') was also a common practice. This Staberius, who considered it a disgrace for any man to die poor, willed that the amount of his property should be recorded on his tomb; and his heredes if they did not do this were, by a condition in his testament, 'damnati,' under a penalty, to celebrate his funeral with gladiatorial shows and an epulum on a scale to be determined by Arrius, which would be an extravagant scale. 'Damnati' is a legal term, and penalties were common in Roman wills; [and they occur in monumental inscriptions, as in this form, 'Si quis . . hoc sepulcrum . . vendere vel donare voluerit dare damnas esto aerario &c.' (Orelli). 'Damnatio' was also a Roman form of giving a legacy (Gaius, iii. 197. 201)]. We must infer from the text that 200 pairs of gladiators were in Horace's day an extravagant number, but in later times it would not have been excessive. "Frumenti quantum metit Africa" is a proverbial expression, see C. i. 1. 10. As to 'patruus,' see C. iii. 12. 3, and above, S. 2. 97. Compare Persius (iii. 96), "Ne sis mihi tutor." ['Sive ego . . . patruus mihi:' these words express the thoughts of Staberius; 'Whether I have done wrong or right in putting the condition in my will, don't you blame me.' 'Hoc' refers to 'ne sis patruus mihi.' If you don't comply with my wishes, you shall pay the penalty.]

89. *Prudentem*] Cicero (in a fragment quoted by Forcell.) defines 'prudentia' thus: "Sapientis est providere, a quo sapientia est appellata prudentia." What

Sensit cum summam patrimoni insculpere saxo
Heredes voluit? Quoad vixit credidit ingens
Pauperiem vitium et cavit nihil acrius, ut si
Forte minus locuples uno quadrante perisset
Ipse videretur sibi nequior: omnis enim res,
Virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque pulchris
Divitiis parent; quas qui construxerit ille
Clarus erit, fortis, justus. Sapiensne? Etiam, et rex,
Et quidquid volet. Hoc veluti virtute paratum
Speravit magnae laudi fore. Quid simile isti
Graecus Aristippus? qui servos projicere aurum
In media jussit Libya, quia tardius irent
Propter onus segnes. Uter est insanior horum?
Nil agit exemplum, litem quod lite resolvit.
Si quis emat citharas, emptas comportet in unum,
Nec studio citharae nec Musae deditus ulli;

Staberius provided for is related in what follows.

90. *summam patrimoni*] ['Patrimonium' often means no more than a property or a man's estate, as we call it.]

91. *Quoad*] Must be pronounced as a monosyllable. On the formation of the word see Key's L. G. 799.

93. *perisset*] This, which is the reading of the Blandinian and other good MSS., is probably the true one. The common reading was 'periret.' Bentley approves and argues for the pluperfect, but leaves 'periret' in the text. He quotes Terence (Phorm. i. 2. 69), "Non si redisset ei pater veniam daret;" and Adelph. ii. 1. 24, "Si attigisses ferres infortunium;" and S. i. 6. 79. Staberius' doctrine was that goodness was measured by wealth, and that if he should die poorer by a part of an as, he would, in the same proportion, be in his own esteem a less virtuous man.

97. *Sapiensne? Etiam, et rex*] 'Wise? say you. Aye, and a king to boot, and any thing he shall please.' Some MSS. omit 'et,' but 'etiam' in replies means 'even so.' Compare Cic. Acad. Prior 32, "Aut etiam aut non, respondere possit," 'yes or no.'

100. *Graecus Aristippus*] Aristippus of Cyrene professed to be the slave of no passion, while he gratified all. He cared nothing for money, while he used it for the purpose of sensual indulgence. The story Horace mentions is derived with little variation from Diog. Laert. (ii. 77), *τοῦ θεράποντος ἐν ὁδῷ βαστάζοντος ἀργύριον καὶ βαρυνομένου, ὥς φασιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Βίωνα ἐν ταῖς διατριβαῖς, ἀπόχεε, ἔφη, τὸ πλέον καὶ ὅσον δύνασαι βάσταζε.* See Epp. i. 1. 18. n.

103. *litem quod lite resolvit*] Which settles one doubtful point by raising another.

104. *Si quis emat citharas*] Sir Henry Halford relates an instance of lunacy which illustrates this: "In another well-known case which justified the Lord Chancellor's issuing a writ 'de lunatico inquirendo,' the insanity of the gentleman manifested itself in appropriating every thing to himself and parting with nothing. When strongly urged to put on a clean shirt he would do it, but it must be over the dirty one; nor would he put off his shoes when he went to bed. He would agree to purchase any thing that was to be sold, but he would not pay for it. He was, in fact, brought up from the King's Bench prison, where he had been committed for not paying for a picture valued at 1500 pounds which he had agreed to buy; and in giving my opinion to the jury I recommended them to go over to his house in Portland-place, where they would find 15,000*l.* worth of property of every description; this picture, musical instruments, clocks, baby-houses, and baubles, all huddled in confusion together on the floor of his dining-room. I need not add that the jury found the gentleman insane" (Halford's Essays, p. 63).

Si scalpra et formas non sutor, nautica vela
Aversus mercaturis, delirus et amens
Undique dicatur merito. Quî discrepat istis
Qui nummos aurumque recondit, nescius uti
Compositis metuensque velut contingere sacrum?
Si quis ad ingentem frumenti semper acervum
Porrectus vigilet cum longo fuste, neque illinc
Audeat esuriens dominus contingere granum,
Ac potius foliis parcus vescatur amaris;
Si positis intus Chii veterisque Falerni
Mille cadis—nihil est, tercentum milibus—acre
Potet acetum; age, si et stramentis incubet, unde-
Octoginta annos natus, cui stragula vestis,
Blattarum ac tinearum epulae, putrescat in arca:
Nimirum insanus paucis videatur, eo quod
Maxima pars hominum morbo jactatur eodem.

106. *formas*] Here this signifies a shoemaker's lasts. It is used for moulds in which castings are made, and would express any shape or block on which any thing is made.

107. *Aversus mercaturis*] 'Mercaturis' is the dative. Compare C. ii. 4. 19: "Tam lucro aversam." 'Istis' (v. 108) is the dative in the same construction. Quintilian (vii. 1. 11) has "defensioni aversior;" and this Latin use explains our own 'averse to.'

115. *Chii veterisque Falerni*] Pliny says respecting the age of Falernian, "Falernum nec in novitate nec in nimia vetustate corpori salubre est. Media ejus aetas a quinto decimo anno incipit" (N. H. xxiii. 20).

116. *nihil est*] He might have said 'immo.' See S. i. 3. 20 n. A similar mode of expression, as I undestand the line, occurs in Aeschylus (Eumen. 38):

δείσασα γὰρ γραῦς, οὐδὲν, ἀντίπαις μὲν οὖν.

117. *unde-octoginta annos natus*] After he has completed seventy-nine years, that is, in his eightieth year.

118. *stragula vestis*] "In 'stratum' omne vestimentum contineri quod injiciatur Labeo ait: neque enim dubium est quin stragula vestis sit omne pallium περίστρωμα. In victum ergo vestem accipiemus, non stragula; in stratu omnem stragulam vestem" (Ulpian, Dig. 50. 16. 45). The ancients had very expensive coverings for their beds and couches. They were usually purple, wide, and sometimes richly embroidered. "Multa stragula vestis" is reckoned among the rich furniture of Heraclius of Syracuse. (Cic. in Verr. ii. 2. 14.) Compare also ii. 4. 26, where Cicero says that Verres had a weaving establishment for the manufacture of these coverlids in every wealthy house in Sicily. One lady of Segesta, named Lamia, took three years to make him 'stragula vestis,' which was dyed with the richest purple. By way of showing the reckless extravagance of M. Antonius, Cicero says (Phil. ii. 27) you might see the couches in his slaves' rooms covered with the purple περιστρώματα that had belonged to Cn. Pompeius. The affectation of Zoilus, who pretends to be ill, that he may have an opportunity of displaying his bed and the furniture, is cleverly told by Martial (ii. 16):

"Zoilus aegrotat: faciunt haec stragula febrem;
Si fuerit sanus, coccina quid facient?
Quid torus a Nilo? quid Sidone tinctus olenti?
Ostendit stultas quid nisi morbus opes?
Quid tibi cum medicis? dimitte Machaonas omnes.
Vis fieri sanus? stragula sume mea."

119. *putrescat*] There is no variation in the MSS. here. Below (v. 194) the majority and best are in favour of 'putesco.'

121. *morbo jactatur eodem*] That is

Filius aut etiam haec libertus ut ebibat heres,
Dis inimice senex, custodis? Ne tibi desit?
Quantulum enim summae curtabit quisque dierum,
Ungere si caules oleo meliore caputque
Coeperis impexa foedum porrigine? Quare,
Si quidvis satis est, perjuras, surripis, aufers
Undique? Tun sanus? Populum si caedere saxis
Incipias servosque tuos quos aere pararis,
Insanum te omnes pueri clamentque puellae:
Cum laqueo uxorem interimis matremque veneno
Incolumi capite es? Quid enim, neque tu hoc facis Argis,
Nec ferro ut demens genitricem occidis Orestes.
An tu reris eum occisa insanisse parente,
Ac non ante malis dementem actum Furiis quam
In matris jugulo ferrum tepefecit acutum?
Quin ex quo est habitus male tutae mentis Orestes,

madness. The word 'jactari' is applied to the tossing of the sick and writhing of those in pain. Lucretius (iii. 505):—

"Haec igitur tantis ubi morbis corpore in ipso
Jactentur miserisque modis distracta laborent."

123. *Dis inimice senex*] This is an adaptation of θεοῖς ἐχθρός, a common Greek expression. See Demos. (de Cor. p. 124): κόλακες καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ καὶ τἄλλα, and p. 245, προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων.

127. *perjuras*] Other examples of this form are given by Forcellini, who says the best MSS. have 'perjuro' in Cicero, where 'pejero' is usually found in the editions. As a compromise between the two forms, Orelli's best MSS. in this place have 'pejuras.'

129. *servosque tuos quos aere pararis*] Bentley will lay any wager ('equidem ausim quavis sponsione contendere') Horace did not write thus, but 'servosve tuo quos aere pararis.' [Ritter has servosve.] 'Tuo' appears in Ascensius' text and in a very few of Fea's MSS. Tan. Faber has that word. All other MSS. and editions till Bentley have 'tuos.' Several modern editors have adopted 'tuo.' Heindorf has 'tuos.' I do not see any great difference between the two readings. 'Quos aere pararis' enhances the folly of the man who, having laid out his money in the purchase of slaves, employs himself in breaking their heads with stones. Such a man, says Stertinius, would be counted mad by acclamation. 'Well, then,' he adds to the miser, 'are you not mad who poison your mother or strangle your wife, to get rid of the expense of keeping them? Of course not; for you do it, not at Argos, but at Rome; not in the character of Orestes, but of a respectable citizen. But do you not believe Orestes was mad before he killed his mother, and when no one suspected it?' For 'quid enim' (as to which see note on S. i. 1. 7) Bentley with bad taste substitutes 'quid ni?' What Horace alludes to when he speaks of Orestes calling Pylades names is uncertain. In Euripides' play of Orestes (v. 258) he says to his sister:

μέθες· μί' οὖσα τῶν ἐμῶν ἐρινύων
μέσον μ' ὀχμάζεις, ὡς βάλῃς ἐς Τάρταρον.

130. *pueri clamentque puellae*] "'Que' and 've' in the poets are sometimes placed, not after the second of the two words compared, but after a word which is the common predicate of both clauses" (Key's L. G. 1441). In a note Professor Key adds, "a construction that probably began with a repetition of the predicate, 'pueri clament clamentque puellae.'" See below (v. 157): "furtis pereamque rapinis;" and many other instances.

137. *male tutae mentis*] Bentley shows from Celsus that 'tutus' was in medical language equivalent to 'sanus.' 'Incolumis' is used in the same sense (v. 132).

Nil sane fecit quod tu reprehendere possis :
Non Pyladen ferro violare aususve sororem
Electram, tantum maledicit utrique vocando
Hanc Furiam, hunc aliud jussit quod splendida bilis.
Pauper Opimius argenti positi intus et auri,
Qui Veientanum festis potare diebus
Campana solitus trulla vappamque profestis,
Quondam lethargo grandi est oppressus ut heres
Jam circum loculos et claves laetus ovansque
Curreret. Hunc medicus multum celer atque fidelis
Excitat hoc pacto : mensam poni jubet atque
Effundi saccos nummorum, accedere plures
Ad numerandum ; hominem sic erigit ; addit et illud :
Ni tua custodis, avidus jam haec auferet heres.
Men vivo ? Ut vivas igitur vigila : hoc age. Quid vis ?
Deficient inopem venae te ni cibus atque
Ingens accedit stomacho fultura ruenti.
Tu cessas ? Agedum, sume hoc ptisanarium oryzae.
Quanti emptae ? Parvo. Quanti ergo ? Octussibus. Eheu !
Quid refert morbo an furtis pereamque rapinis ?
Quisnam igitur sanus ? Qui non stultus. Quid avarus ?
Stultus et insanus. Quid, si quis non sit avarus,

141. *splendida bilis*] 'Splendida' is a redundant epithet. Persius, who imitates Horace frequently, calls it 'vitrea bilis' (iii. 8). Heindorf quotes from Galen (*περὶ αἰτ. συμπτ.* ii. 50) : *μέλαινα χολὴ στιλπνοτέρα αὐτοῦ τοῦ αἵματός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ ἐκ τῆς νεκρᾶς θαλάττης ἄσφαλτος ἣν Ἰουδαϊκὴν ὀνομάζουσι.*

142. *Opimius*] This man was 'magnas inter opes inops' (C. iii. 16. 28). ['Pauper argenti' like 'pauper aquae,' C. iii. 30. 11.] On the wine of Veii, see note on C. i. 9. 7, and Persius (S. v. 147). On 'Campana trulla' see S. i. 6. 118. [And as to 'vappam' S. i. 5. 16.] 'Trulla' a diminutive of 'trua,' was a cup. Cicero (in Verr. ii. 4. 27) mentions one made of a single precious stone of enormous size, with a gold handle.

[145. *grandi . . . ut*] 'So great that.' See Epod. xvi. 31.]

147. *Multum celer*] See S. i. 3. 57.

[152. *hoc age*] 'Take care,' 'attend to what I say :' he has just said 'vigila.' It is a common formula, used whenever attention is required. 'Quid vis ?' is another formula used for reproof. Doederlein conjectures, 'vigil hoc age.']

155. *Agedum, sume hoc ptisanarium oryzae*] On 'agedum' see S. i. 4. 38. 'Ptisanarium' is a diminutive of 'ptisana,' and means a little broth [which was made of barley or rice (Plin. N. H. 18. c. 7). 'Ptisanarium' is of the form of a Greek diminutive, which would have the antepenultima short, as Ritter remarks. Celsus (iv. 7) has the expression, 'sorbitio ptisanae vel alicae vel oryzae.']

157. *furtis pereamque rapinis*] See note on S. i. 3. 122, and above v. 130. The reading 'pereamve,' is adopted by Bentley and Fea against most of the MSS. and nearly all the old editions. The wretched man, when he hears the price of his food, conjures up the notion that every body is conspiring to rob and plunder him : a state of mind which the disjunctive particle does not express.

158. *Quisnam igitur sanus*] These questions and answers are all made by Stertinius himself. 'Stultus et insanus' means 'he is a fool, and therefore mad ;' not 'he is a fool, and moreover he is mad,' since folly and madness have already been declared to be identical.

Continuo sanus? Minime. Cur, Stoïce? Dicam.
Non est cardiacus (Craterum dixisse putato)
Hic aeger: recte est igitur surgetque? Negabit,
Quod latus aut renes morbo tentantur acuto.
Non est perjurus neque sordidus; immolet aequis
Hic porcum Laribus: verum ambitiosus et audax;
Naviget Anticyram. Quid enim differt, barathrone
Dones quidquid habes an nunquam utare paratis?
Servius Oppidius Canusi duo praedia, dives
Antiquo censu, gnatis divisse duobus
Fertur et hoc moriens pueris dixisse vocatis
Ad lectum: Postquam te talos, Aule, nucesque

161. *Craterum dixisse putato*] Cicero speaks of Craterus as attending the daughter of Atticus during her illness, A.U.C. 709; "de Attica doleo: credo autem Cratero" (ad Att. xii. 13, & v. 14). He is mentioned by Persius (S. iii. 65):

"—— Venienti occurrite morbo.
Et quid opus Cratero magnos promittere montes?"

As to 'cardiacum' Heindorf quotes Celsus' definition (iii. 19): "Nihil aliud est quam nimia imbecillitas corporis quod stomacho languente immodico sudore digeritur."

163. *morbo tentantur acuto*] This verse is repeated Epp. i. 6. 28. 'Morbus acutus,' 'an acute disease,' is opposed to 'longus,' 'a chronic disease.'

— [*tentantur*] The better reading is perhaps 'temptentur' or 'tententur.' The disease of the 'latus' is πλευρῖτις. The disease of the 'renes' is νεφρῖτις. Celsus, iv. 6, and 10 quoted by Ritter, describes the morbus πλευριτικός and the Renum morbus.]

165. *porcum Laribus*] C. iii. 23. 4. 'Let him offer a thanksgiving to his Lares, who have protected him from those vices.'

166. *barathrone*] The Scholiasts, MSS., and editions vary in respect to this word. Acron reads 'Balatroni,' and explains it as the name of a 'scurra ineptus,' the usual description of indifferent characters not otherwise known. Porphyrion notices 'barathro' as a various reading. All Orelli's MSS. have 'barathrone,' and he adopts that word, which he explains as some deep pit, such as malefactors were thrown into at Athens and Lacedaemon. All the editions till Bentley have 'barathrone.' He edits 'balatrone,' not as a proper name, like the Scholiasts, but in the sense in which it is used before (S. i. 2. 2 n). He mentions two MSS. in its favour, and Fea mentions others. Fea himself adopts 'balatrone' ('balatrone' being the nominative, 'utrum ut balatro'), which Bentley seems to prefer. The great preponderance of authority is in favour of 'barathrone.' But any pit will do. We need not go to Athens or Sparta.

168. *Servius Oppidius*] This person lived at Canusium. (See i. 5. 91 n.). His property was reduced to two farms, though his ancestors were rich. This is Orelli's explanation. The more obvious one is that he was rich, even with two farms, according to the standard of incomes in the old times. This is Acron's interpretation, which Heindorf approves. As to the form 'divisse,' see S. 1. 5. 79.

171. *talos—nucesque*] The 'talus' was the knuckle-bone of some animal, generally a sheep, the Greek ἀστράγαλος. The manner of playing with it was the same among the Greeks and the Romans, and the same bones are still used by boys in England. The ancients used them in games of skill and of chance; for the latter purpose they were marked as dice, and thrown usually from a box called 'fritillus,' 'phimus,' &c. (S. ii. 7. 17 n., and Becker's Gallus, on the 'Social Games,' and Dict. Ant.). Boys had also games of various kinds with nuts, as they have now. Suetonius relates that Augustus "animi laxandi causa modo piscabatur hamo, modo talis aut ocellatis nucibusque ludebat cum pueris minutis" (Octav. 83), where, according to Forcellini, 'ocellatis' means small round stones like eyes. Oppidius observed that his son Aulus carried about his bones and his nuts in a careless way in a loose fold of his toga, ready to give them away to any of his companions or to lose them at play; while

Ferre sinu laxo, donare et ludere vidi,
Te, Tiberi, numerare, cavis abscondere tristem;
Extimui ne vos ageret vesania discors,
Tu Nomentanum, tu ne sequerere Cicutam.
Quare per divos oratus uterque Penates,
Tu cave ne minuas, tu ne majus facias id
Quod satis esse putat pater et natura coërcet.
Praeterea ne vos titillet gloria jure
Jurando obstringam ambo: uter aedilis fueritve
Vestrum praetor, is intestabilis et sacer esto.
In cicere atque faba bona tu perdasque lupinis,

Tiberius always counted his carefully and hid them, carrying a serious face wherever he went; and from these early signs of character he foresaw that one would prove a spendthrift and the other a miser. As to Nomentanus see S. i. 1. 102 n.; and on Cicuta, v. 68.

178. *natura coërcet*] Nature keeps within bounds, defines, limits. [Comp. S. i. 1. 50: 'your natural wants define.' Ritter most absurdly explains 'coercet' of the natural boundaries of the Canusine farms.]

[180. '*uter*,' &c.] See S. i. 2. 63.]

181. *is intestabilis et sacer esto*] A person who was 'intestablis' was 'infamis' and something more. He could not appear as a witness before a magistrate, and so lost virtually much of his civil capacity, which was not a consequence of ordinary 'infamia.' (See Dict. Ant., art. 'Infamia.') He was also, Unterholzner says (ap. Heindorf), incapable of the right of 'mancipatio,' and incapable of all proceedings 'per aes et libram,' because in such proceedings witnesses were wanted. He was not able to witness a will, or, according to Cruquius' Scholiast, to make a will, or receive any thing by will. The conventional meaning of 'intestabilis' came to be the same as 'detestabilis.' As to 'sacer' Festus (quoted by Heindorf) says: "Homo sacer is est quem populus judicavit ob maleficium, neque nefas est eum immolari, sed qui occidit parricidii non damnatur, nam lege tribunicia prima cavetur, 'Si quis eum qui eo plebiscito sacer sit occiderit, paricida ne sit.' Ex quo quivis homo malus atque improbus sacer appellari solet." Thus Oppidius imprecates a curse upon his sons if they should ever aspire so high as to the office of an aedile or a praetor.

182. *In cicere atque faba*] As if his sons were already seeking votes, he says to each of them (for 'tu' must be so understood), 'so you would throw away your money in distributing largesses to the people (such as the aediles were wont to give) in order that you may strut about in the Circus, and have a bronze statue voted you —that is to say, that you may be loaded with the same honours as the great Agrippa, like a fox aping a lion.' It was customary for the aediles to distribute grain or beans and lupines to the common people at the festival of the Floralia (Comm. Cruq.) See Persius (v. 177):—

"—— vigila, et cicer ingere large
Rixanti populo, nostra ut Floralia possint
Aprici meminisse senes."

Agrippa, after he had been praetor and consul, undertook the aedileship, which was the lowest of the curule offices, in A.U.C. 721, to gratify Augustus. His munificence was very great in the erection of public buildings and the celebration of games on a splendid scale, and large donations to the people. 'Latus spatiere' is explained in the note on Epod. iv. 7. Such statues as are here supposed were usually erected in the Forum. It may be observed that Oppidius plainly means the first part of his address, from 'In cicere,' &c. to apply to the careless extravagant Aulus, while the simile of the fox and lion is only applicable to the astute Tiberius, who, if he spends his money, will look for a substantial return for it in such honours and rewards as he saw Agrippa had won. The old editions till Lambinus had 'laetus;' 'latus' is the reading of all the MSS. The greater number of MSS. are in favour of 'aut aeneus,' and that is the reading of all the editions till Bentley, who adopts that of some good MSS., 'et aëneus,' [See C. iii. 3. 65 n.] 'Aëneus ut stes' is like C.

Latus ut in Circo spatiere et aëneus ut stes,
Nudus agris, nudus nummis, insane, paternis;
Scilicet ut plausus quos fert Agrippa feras tu,
Astuta ingenuum volpes imitata leonem.
Ne quis humasse velit Ajacem, Atrida, vetas cur?
Rex sum. Nil ultra quaero plebeius. Et aequam
Rem imperito; ac si cui videor non justus, inulto
Dicere quod sentit permitto.—Maxime regum,
Di tibi dent capta classem deducere Troja!

iv. 1. 19: "Albanos prope te lacus Ponet marmoream;" and Virg. (Ec. vii. 35):

"Nunc te marmoreum pro tempore fecimus; at tu
Si fetura gregem suppleverit aureus esto."

The same way of speaking is common in Greek. 'Astuta ingenuum,' &c. appears to be nothing but a suitable illustration invented by Horace. It is obvious enough, and we need not suppose it a proverb or a current fable of Aesop or any one else.

187. *Ne quis humasse velit*] This scene is taken from the remonstrance of Ulysses with Agamemnon in the Ajax of Sophocles (v. 1328 sqq.) 'Veto' usually governs the infinitive mood. Once more, as here, Horace uses it with 'ne' and the subjunctive (Epp. ii. 1. 239): "Edicto vetuit ne quis se praeter Apellen Pingeret;" and once with the subjunctive, but without 'ne' (C. iii. 2. 26):

"—— vetabo qui Cereris sacrum
Vulgarit arcanae sub isdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemve mecum
Solvat phaselon."

Tibullus has 'veto' with 'ut:' "Illius ut verbis sis mihi lenta veto" (ii. 6. 36). 'Atrida' is the later form of the vocative. The Greek 'Atride' is used in Epp. i. 7. 43. The termination of Anchisa in Aen. iii. 475: "Conjugio Anchisa Veneris dignate superbo," on which Servius quotes Horace's 'Atrida,' is Greek, being the Doric α for η. 'Cur' is awkwardly placed, as it is in S. 7. 104. The connexion with what precedes lies in the extravagant and imperious conduct of the king as illustrating the excesses of pride, and proving that madness is found in high places and in the heart of kings. Stertinius is exposing the folly of ambition. The dialogue is supposed to be between Agamemnon and one of his soldiers in view of the unburied corpse of Ajax. 'Nil ultra quaero plebeius' is interposed by the soldier: 'I am a king,' ('I am one of the common sort, and dare ask no more!')—'and moreover the thing is just that I command.' There is a good deal of irony here. The justice of the command is secondary to the will of the despot, and his subject is ready with instinctive awe to admit that it is so; but the tyrant condescends to justify his act; and the man of low degree, not without trembling and doubt and astonishment at such condescension, ventures to ask that his reason may be enlightened a little, in order that he may learn to acquiesce willingly. Compare Juvenal (S. x. 69):

"—— Sed quo cecidit (Sejanus) sub crimine? quisnam
Delator? quibus indiciis, quo teste probavit?
Nil horum: verbosa et grandis epistola venit
A Capreis. Bene habet; nil plus interrogo."

Bentley, mistaking the connexion, and missing the force of the parenthetical humility of the second speaker, reads 'quaere' against the metre, but on the authority of the oldest Blandinian MS. As the king immediately invites comment we need not make him stultify himself by here refusing to listen to it. Stephens quotes a Greek proverb, μώρῳ καὶ βασιλεῖ νόμος ἄγραφος, 'fools and kings are governed by an unwritten law.' Juvenal has "Hoc volo, sic jubeo; sit pro ratione voluntas" (vi. 223).

191. *Di tibi dent capta classem deducere Troja*] This is a version of Chryses' words to the king (Il. i. 18):

ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες
ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ' οἴκαδ' ἱκέσθαι.

Three of Orelli's best MSS., and many

Ergo consulere et mox respondere licebit?
Consule. Cur Ajax, heros ab Achille secundus,
Putescit toties servatis clarus Achivis,
Gaudeat ut populus Priami Priamusque inhumato,
Per quem tot juvenes patrio caruere sepulcro?
Mille ovium insanus morti dedit, inclitum Ulixen
Et Menelaum una mecum se occidere clamans.
Tu cum pro vitula statuis dulcem Aulide natam
Ante aras spargisque mola caput, improbe, salsa,
Rectum animi servas?—Quorsum?—Insanus quid enim Ajax

others, have 'redducere,' which Lambinus and all the editions after him till Bentley adopted. Heindorf has done the same. The old editions (Ven. 1483, and Ascens. 1511) have 'deducere,' which independently of the quantity, is the word required. 'Reducere' can only be said in the country to which the return is to take place. [But 'redducere' and other forms of this verb with 'redd' are used by Lucretius, and 'redducere' is probably the true form here.] 'Consulere,' as Orelli says, is used humorously, as if the person addressed was a jurisconsultus. On 'respondere' see C. S. 55 n.

194. *Putescit*] The two forms 'putrescere' and 'putescere' are in use, and a difference of meaning is assigned to them, as if 'putescere' meant to rot and emit a stench; the other simply to go to decay. There is no probability in such distinctions. The old editions, with Lambinus, Torrentius, and Bentley, have 'putrescit' here. The majority and best of the MSS. have 'putescit.' The instances of 'putesco' quoted by Forcellini are all doubtful, according to the MSS.; but the root is the same in both verbs. Orelli says that the meaning of both is the same, but that 'putesco' is used because it is softer. But 'putrescat' is used above (v. 119), and the instances he quotes, 'increbuit' for 'increbruit,' 'rubesco' for 'rubresco,' are not to the purpose, since in both those cases the softer form is apparently adopted in order to avoid the double 'r.' (See Mr. Long's note on Cic. in Verr. ii. 23, and S. ii. 5. 93).

195. *Gaudeat ut populus Priami Priamusque*] Comp. Il. i. 255: ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες.

197. *Mille ovium*] "'Mille' in the singular is commonly an adjective; in the plural perhaps always a substantive" (Key's L. G. 1064). See S. i. 6. 111. Gellius (i. 16) has mentioned instances in which, as here, 'mille,' the singular, is used as a noun substantive. He takes as his text a passage of Quadrigarius (Annal. iii.): "Ibi occiditur mille hominum," and quotes Lucilius (Sat. iii.): "Ad portam mille, a porta est sex inde Salernum." Varro (Human. xviii.): "Ad Romuli initium plus mille et centum annorum est." Cato (Orig. i.): "Inde est ferme mille passuum." Cicero (Phil. vi. 5): "Itane? Janus medius (v. sup. v. 18) in L. Antonii clientela est? Quis unquam in illo Jano inventus est qui L. Antonio mille nummum ferret expensum?" He quotes other instances, and concludes that the Romans used 'mille,' not as χίλιοι, but as χιλιάς. Lucilius, in two passages quoted by Gellius, uses the ablative singular 'milli:' "Hunc milli passum qui vicerit atque duobus." "Tu milli nummum potes uno quaerere centum."—'Morti dedit' is exactly equivalent to our 'put to death.' 'Do' means 'to put;' so its compounds 'abdo,' 'put away' 'addo,' 'put to;' 'condo,' put together;' 'dedo,' 'put down' (one's arms); 'dido' put asunder or distribute;' 'edo,' 'put forth;' 'indo,' 'put on;' 'trado,' 'put across, hand over,' &c. See Key's L. G. 542.

198. *mecum se occidere clamans*] Soph. Aj. 42:

τί δῆτα ποίμναις τήνδ' ἐπεμπίπτει βάσιν;
δοκῶν ἐν ὑμῖν χεῖρα χραίνεσθαι φόνῳ.

200. *spargisque mola caput*] This is the 'mola salsa,' the meal and salt with which the head of the victim was sprinkled. (C. iii. 23. 20 n.)

201. *Quorsum?—Insanus*] There are different ways of punctuating this passage. Acron and Porphyrion have 'quorsum insanus?' which the latter explains "quid enim? inquit: inter quos insanus est, inter luxuriosos et avaros, an inter ambitiosos?" Comm. Cruq. punctuates as I have done: "Quorsum: supp. tendis; quid vis? loqui-

Fecit cum stravit ferro pecus? Abstinuit vim
Uxore et gnato; mala multa precatus Atridis,
Non ille aut Teucrum aut ipsum violavit Ulixen.
Verum ego, ut haerentes adverso litore naves
Eriperem, prudens placavi sanguine divos.
Nempe tuo, furiose.—Meo, sed non furiosus.
Qui species alias veris scelerisque tumultu
Permixtas capiet commotus habebitur, atque
Stultitiane erret nihilum distabit an ira.
Ajax immeritos cum occidit desipit agnos:
Cum prudens scelus ob titulos admittis inanes,
Stas animo et purum est vitio tibi, cum tumidum est, cor?
Si quis lectica nitidam gestare amet agnam,

tur Agamemnon." So also Ven. 1483. Orelli's three best MSS. go with the two first Scholiasts. But 'quorsum?' expresses a sudden and angry interruption of the king, astonished at the man's boldness, while he, being warm, goes on without heeding Agamemnon's anger.

203. *Uxore et gnato*] Tecmessa and Eurysaces (Sophocles, Ajax).

204. *Non ille*] 'Non' must not be separated from 'ille.' The meaning is 'not even he,' *οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος*. So in C. iii. 21. 9:

"Non ille quanquam Socraticis madet
Sermonibus te negliget horridus."

205. *adverso litore*] Orelli, against his own first and I think better judgment, interprets 'adverso' to be the shore opposite to Troy, where he is now supposed to be. I think the shore is called adverse because they wanted to get away from it and could not. Properly the winds were adverse, not the coast at Aulis. But the transfer of the epithet from the wind to the shore is in accordance with a common usage. Comm. Cruq. interprets 'adverso' by "inimico, unde navigare non poteram." [Nempe tuo. See the Argument, and S. i. 10. 1.]

207. *Meo, sed non furiosus*] This is a very polite reply, considering the provocation. The colloquy ends here. Horace, we may presume, had something before him to suggest what must appear to us a rather unnatural and far-fetched scene.

208. *Qui species alias veris*] Of this passage Bentley says it is "locus lubricus quem nullus interpretum non attigit, nullus dubium adhuc et incertum non reliquit." The old editions and the majority of the MSS. have 'veri.' The oldest Blandinian and three others quoted by Orelli have 'veris,' which he adopts. It gives a good sense, and Lambinus had taken it into the text before he knew there was any authority for it. 'Veri scelerisque tumultu Permixtas' is very intelligible. But 'alias' cannot stand alone. Bentley says it may in the sense of 'alienas a veritate,' 'foreign to the truth;' or 'alias atque ipse opinatus est;' or, if not, he proposes to adopt 'falsas' or 'vanas,' "levi mutatione," as usual. He professes not to see what 'sceleris tumultus' can mean, though he could hardly require to be told that guilt breeds confusion in the mind and is the parent of error. The comment of Porph. is "qui concipit animo species falsas et vera non videt is demens est," and that seems to me to be the meaning: he who entertains fancies foreign to the truth, and confused through the blinding power of his own wickedness, is mad.

211. *cum occidit desipit agnos*] This is a clumsy collocation of words; but it is not mended by the commas by which 'desipit' is usually preceded and followed.

212. *Cum prudens*] Here Bentley has substituted 'tu' for 'cum,' which he introduces before 'admittis.' But the MSS. are unanimous in favour of 'cum prudens' and the pronoun is not wanted. (See v. 234 n.) ['Prudens,' purposely.] For 'admittis' some MSS. have 'committis,' which was Porphyrion's reading. ['Admittere scelus' is at full length 'in se admittere scelus.']

214. *Si quis lectica*] The 'lectica' of the Romans and *φορεῖον* of the Greeks were introduced from Asia, and differed very slightly from the 'palankeens' in which from time immemorial the Asiatics

Huic vestem, ut gnatae, paret ancillas, paret aurum,
Rufam aut Pusillam appellet fortique marito
Destinet uxorem; interdicto huic omne adimat jus
Praetor et ad sanos abeat tutela propinquos.
Quid si quis gnatam pro muta devovet agna,
Integer est animi? Ne dixeris. Ergo ubi prava
Stultitia hic summa est insania; qui sceleratus,
Et furiosus erit; quem cepit vitrea fama,
Hunc circumtonuit gaudens Bellona cruentis.
Nunc age luxuriam et Nomentanum arripe mecum:
Vincet enim stultos ratio insanire nepotes.
Hic simul accepit patrimoni mille talenta,
Edicit piscator uti, pomarius, auceps,
Unguentarius ac Tusci turba impia vici,

have been carried. For full particulars the reader may consult Becker (Gall., 'Exc. on the Carriages') and Dict. Ant. The principal points are mentioned in Mr. Long's note on Cicero, in Verr. ii. 5. 11: "lectica octophoro ferebatur."

216. *Rufam aut Pusillam*] These names commonly occur in inscriptions, as Bentley has shown by quoting several. He [and Ritter] have Posillam for Pusillam.

217. *interdicto huic omne adimat jus*] The law of the XII tables assigned the charge of persons who were 'furiosi' to their relations in the male line 'agnati,' and the praetor in later times chose the person who should act as 'curator' to the insane person. The same law applied to 'prodigi,' notorious spendthrifts. (See article 'Curator' in Dict. Ant., and below Epp. i. 1, 102 sq.). The story of Sophocles brought before an Athenian jury by his sons, and reading the celebrated chorus in his Oedipus Coloneus, to prove his sanity, is told by Cicero in his treatise on Old Age, c. 7. 'Omne jus' here means every legal capacity for acting. [It is possible that Horace uses 'interdicto' as a participle; but if he did, he misused the word. Ritter takes it as a participle agreeing with 'huic,' and explains it, 'huic qui bonis interdictus a praetore est,' a bit of Latin which is quite original. We may relieve Horace of an imputed blunder by taking 'interdicto' as the ablative. The Commentator must look after himself.]

221. *hic summa est insania*] 'Insania' signifies unsoundness of mind generally; 'furor' the same, accompanied with violence. Horace's climax of madmen is the fool, the man of crime, and the ambitious, the worst of all. [As to 'prava stultitia' see v. 113 n.]

222. *vitrea*] "Aut fragilis aut splendida" (Porph.). It probably means the latter, the glitter of fame. See C. i. 17. 20, where the epithet is applied to Circe, but probably only as it is applied to 'ponto,' in C. iv. 2. 3, in the sense of 'caerula,' as ὑάλινος is used in Greek.

223. *Hunc circumtonuit*] This verse, which has a grand Epic tone, Orelli thinks may be taken from Ennius. But Horace may have written it himself. He resorts occasionally to travestie to heighten the force of his satire. The worst stage of insanity is represented by one whom Bellona hovers round with a trumpet of thunder and her bloody scourge, and urges on to madness, as she drove the Roman soldiers, according to Silius' description of the battle of the Trasimenus (v. 220). The mad rites of the Bellonarii, the priests of this goddess, who cut their own flesh to offer the blood in sacrifice, are mentioned by Lucan (i. 565):

"—— Tum quos sectis Bellona lacertis
Saeva movet cecinere deos;"

and there appear to have been impostors who, professing to be inspired by Bellona, disturbed the peace of the city with their cries. Martial mentions them among the nuisances of a town life (xii. 57. 11): "Nec turba cessat entheata Bellonae."

225. *Vincet enim stultos ratio*] S. i. 3. 105 n. As to 'talenta,' see S. 7. 89.

228. *Tusci turba impia vici*] The Vicus Tuscus was south of the Forum, and leading from the Forum along the bottom of the Mons Palatinus on the west into the Velabrum, which was the name of that part

Cum scurris fartor, cum Velabro omne macellum,
Mane domum veniant. Quid tum? Venere frequentes.
Verba facit leno: Quidquid mihi, quidquid et horum
Cuique domi est, id crede tuum, et vel nunc pete vel cras.
Accipe quid contra juvenis responderit aequus:
In nive Lucana dormis ocreatus ut aprum
Coenem ego; tu pisces hiberno ex aequore verris.

of the city that lay between Mons Capitolinus and Mons Aventinus, from the Tiber to the Circus Maximus. The Tuscus received the name, according to Livy (ii. 14) and Dion. Halic. (v. 36), from a body of fugitives from Porsena's army, who were hospitably entertained by the Romans, and allowed to occupy this street. It appears to have been filled with shops, some apparently of the better sort. Martial speaks of the richest silks being sold in the Vicus Tuscus (xi. 27. 11): "Nec nisi prima velit (amica) de Tusco serica vico." But in Plautus' day the worst characters were found there (Curcul. iv. 1. 21): "In Tusco vico, ibi sunt homines qui ipsi sese venditant." The Velabrum is said by Varro (Ling. Lat. iv. 7) to have derived the name from the verb 'vehere,' because the ground was originally a swamp traversed by boats. Here too "prostabant omnia quae ad victus rationem atque delicias pertinebant" (Comm. Cruq.). There were in earlier times different markets for the sale of different provisions, as the 'forum boarium' for oxen, 'olitorium' for vegetables, 'piscarium' and 'piscatorium' for fish, 'cupedinis' for delicacies, &c. All these were afterwards transferred to one large market on the site of the 'forum cupedinis,' on the north side of the Sacra Via, not far from the Forum Romanum. This market was called Macellum, the diminutive form of 'maceria,' the wall with which it was surrounded (Cic. in Verr. ii. 3. 62, Mr. Long's note). See Terence (Eun. ii. 2. 24):—

"—— interea loci ad Macellum ubi advenimus,
Concurrunt laeti mi obviam cupediarii omnes,
Cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores."

'Fartores' Becker (Gallus, sc. ix. n.) says were σιτεῦται, whose business was to fatten fowls. The 'scurrae,' parasites, were sent for to help to consume all this quantity of provisions, and to entertain the new heir.

230. *Quid tum*] This is the reading of all but a very few MSS. Bentley found 'qui tum' in one, and changed it to 'qui cum,' which reading has since been found in three MSS. by Fea, who adopts it. 'Quid enim?' is another various reading; 'quid tu?' a third; but this is only 'quid tum' with the mark (ū) omitted. The common reading is not likely to have been introduced if Horace wrote 'qui cum.' ['Verba facit:' 'is the spokesman.' Cicero uses both 'verbum' and 'verba facere.']

232. *vel nunc pete vel cras*] This sounds like a conventionalism for 'whenever you please.'

233. *aequus*] This is ironical. The young man, affecting to be just, shows a wanton extravagance towards the most profligate persons.

234. *In nive Lucana*] Bentley puts 'tu' for 'in;' but the pronoun does not appear in any MS. Dramatic transitions like this are effected, not by pronouns, but by turning to the person addressed. It appears from this passage and S. 8. 6, that Lucanian boars were particularly prized. Martial mentions an Etrurian boar as a great present he had received. Horace, in the next Satire (ver. 40) recommends the Umbrian boar above the Laurentian, or that found in the marshy land on the coast of Latium, in the neighbourhood of Laurentum. The Umbrian and the Lucanian boar were fed upon the acorns and chestnuts of the Apennines, which are still considered in Italy the best food for hogs, wild and tame. The boar was usually served up whole at large tables, and formed the principal dish. The 'ocrea' was a leather gaiter that came up to the knee and round the calf like the soldier's greaves. — ['Aprum coenem:' Ep. i. 5. 2, 'coenare olus.']

235. *verris*] Many MSS. and the old editions have 'vellis,' which Acron (who mentions the reading 'verris') explains "cum difficultate trahis." Cruquius says all his MSS. have 'verris,' which Lambinus also adopts. Bentley does the same and most modern editors. See note on S. 4. 37. Silius uses 'verro' in this sense (xiv. 262):—

"Seu silvis sectere feras, seu retibus aequor
Verrere seu caelo libeat traxisse volucrem."

Segnis ego, indignus qui tantum possideam: aufer:
Sume tibi decies; tibi tantumdem; tibi triplex
Unde uxor media currit de nocte vocata.
Filius Aesopi detractam ex aure Metellae,
Scilicet ut decies solidum absorberet, aceto
Diluit insignem baccam: quî sanior ac si
Illud idem in rapidum flumen jaceretve cloacam?
Quinti progenies Arri, par nobile fratrum,
Nequitia et nugis pravorum et amore gemellum,
Luscinias soliti impenso prandere coëmptas,

[236. *aufer: sume tibi*] 'Stop: no more. Do you take decies: you the same.' See Terence, Adelphi, v. 8. 14. 'Insanis? aufer.' 'Are you mad? (say) no more.' also Phormio, iii. 3. 26. The context will show in each case what must be supplied with 'aufer.' See S. ii. 7. 43].

237. *tibi decies*] 'Decies centena millia sestertium:' ten hundred thousand sestertii, not much under 9000*l.*, which sum is given to the huntsman, the same to the fishmonger, but three times that amount to the pander who was in the habit of lending his own wife to the lust of this young profligate. 'Currit' is the reading of most MSS. and of the best. Others have 'currat,' and that appears in most of the editions of the sixteenth century. 'Currat' would mean that the money was given as an inducement to the man to send his wife. ['De nocte:' Censorinus (de die natali, c. 24. 'Incipiam a media nocte, quod tempus principium et postremum est diei Romani. Tempus quod huic proximum est vocatur de media nocte: sequitur gallicinium,' &c. From this it appears that all the time from midnight to cock-crow was included in 'de media nocte;' but in some cases the context will show that 'de media nocte' must mean soon after midnight. Comp. S. ii. 8. 3.]

239. *Filius Aesopi*] Aesopus, the actor, amassed great wealth. The name of his son was Clodius, which was the father's name, given him perhaps as a freedman of some one belonging to the Clodia gens. See Pliny, N. H. ix. 35, § 59, where this story of the ear-ring is told. This Caecilia Metella may have been the woman who was the wife of P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, and was divorced by him A.U.C. 709, in consequence of her intrigues, chiefly with Dolabella, Cicero's son-in-law, of whose profligacy Aesop's son appears to have been a partner. Cicero mentions them together in a letter to Atticus (xi. 15), "ea—quae me conficiunt: ad quae gener accedit et caetera quae fletu reprimor ne scribam. Quin etiam Aesopi filius me excruciat." According to Porphyrion he fell under the abuse of the poet Maevius ("de hoc Maevius poeta scribit"), which places him in better company than he deserves, for that man's abuse seems to have been directed against the best men of his day. The mad freak of Clodius is also related of Cleopatra. See Pliny (ubi sup. § 58) and Suetonius (Calig. c. 37). Aesopus, the actor, was not less extravagant than his son, see below, v. 245 n.

240. *absorberet*] The MSS. vary between this word and two others. 'Absorberet' Bentley first took into the text from most of his own MSS. and several others, and the best MSS. since have confirmed it. 'Exsorberet' was the common reading in Bentley's day, and that of all the old editions. 'Obsorberet' Orelli prefers on little authority, quoting S. ii. 8. 24, "obsorbere placentas," where the word signifies the act of a glutton gobbling down his food, which sense has no place here.

243. *Quinti progenies Arri*] Of the father enough has been said above (ver. 86 n.). Of the sons nothing is known. There was a man of this name who held several offices under Tiberius, as appears from an inscription on a tombstone transcribed by Capmartin de Chaupy (Découv. de la Maison de Camp. d'Horace, vol. i. p. 190).

245. *Luscinias*] The second syllable is long; the third coalesces with the last (S. i. 7. 30 n.). The spirit of wantonness could hardly go further than dining upon nightingales, who are "vox et praeterea nihil," as the story goes in Plutarch (Apophth. Lacon. divers. 13), τίλας τις ἀηδόνα καὶ βραχεῖαν πάνυ σάρκα εὑρὼν εἶπε, φωνὰ τύ τις ἐσσι καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο. Pliny (H. N. x. 43) speaks of the cost of a dish of nightingales: "Servorum illis pretia sunt, et quidem ampliora quam quibus olim armi-

Quorsum abeant? Sanin creta an carbone notandi?
Aedificare casas, plostello adjungere mures,
Ludere par impar, equitare in arundine longa,
Si quem delectet barbatum, amentia verset.
Si puerilius his ratio esse evincet amare,
Nec quidquam differre utrumne in pulvere trimus
Quale prius ludas opus, an meretricis amore
Sollicitus plores, quaero faciasne quod olim
Mutatus Polemon? ponas insignia morbi,
Fasciolas, cubital, focalia, potus ut ille

geri parabantur." He also mentions (x. 72) that Aesopus, the actor (v. 239 n.), on one occasion had a dish of singing and talking birds ("cantu aliquo aut humano sermone vocales") each of which cost 6000 sestertii, and the whole dish 100,000, on which Pliny remarks the man was worthy of his son who melted the pearl and drank it. ['Impenso' seems to mean 'a high price,' as in Livy ii. 9 it certainly does. In Caesar B. G. iv. 2 'impenso pretio' means, as Doederlein affirms, simply 'by paying money;' but that is not certain.] 'Prandere' need not be strained to mean that they eat these costly dishes for their 'prandium' or luncheon.

246. *Sanin creta an carbone notandi*] The distinction of days by white and black marks has been mentioned C. i. 36, 10 n. Horace here applies them to the distinction of character, and Persius has imitated him (S. v. 108): "Illa prius creta, mox haec carbone notasti?" The MSS. and editions vary in the reading of this verse. 'Sani an' is the reading of Ven. 1483. 'Sani' is joined to 'abeant' in the edition of Ascensius, 1511, but in his commentary he takes it otherwise, and seems to follow the reading I have adopted, saying, "Sanine sunt ac notandi creta, i.e. bono lapillo quo sani notandi sunt; an carbone, i. e. nigro colore quo malos et perditos designant; q. d. sine dubio notandi sunt carbone tanquam insani." This I believe to be the true reading and interpretation. 'Are they as men of sound mind to be marked with a white mark, or (as unsound) with a black?' 'Sanin' is due to Bentley, being the familiar contraction of 'sanine.' Bentley adopts 'notati' from several MSS., instead of 'notandi,' which the sense requires. 'Quorsum abeant?' 'what is to become of them? are they to be marked, &c.?' [Ritter has 'sani . . . notandi?']

[247. *Aedificare casas*] 'Children's houses.']

248. *Ludere par impar*] A child's game, in which one person guessed whether the number of things another person held in his hand was odd or even. The Greeks had the same game, and called it ἀρτιάζειν. Aristoph. Plut. 816. Aristotle, Rhet. iii. 5. 4. Plato, Lys. p. 206. Stertinius goes on to speak of the man of pleasure, whose madness is no less than that of the covetous, the ambitious, or the spendthrift. With the last he is closely allied.

250. *ratio esse evincet*] See above, v. 225. — ['utrumne—an:' Comp. Epod i. 7.]

254. *Mutatus Polemon*] The story of Polemon is told by Diog. Laert. iv. c. 16, and mentioned by many authors. As a youth he was given to pleasures and bad company. Passing the Academy with a garland on his head, and with a band of riotous companions, while Xenocrates was lecturing, he burst into the school, but was so struck with what he heard, that having gone in a thoughtless profligate he came out serious and quite converted. He succeeded Xenocrates at the head of the Academy. Xenocrates himself, whose purity of life and sobriety of character are referred to in the word 'impransi,' became the head of the Platonic school on the resignation of Speusippus. He was the disciple of Plato, and accompanied him on his travels.

255. *Fasciolas, cubital, focalia*] These are all articles of dress, worn only by women or men who took great care of their person. 'Fasciola' was a bandage for the legs, 'cubital' a sleeve for the arm, 'focale' a bandage for the throat. See Quintilian (xi. 3. 144), "Palliolum sicut fascias quibus crura vestiuntur, et focalia et aurium ligamenta sola excusare potest valetudo." 'Focale' is said to be derived from 'faux.' 'Impransus' stands for 'sobrius,' because it was not usual for abstemious men to take the mid-day meal (prandium). 'Furtim' is a happy touch of Horace's. It expresses the shame of the young man, and his in-

Dicitur ex collo furtim carpsisse coronas
Postquam est impransi correptus voce magistri?
Porrigis irato puero cum poma recusat:
Sume, catelle! negat; si non des, optet: amator
Exclusus quî distat agit ubi secum eat an non
Quo rediturus erat non arcessitus, et haeret
Invisis foribus? Nec nunc cum me vocat ultro
Accedam? an potius mediter finire dolores?
Exclusit; revocat: redeam? Non si obsecret.—Ecce
Servus non paulo sapientior: O here, quae res
Nec modum habet neque consilium, ratione modoque
Tractari non volt. In amore haec sunt mala, bellum,
Pax rursum: haec si quis tempestatis prope ritu
Mobilia et caeca fluitantia sorte laboret
Reddere certa sibi, nihilo plus explicet ac si
Insanire paret certa ratione modoque.
Quid, cum Picenis excerpens semina pomis

stinctive reverence for the philosopher and the place he was in, better than many sentences could have done. 'Correptus,' which Orelli renders 'acriter reprehensus,' 'sharply reproved,' rather means 'arrested, conscience-smitten.'

259. *Sume, catelle*] Such diminutives were expressions of endearment. See Plautus (Asin. iii. 3. 103):—

"Dic igitur me anaticulam, columbam, vel catellum," &c.

260. *agit ubi secum*] With such a scene as this the Eunuchus of Terence opens, and a good deal is taken word for word from that scene. Persius has imitated Horace closely in his fifth Satire, ver. 161 sqq.:—"Dave cito, hoc credas jubeo, finire dolores Praeteritos meditor," &c. The lover's indecision is represented elsewhere, in Epod. xi. 19 sqq. In ver. 262 'nec nunc,' which is the reading of all the best MSS., Bentley has changed into 'ne nunc,' with very slender authority. Fea and others have followed him. The same change has been made in the text of Persius (l. c.), where he borrows these words of Horace. 'Invisis foribus' Persius turns into 'limen ad obscoenum.'—['Cum me vocet ultro,' Ritter. 'Ultro' means 'even.']

267. [Tractari non volt] 'Cannot be treated' 'does not choose to be treated.' Comp. C. i. 3. 16—'tempestatis ritu:' C. iii. 29. 33.]

270. *nihilo plus explicet*] Forcellini quotes this passage in conjunction with others, in which 'explicare' signifies to gain a point or serve a purpose. He explains 'explicet' by 'efficiat,' 'assequatur,' 'obtineat.' Hirtius (B. G. viii. 4) has "Explicandae rei frumentariae causa." It is also used in a peculiar sense in C. iv. 9. 44.

272. *Picenis excerpens semina pomis*] The orchards of Picenum, the district that lay between the country of the Sabines and the Hadriatic, were celebrated. In the next Satire (v. 70) Picenian apples are said to be superior to those of Tibur, and they are mentioned by Juvenal (xi. 74):

"—— de corbibus isdem
Aemula Picenis et odoris mala recentis."

The pears of this same country are commended by Pliny (N. H. xv. 15, 16). Martial mentions the olives and the bread of Picenum as particularly good (xiii. 36 and 47). The Scholiasts Porphyrion and Comm. Cruq. explain the sport here alluded to. Lovers, say they, were wont to take the pips of apples between their finger and thumb and shoot them up to the ceiling, and if they struck it then their wish would be accomplished. Pollux relates the same sports (ix. 128), and some such are common in our own nurseries. 'Camera,' which is from the Greek καμάρα, and is sometimes spelt with an 'a,' was an arched ceiling, as 'lacunar' was flat. The 'lacunar' was so called from panels with raised sides, and so having each the appearance of a 'lacus' or shallow reservoir, into which the ceiling

Gaudes si cameram percusti forte, penes te es?
Quid, cum balba feris annoso verba palato,
Aedificante casas quî sanior? Adde cruorem
Stultitiae atque ignem gladio scrutare. Modo, inquam,
Hellade percussa Marius cum praecipitat se
Cerritus fuit, an commotae crimine mentis
Absolves hominem et sceleris damnabis eundem,
Ex more imponens cognata vocabula rebus?
Libertinus erat, qui circum compita siccus

was sometimes divided. See C. ii. 18. 2: "Non ebur neque aureum mea renidet in domo lacunar." Pliny (xxxiii. 3) says, "Laquearia quae nunc et in privatis domibus auro teguntur, post Carthaginem eversam primo inaurata sunt in Capitolio." 'Laquear' is another form of 'lacunar.' Horace also uses the expression 'laqueata tecta' (C. ii. 16. 11), which is found in other writers. Ovid alone uses the word 'lacunare,' to form such ceilings (Met. viii. 563.) ['Percusti:' Comp. 'erepsemus,' S. i. 9. 79].

273. *penes te es*] This seems to correspond to the Greek ἐν ἑαυτῷ εἶναι for a man in his right mind.

274. *cum balba feris*] Persius has imitated this in a different connexion (i. 33):—

"Rancidulum quiddam balba de nare locutus,
Phyllidas, Hypsipylas, vatum et plorabile si quid
Eliquat, ac tenero supplantat verba palato."

Persius says 'he trips his words on his mincing palate;' Horace says 'you strike your lisping words against your old palate.'

275. *Adde cruorem Stultitiae*] But childish nonsense is not the worst of this madness. Add bloodshed to folly, and run into the most violent excesses of passion, and you will not do more than such lusts commonly lead to. Such is the Stoic's meaning. 'Ignem gladio scrutare' is a translation of a Greek saying, πῦρ μαχαίρᾳ σκαλεύειν, 'to stir the fire with the sword,' which Diogenes Laert. (viii. 17) attributes to Pythagoras. Heindorf says it is capable of various interpretations. The application here seems plain. To stir the fire of lust with the sword, is to stir up strife and bloodshed in the indulgence of your lusts.

276. *Modo, inquam, Hellade percussa*] 'To take a late instance,' seems to be the meaning of 'modo.' [Ritter has 'gladio scrutare modo, inquam.' All this passage 'adde cruorem . . . inquam' is difficult. The explanation given on v. 275 is as good as any that I can find in the commentators, and much better than some.] The story here referred to, as Estré says, was probably well known at the time. 'Cerritus,' Festus says, is another form of 'cereritus,' which signifies smitten by Ceres; but striking men mad was not, as far as I am aware, one of the functions of that goddess. ['Cerritus, cerebro non sanus, quasi *cerebritus*, vocabulum a Plauto ascitum,' Ritter.] 'Commotus' is used for different degrees of mental excitement. See v. 209, where the meaning is the same as here, 'mad.' Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, who was of a hasty temper, is called 'paullo commotior' by Tacitus (Ann. i. 33). 'Cognata vocabula' means words which may differ in sound, but are one in sense. "Diversa quidem, non tamen multum inter se distantia" (Acron.).

281. *Libertinus erat*] The next folly noticed is superstition. Stertinius tells a story of an old 'libertinus,' who went from shrine to shrine erected in the 'compita,' spots where two or more streets met, praying to the Lares Compitales (for whom altars where built in such places; see above, v. 26 n.) that they would grant him immortality. This he did early in the morning, quite sober, and with hands washed as became a serious worshipper. Now this man was sound in hearing and sight, but, says Stertinius, if his former master had ever put him up for sale, he would have cautioned purchasers that he was not in his right mind, unless he wanted to bring on himself an action to rescind the bargain on the ground of fraud. It was necessary for a person selling a slave to inform the buyer of any bodily or mental defect. See Cicero de Off. iii. 17; "In mancipiorum venditione fraus venditoris omnis excluditur: qui enim scire debuit, de sanitate, de fuga, de furtis praestat edicto

Lautis mane senex manibus currebat et Unum—
Quid tam magnum? addens—, unum me surpite morti,
Dis etenim facile est! orabat; sanus utrisque
Auribus atque oculis; mentem, nisi litigiosus,
Exciperet dominus cum venderet. Hoc quoque volgus
Chrysippus ponit fecunda in gente Meneni.
Juppiter, ingentes qui das adimisque dolores,
Mater ait pueri menses jam quinque cubantis,
Frigida si puerum quartana reliquerit, illo
Mane die quo tu indicis jejunia nudus
In Tiberi stabit. Casus medicusve levarit

Aedilium." See also Dig. 21, Tit. 1. 1. § 1. The commencement of the edictum Aedilium Curulium de venditionibus is: "Qui mancipia vendunt certiores faciant emptores quid morbi vitiive cuique sit, quis fugitivus errove sit, noxave solutus non sit: eademque omnia cum ea mancipia venibunt palam recte pronuntianto. Quod si mancipium adversus ea venisset, sive adversus quod dictum promissumve fuerit, cum veniret, fuisset, quod ejus praestari oportere dicetur emptori omnibusque ad quos ea res pertinet judicium dabimus ut id mancipium redhibeatur." [See Epp. ii. 2. 14.] On 'lautis manibus,' Comm. Cruq. says, "quia solebant precaturi deos manus et pedes abluere." The practice was followed by the Greeks according to the rule stated by Hesiod (Op. et Di. 724, sq.):

Μηδέποτ' ἐξ ἠοῦς Διὶ λείβειν αἴθοπα οἶνον
Χερσὶν ἀνίπτοισιν μηδ' ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν,
Οὐ γάρ τοί γε κλύουσιν, ἀποπτύουσι δέ τ' ἀράς.

Hector likewise says (Il. vi. 266):—

Χερσὶ δ' ἀνίπτοισιν Διὶ λείβειν αἴθοπα οἶνον
Ἅζομαι.

For 'quid tam magnum' (with which compare Pers., S. v. 120, "Et quid tam parvum?"), the old editions and some early MSS. have 'quiddam magnum.' 'Quid tam' is supported by good MSS., and Cruquius has it in his text; Turnebus had previously sanctioned that reading ("'Quid tam' quod in libro antiquo vidi mallem quam 'quiddam'"), and Bentley and others have adopted it. ['Quid tam magnum? addens': the simpleton says 'What is that for the gods to do?' It is nothing for them to save one poor mortal out of so many. The 'gens Meneni' is the crowd of madmen, as the context shows; and that is enough for the understanding of the passage].

289. *cubantis*] See note on S. i. 9. 18. 'Illo die' Porphyrion explains to mean 'die Jovis.' The Jews fasted on Thursdays and Mondays ("I fast twice in the week," Luke xviii. 12) in commemoration, it is said, of Moses' ascent into the Mount on the fifth day of the week, and of his return on the second. The practices of the Jews were the best illustrations of superstition in the eyes of Horace and men of the world, and their fast is here perhaps alluded to. See note on S. i. 9. 69. On special occasions fasts were ordered like that which was instituted in honour of Ceres, A.U.C. 561, when the decemvirs, after consulting the Sibylline books, reported "Jejunium instituendum Cereri esse et id quinto quoque anno servandum" (Livy, xxxvi. 37). The vow made by the mother for her sick child is intended to represent another foreign superstition, as the Romans held it, that of bathing the body in token of the purifying of the soul. Juvenal (vi. 522, sqq.) represents a woman under the influence of priests dipping herself three times in the Tiber on a cold winter's morning when she had to break the ice to get in; and Persius (ii. 15) says of the hypocrite who prayed to the gods to send him a treasure, or to put his ward or his wife out of the way:—

"Haec sancte ut poscas, Tiberino in gurgite mergis
Mane caput bis terque, et noctem flumine purgas."

[292. *Casus &c.*] The 'si' in such a clause is sometimes omitted. Horace wickedly supposes that if the child recovered, it might not be with the doctor's help, but in spite of it.]

Aegrum ex praecipiti, mater delira necabit
In gelida fixum ripa febrimque reducet.
Quone malo mentem concussa? Timore deorum.
Haec mihi Stertinius, sapientum octavus, amico
Arma dedit, posthac ne compellarer inultus.
Dixerit insanum qui me totidem audiet atque
Respicere ignoto discet pendentia tergo."
"Stoice, post damnum sic vendas omnia pluris,
Qua me stultitia, quoniam non est genus unum,
Insanire putas? Ego nam videor mihi sanus."
"Quid, caput abscissum demens cum portat Agave
Gnati infelicis, sibi tum furiosa videtur?"
"Stultum me fateor, liceat concedere veris,
Atque etiam insanum; tantum hoc edissere, quo me
Aegrotare putes animi vitio?" "Accipe: primum

295. *Quone malo*] See S. i. 10. 21 on 'quone.' 'Timor deorum' is equivalent to δεισιδαιμονία in the sense of superstition. 'Deorum metus' expresses a right fear of the gods. But the distinction was not invariably observed. (Pers. S. ii. 31, "Ecce avia et metuens divum matertera.") ['Mentem concussa': see C. i. 2. 31 n].

296. *sapientum octavus*] "Septem fuere sapientes Graeciae: hunc Stertinium annumerat quasi octavum ludendo." (Comm. Cruq.).

297. *ne compellarer inultus*] For other instances of 'compellare' used absolutely and in a bad sense, see Forcell.

299. *Respicere ignoto*] This refers to Aesop's fable of the two wallets, alluded to by Catullus (xxii. 20 sq.):—

"——Suus cuique attributus est error,
Sed non videmus manticae quod in tergo est;"

and by Persius (iv. 23 sq.)

It is told, with the moral, in five lines by Phaedrus (iv. 10):

"Peras imposuit Jupiter nobis duas:
Propriis repletam vitiis post tergum dedit,
Alienis ante pectus suspendit gravem.
Hac re videre nostra mala non possumus;
Alii simul delinquunt, censores sumus."

300. *sic vendas omnia pluris*] On 'sic,' see C. i. 3. 1 n. 'Pluris,' Heindorf considers, is simply put for 'magno.' Other commentators render it differently, as 'more than you have lost,' or more than you ever got before, and so forth. ['Majore pretio quam quod feras si non facias,' Ritter.] Horace quietly hints to Damasippus that he had better leave off philosophy and return to his trade, in which he wishes him all success. In the next verse the MSS. have, with but one exception, 'qua me stultitia,' the ablative, which Lambinus on his own authority, and Cruquius on that of one MS., changed into the accusative. Bentley and some others have adopted this reading. This construction is common enough, but the ablative is a legitimate construction and, supported as it is, ought to be adopted.

303. *Agave*] How she and the other Maenads tore her son Pentheus to pieces for intruding upon the orgies, is told by Ovid (Met. iii. 701 sqq.) and others. The old editions, with scarcely an exception, have 'demens.' The oldest Blandinian MS. had 'manibus,' which Bentley introduced into the text on this authority, confirmed by three other MSS. in his time, and since by several mentioned by Fea. Why 'demens' ever should have been forged, if 'manibus' is the true reading, it is not easy to say. 'Manibus' may have been invented from Euripides, who two or three times speaks of Agave with her son's head in her arms (Bacch. vv. 967, 1137, 1275). These passages are produced by Bentley to prove that Horace wrote 'manibus,' but this is not proof. 'Portat' expresses all that is meant without the addition of 'manibus.' All Orelli's MSS., which are some of the best, have 'demens.' He edits 'manibus.' The St. Gallen MS. has 'vel manibus' superscribed over 'demens.' [Ritter has 'manibus'.]

Aedificas, hoc est, longos imitaris ab imo
Ad summum totus moduli bipedalis, et idem
Corpore majorem rides Turbonis in armis
Spiritum et incessum: quî ridiculus minus illo?
An quodcunque facit Maecenas te quoque verum est
Tantum dissimilem et tanto certare minorem?
Absentis ranae pullis vituli pede pressis,
Unus ubi effugit, matri denarrat ut ingens
Belua cognatos eliserit. Illa rogare:
Quantane? num tantum, sufflans se, magna fuisset?
Major dimidio. Num tanto? Cum magis atque
Se magis inflaret, Non si te ruperis, inquit,
Par eris. Haec a te non multum abludit imago.
Adde poëmata nunc, hoc est, oleum adde camino;
Quae si quis sanus fecit sanus facis et tu.

308. *Aedificas, hoc est*] 'You are building, which is as much as to say, you, who are a dwarf two feet high, are aping the airs of a giant; and yet you laugh at Turbo, swelling with a spirit too big for his little body.' Horace may have been making some additions to his Sabine house, and about this time Maecenas built his large house on the Esquiliae (see S. i. 8, Introd.). Turbo is a name found in inscriptions. [Ritter says that this satire was written in A.U.C. 725, and that Horace in this year had begun to build a house in Rome; and that two years later, when he wrote C. iii. 1, he had either finished the house or was near finishing it, which fact Ritter proves by vv. 45, 46 of C. iii. 1; and he further proves by the evidence of C. ii. 18. 1—6, that the decorations of this house were simple. Ritter's notions of proof will not be accepted by sensible people. He has some better evidence of Horace having had a house in Rome in the Scholiast on Juvenal i. 12, and a letter of Fronto, ii. 4. § 13].

312. *verum est*] δίκαιόν ἐστι; 'is it right?' Compare Caesar, B. G. iv. 8: "Neque verum esse qui suos fines tueri non potuerint alienos occupare." In the next verse 'tantum' was restored on the authority of the oldest Blandinian MS. by Bentley, in whose time the received reading was 'tanto.' A similar construction occurs immediately below (ver. 317), 'tantum magna,' where 'tandem' has got into most MSS. and editions. 'Multum similis' (S. ii. 5. 92), 'multum dissimilis' (Epp. i. 10. 3), are like phrases. 'Tanto' is the dative governed by 'certare.' [Comp. Epod. ii. 20.]

314. *Absentis ranae*] This fable is told by Phaedrus (i. 24). The reader will have no difficulty in following the narrative of Horace with the punctuation I have given, which in the main is that of Heindorf and Orelli. Great difficulty has been raised by the little frog's reply, that the ox was only 'major dimidio' than his mother. Bentley is particularly disturbed by this absurdity. He himself (he says) would have written 'major PERNIMIO.' Heindorf suggests disrespectfully that the young frog is laughing at his parent. We may at any rate admit that 'greater by half' is a conventional way of speaking, which can seldom be interpreted very literally, and the inaccuracy of the little frog may be excused. There is more difficulty in the words that follow, 'num tanto?' Bentley follows Cruquius in changing 'tanto' into 'tantum,' and quotes the Leyden and Trinity College MSS. as his authority. But 'tanto' is the reading of every other MS. and edition except two or three, who have follow'ed Bentley. By 'num tanto' the frog means to ask whether the calf was so much bigger than her natural size, as by puffing she had made herself. 'Is it so much bigger?' she says, blowing herself out to proportions much greater than her own.

320. *abludit*] This word occurs nowhere else. It means, to be out of harmony with.

322. *sanus*] See A. P. 296: "Excludit sanos Helicone poëtas Democritus." The

Non dico horrendam rabiem. "Jam desine." Cultum
Majorem censu. "Teneas, Damasippe, tuis te."
Mille puellarum, puerorum mille furores.
"O major tandem parcas, insane, minori!"

reading I have followed is that of all the old editions, and of every other that I have seen till the present century. Bentley adopts it without remark. But Lambinus mentions that six of his MSS., and Cruquius that some of his, had "si quis sanus facit et sanus facies tu;" and Torrentius in two of his found the same reading, except 'facias' for 'facies.' Fea quotes many authorities for 'facit et sanus facies tu,' which he adopts. Orelli quotes one or two MSS. that support that reading, which he also follows. Dillenbr. does the same without remark. There is so much good authority for the common reading that I see no reason for deserting it. Either way there is not much consistency in Damasippus urging Horace to write at the beginning of the Satire, and calling him mad for doing so at the end of it.

323. *horrendam rabiem*] Doering and others apply this to the spirit which breathed in his "criminosi iambi" (C. i. 16). It more probably refers to his temper generally, but the charge against himself need not be taken seriously. We have no reason to believe Horace was an ill-tempered man. He laments the facility of his temper on one occasion (S. i. 9. 11). ['Cultum:' 'way of living.' Compare S. ii. 2. 66. Caesar, B. G. i. 1; vi. 19.]

324. *Teneas—tuis te*] 'Mind your own business.'

326. *O major tandem*] The scene winds up with a pretended deprecation of the severe truths of Damasippus, to whom the poet submits as the greater madman of the two, and humbles himself before him accordingly. I think this interpretation gives more force to the Satire than Dacier's, which Orelli commends, that after trying to coax the Stoic into silence Horace loses all patience and exclaims, "O major tandem," &c.

SATIRE IV.

This Satire is an essay on good living put in the form of precepts delivered to Horace at second hand by one Catius, who professes to have got them from some sage more learned in the art, but whom he does not name. Horace meets him accidentally as he is hurrying away from the Professor's lecture to think over what he has learnt, and to store it in his mind. Catius recites from memory or from notes what he has heard, and enters without preface upon the question of the first course. The Professor may be supposed to have carried his hearers through an entire dinner, "ab ovo usque ad mala" (S. i. 3. 6 n.). Catius only gives the heads of the lecture and one or two of the sage's reflections. The precepts he delivers inflame Horace with a desire to see and hear the great man himself, and he prays Catius to introduce him. It may be that Horace had some third person in his eye, but we have no means of knowing who it was. If it be so, there were those no doubt who would understand the allusion at the time. That it was Maecenas Heindorf supposes; Wieland that Horace meant himself; Acron says he meant Nasidienus, but who Nasidienus was we do not know (S. 8. Introduction). Conjecture is thrown away. As to the man Catius himself the Scholiasts call him M. Catius, and Comm. Cruq. (on ver. 47) Catius Miltiades. Cicero, writing to Cassius (ad Fam. xv. 16) mentions one Catius Insuber, an Epicurean, who was lately dead, and for whom he expresses some contempt, meant perhaps for the sect he belonged to more than for himself. Quintilian (x. 1. 124) speaks of a Catius (probably the same as Cicero's) as "in Epicureis levis quidem sed non injucundus tamen auctor est Catius." There was therefore in Cicero's time a person of this name who was pretty well known, and who probably wrote on the opinions of his sect, the Epicureans. The Scholiasts tell us that he wrote "quattuor libros de rerum natura et de summo bono;" and Comm. Cruq. on ver. 47 says Horace "irridet eum quod de opere pistorio in suo libro scribit

de se ipso, Haec primus invenit et cognovit Catius Miltiades." He does not seem however to have observed that Catius is only representing the words of his teacher. But as this person must have been dead many years before this Satire was written (Cicero's letter was written A.U.C. 709), it has been supposed by some that Horace introduces his name, though he was no longer living, only as a handle for ridiculing the Epicureans. Orelli suggests that Horace's Catius was a freedman of Cicero's Catius, and a contemptible person, notorious as a writer on cookery. Certainly a well-known name would answer every purpose even if the owner were dead, and the former of these two opinions is probably correct.

That Horace chose a well-known Epicurean as the speaker in this gastronomical Satire, seems to show that he no longer held with that sect when he wrote it (C. i. 34; S. i. 5. 101). That the followers of Epicurus went beyond their master in commending sensual delights may very well be believed. It is usually the fate of unsound teachers, that their errors are exaggerated by those who profess to adopt them. It appears that Epicurus held πολυτελῆ σίτια to be only secondary pleasures, οὐκ ἀναγκαίας: that he held a man should be able to do without them, though if he could afford them he would do well to have them; and indeed that he had a good opinion even of fasting (Diog. Laert. x. 127—149). But his Roman adherents did not take that view of their duty, and under the sanction of his name and school made good living the chief good, and the art of cookery the art of life (see Introduction to S. 2 of this book).

"UNDE et quo Catius?" "Non est mihi tempus aventi
Ponere signa novis praeceptis, qualia vincant
Pythagoran Anytique reum doctumque Platona."
"Peccatum fateor cum te sic tempore laevo
Interpellarim; sed des veniam bonus oro.
Quod si interciderit tibi nunc aliquid repetes mox,
Sive est naturae hoc sive artis, mirus utroque."
"Quin id erat curae quo pacto cuncta tenerem,

1. *Unde et quo Catius*] On Catius see Introduction. On the formula, see S. i. 9. 62 n.

2. *Ponere signa*] The ancients practised methods for helping the memory, which are described by Cicero (de Orat. ii. 86), and still more fully by the author of the treatise on Rhetoric addressed to Herennius, and printed in Cicero's works (iii. 16). The first 'memoria technica' was said by tradition to have been invented by Simonides of Ceos, when, after that banquet at which his patron Scopas and all his guests were buried in the ruins of the house, he was able to identify the bodies by remembering the places they respectively occupied at table. Cicero does not put much faith in this story; for he says (in the above place): "sive Simonides sive alius quis invenit." 'Signa' were more technically called 'imagines,' objects which the person arranged so that his mind's eye could rest upon them, and thus assist his memory. But 'ponere signa' seems also to have been commonly used in this sense; for Gellius (xvii. 7), referring to a passage of P. Nigidius, the grammarian, says: "Anguste perquam et obscure disserit: at signa rerum ponere videas, ad subsidium magis memoriae suae quam ad legentium disciplinam." ['Vincent:' Ritter.]

3. *Anytique reum*] Anytus was one of the three (Meletus and Lycon were his associates) who got up and conducted the prosecution of Socrates. According to one story he was banished by the Athenians when they repented of Socrates' death; according to another he was stoned by the inhabitants of Heraclea in Bithynia for the part he had taken against Socrates. (Themist. Orat. 20.)

4. *tempore laevo*] See above, S. ii. 1. 18: "Nisi dextro tempore Flacci Verba," &c.

7. *Sive est naturae*] "Sunt igitur duae memoriae; una naturalis, altera artificiosa" (ad Herenn. iii. 16). See v. 2 n.

Utpote res tenues tenui sermone peractas."
"Ede hominis nomen, simul et Romanus an hospes."
"Ipsa memor praecepta canam, celabitur auctor.
Longa quibus facies ovis erit illa memento,
Ut succi melioris et ut magis alba rotundis,
Ponere; namque marem cohibent callosa vitellum.
Caule suburbano qui siccis crevit in agris
Dulcior; irriguo nihil est elutius horto.
Si vespertinus subito te oppresserit hospes,
Ne gallina malum responset dura palato,
Doctus eris vivam mixto mersare Falerno;

11. *celabitur auctor*] See Introduction.

12. *Longa quibus facies ovis erit*] "Quae oblonga sint ova gratioris saporis putat Horatius Flaccus," says Pliny (x. 74), taking Horace at his word. On 'ova' see S. i. 3. 6 n. 'Succus' here is equivalent to 'sapor.' Why Horace should make Catius say that long eggs were more white than round ones, or what is gained by the whiteness of an egg, or by its containing a male rather than a female chicken, is not clear. Bentley, being very literal, says the fact is not as Catius states, if 'alba' be the right word, and therefore he changes it into 'alma,' as from 'alo,' signifying that they are more nutritious. 'Ponere' is to put upon the table, as 'posito pavone' (S. ii. 2. 23). The notion that from long eggs cocks were hatched, and from round, hens, appears to have been a vulgar error. Pliny says: "Feminam edunt quae rotundiora gignuntur, reliqua marem" (x. 74); and Columella (viii. 5. 11): "Cum quis volet quam plurimos mares excludi longissima quaeque et acutissima ova subjiciet; et rursus cum feminas quam rotundissima." The contrary order is stated to be true by Aristotle (Hist. Anim. vi. 2. 2), who says the long and pointed egg brings forth a hen, while all other eggs bring forth cocks. Sir Thos. Browne disposes briefly of these notions: "That the sex is discernible from the figure of eggs, or that cocks or hens proceed from long or round ones, as many contend, experiment will easily frustrate" (Vulg. Er. iii. 28). 'Callosa' signifies 'tough,' and belongs in sense, though not in construction, to the yolk. ['Cohibent:' comp. C. i. 28. 2.]

15. *Caule suburbano*] The reading of nearly all the old editions and of the best MSS. is 'cole,' Acron too had that reading, and says: "Cole: hoc est caule, ut clode pro claude, Sorices pro Saurices; coda pro cauda." The same variation appears in Clodius and Claudius, Plotius and Plautius, &c. Artificial streams and fish-ponds were commonly introduced into the gardens of rich people. Hence Catius says the vegetables grown in the suburbs were not so pleasant as those grown in the country on drier soil. 'Elutius' Forcellini interprets 'infirmius ad alendum.' Horace means that they were insipid from the quantity of water they imbibed. "Suburbano: quia suburbana loca rivis abundant" (Acron); for the above reason I suppose.

17. *vespertinus subito te oppresserit*] On 'vespertinus' see Epod. xvi. 51; and for examples of 'opprimere,' to overtake or come upon one suddenly, see Forcell.

18. *malum responset*] 'Responsare' is used by Horace several times in the sense of resistance. See below, S. 7. 85: "Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores;" and v. 104: "animus coenis responsat opimis;" and Epp. i. 1. 68: "fortunae te responsare superbae Liberum et erectum praesens hortatur." Here it may be taken in a similar way, or in the ordinary sense of 'respondere,' according as we understand 'malum.' It may only mean 'ill suits,' or 'malum' may strengthen 'responsat' as 'male rauci' (S. i. 4. 66), 'responset' signifying to disagree with. Jacobs proposes to read 'malum' as an expletive (malum!), leaving 'responsare' to speak for itself in the latter sense. "Responset: resistat; reluctetur in faucibus" (Acron).

19. *vivam mixto mersare Falerno*] The MSS. all have 'mixto' or 'misto,' and nearly all editions till Bentley's. Landinus is said by those who have seen his original edition (I suppose) printed at Florence in 1482, to have edited 'mulso.' The

Hoc teneram faciet. Pratensibus optima fungis
Natura est; aliis male creditur. Ille salubres
Aestates peraget qui nigris prandia moris
Finiet, ante gravem quae legerit arbore solem.
Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno,
Mendose, quoniam vacuis committere venis
Nil nisi lene decet; leni praecordia mulso
Prolueris melius. Si dura morabitur alvus,

Venetian edition of the following year, which is said to be a reprint of the Florentine, has 'mixto;' but 'mulso' is the reading assumed in Landinus' commentary printed in that edition. Bentley edits 'musto' for 'misto;' and though this is a plausible conjecture enough, there is no reason for altering the reading of the MSS. 'Mixto,' without any other word, means mixed with water, in spite of what Bentley writes on the subject. Catius' rules, as we have already seen, if (as he says) they are new, are not very accurate, and it is fruitless to conjecture whether he advised 'mustum' or wine and water for the steeping of fowls. If the question is to be treated seriously, it may be doubted whether the steeping in the diluted liquor might not be more advisable than in strong.

20. *Pratensibus optima fungis*] He says the 'fungi' that grew in the open meadows were more to be trusted than others—that is, those which grew in the shade. Truffles and different kinds of mushrooms were much eaten by the Romans as they are still by the Italians. Of the latter there were and are great varieties. Forsyth (Italy, p. 81) mentions an astonishing variety of mushrooms, all natives of Vallombrosa, a collection of which (painted) he saw in the monastery of that place, with this absurd motto, of which the author asks, rather unnecessarily, whether it is correct in its etymology:—

"Naturae fetus mirare, sed aufuge fungos,
Namque a fungendo funere nomen habet."

The mushroom most highly esteemed was the boletus, which was cultivated in gardens and kept for the eating of the rich. See Juvenal (v. 146): "Vilibus ancipites fungi ponentur amicis, Boletus domino;" and Martial (iii. 60. 5): "Sunt tibi boleti, fungos ego sumo suillos;" and i. 21. 2: "Solus boletos, Caeciliane, voras." The Libyan mushroom was counted the best of the wild ones, and the spring was the best season for them. See Martial (xiii. 43):

"Lecta suburbanis mittuntur apyrina ramis
Et vernae tuberes: quid tibi cum Libycis?"

and 42: "Non tibi de Libycis tuberes," &c. The great value of the boletus is expressed in another epigram in exaggerated language (xiii. 48):

"Argentum atque aurum facile est laenamque togamque
Mittere: boletos mittere difficile est."

The boletus served to carry off an emperor. See Juvenal, l. c., and Martial i. 21.

24. *Aufidius*] Estré thinks this may be M. Aufidius, who was remarkable as having been the first at Rome who bred and fattened peacocks for sale, and derived a large profit (as much as 60,000 sesterces a year) from that trade. (Pliny, N. H. x. 20. 23; Varro de R. R. iii. 6. 1.) This person is also identified with M. Aufidius Lurco, who was tribune of the plebs A.U.C. 693, and author of the Lex Aufidia de Ambitu. I am not aware that there are sufficient grounds for either of these conjectures. As to the composition of 'mulsum' see note on S. ii. 2. 15 n. Falernian wine, which Horace appears to have esteemed next to Caecuban, is here called 'forte,' and elsewhere 'severum' and 'ardens' (C. i. 27. 9; ii. 11. 19). It was a very strong spirituous wine, and required long keeping to become mellow. Forsyth (Italy, p. 264) stopped at Santa Agata (a modern town in the Falernus Ager) in the hope of getting some real Falernian; but he found it very inferior to the Formian which he had lately drunk at Mola (Formiae). ['Vacuis,' 'mulso,' 'prolueris,' show that he is speaking of the preparation of the 'promulsis.']

27. *morabitur*] This may have been a medical word for costiveness. Forcellini does not notice this use of it. 'Mitulus,' the limpet, is noticed as among the 'viliores conchae' by Martial (iii. 60):

"Ostrea tu sumis stagno saturata Lucrino;
Sugitur inciso mitulus ore mihi."

Mitulus et viles pellent obstantia conchae
Et lapathi brevis herba, sed albo non sine Coo.
Lubrica nascentes implent conchylia lunae;
Sed non omne mare est generosae fertile testae.
Murice Baiano melior Lucrina peloris,
Ostrea Circeiis, Miseno oriuntur echini,

The Greeks called it τελλίνη or ξιφύδριον. The 'lapathus' is mentioned as a purgative (Epod ii. 57 n.) 'Brevis,' which Porphyrion interprets 'short-lived,' as "breve lilium" (C. i. 36. 16), refers rather, as Orelli says, to the size of the plant. [Celsus (ii. 29, 'De his quae alvum movent') mentions in a long list of purgatives the 'lapathum,' many kinds of shell-fish, and wine, 'dulce vel salsum.' Athenaeus (i. 32. Cas.), quoted by Ritter, states that wines carefully mixed with sea-water are purgative; and hence, Ritter says, Persius (v. 135) names wines of Cos, 'lubrica Coa,' because they are purgative; and the wine of Cos was moderately mixed with sea-water.]

30. *Lubrica nascentes*] That shell-fish were best at the time of the new moon, appears to have been generally believed. Gellius, in a chapter (xx. 8): "de iis quae habere συμπάθειαν videntur cum luna augescente ac senescente," mentions that while he was dining with his friend Annianus the poet, at his country seat, there arrived a large supply of oysters from Rome, which proved to be poor shrivelled things, and the host accounted for it by the fact that the moon was then on the wane, quoting Lucilius:

"Luna alit ostrea et implet echinos, muribu' fibras
Et pecui addit."

The same he affirms in respect to cats' eyes, that they get larger as the moon increases, and smaller as she wanes. The ancients had many fancies respecting the influence of the moon on various objects, in which however modern ignorance and superstition have perhaps surpassed them. But in respect to shell-fish, Henry Swinburne, whose amusing account of his travels in the Two Sicilies in the years 1777—1780 I have often quoted, says: "It is an observation made here (at Taranto), and confirmed by long experience, that all the testaceous tribe are fuller, fatter, and more delicate during the new and full moon than in the first and last quarters" (vol. i. p. 244). So that modern observation is in conformity with that of the ancients. Swinburne accounts for the fact "by the tides and currents which set in stronger in the new and full moon, and bring with them large quantities of bruised fishes, insects, fruits, and other fattening nurture." [I. Vossius (note on Gellius, xx. 8. ed. Gronovius) says that in certain parts of Asia 'in novilunio et plenilunio inania sunt pleraque testacea, eadem vero plena sint in quadraturis.' He explains this by the fact that in these parts there is no tide at new and full moon, but four or five days later.]

32. *Murice Baiano*] This shell-fish, from which a purple dye was obtained, was found at Baiae. It is thus described by Swinburne: "The body consists of three parts; the lowest, containing the bowels, remains fixed in the twisted screw at the bottom for the purpose of performing the digestive functions; it is fleshy and tinged with the colour of its food. The middle division is of a callous substance and full of liquor, which, if let out of its bag, will stain the whole animal and its habitation. The third and upper part is made up of the members necessary for procuring food and perpetuating the race. The murex generally remains fastened to rocks and stones. The proper season for dragging for this shell-fish was in autumn and winter. To come at the liquor the shell was broken with one smart blow, and the pouch extracted with the greatest nicety by means of a hook. If the shells were of a small size they were thrown by heaps into a mill and pounded" (i. 239). The 'peloris,' which was found in the Lacus Lucrinus, close to Baiae, appears from Martial to have been an insipid fish, though Catius says it is better than the murex. "Tu Lucrina voras, me pascit aquosa peloris" (vi. 11). "Et fatuam summa coenare pelorida mensa" (x. 37). The rival oyster-beds were in the Lacus Lucrinus and at Circeii. Catius gives the preference to the oysters of Circeii, which Pliny also says were unsurpassed (xxxii. 21). See Epod. ii. 49 n. The best oysters, however, were found at Brundusium, from whence the spawn was carried to stock the beds on the coast of Campania and Latium.

Pectinibus patulis jactat se molle Tarentum.
Nec sibi coenarum quivis temere adroget artem,
Non prius exacta tenui ratione saporum.
Nec satis est cara pisces avertere mensa

34. *Pectinibus patulis*] The shell-fish called 'pecten' was found in greatest perfection at Tarentum. Swinburne gives a list of shell-fish found in the Tarentine waters, amounting in number to 93. Pliny (xxxii. C. 11) says the 'pecten' was also found in great abundance and perfection at Mytilene. It must have been one of the bivalved sort, called by Aristotle ἀνάπτυχα, as opposed to those that were μονόθυρα (Hist. Anim. iv. 4). Whether it was the 'pinna marina' or not is uncertain; but if so, it was one of the largest of the testaceous tribes, often exceeding two feet in length. Cicero (de Fin. iii. 19. 63) mentions it as attended by a small animal called 'pinnoteres,' because it acted as watchman to the pinna, warning it of the approach of its prey or its enemies. When danger is at hand, the little creature jumps into the opening of the shells, which close directly. The same animal is still found among the feelers of the pinna, and the Italians call it 'caurella.' "But more accurate observers," says Swinburne, "have discovered that the poor shrimp is no more than a prey itself, and by no means a sentinel for the muscle, which in its turn frequently falls a victim to the wiles of the Polypus Octopedia. In very calm weather this rapacious pirate may be seen stealing towards the yawning shells with a pebble in his claws, which he darts so dexterously into the aperture that the pinna cannot shut itself up close enough to pinch off the feelers of its antagonist or save its flesh from his ravenous tooth." This illustrates the epithet 'patulis.' 'Pectines' are the Greek κτένες. The pinna "fastens itself to the stones by its hinge, and throws out a large tuft of silky threads, which float and play about to allure small fish." This bunch is called 'lanapinna:' it is taken off and dried, and combed out and carded; and of the thread thus made, mixed with a little silk, the Italian women knit stockings, gloves, and caps.

34. *molle Tarentum*] The degenerate character of the Tarentines, which gained their city the epithets 'molle,' 'imbelle' (Epp. i. 7. 45), dates from the death of Archytas, about the middle of the fourth century B.C. Among other symptoms of this degeneracy it is recorded that their calendar contained more festivals than there were days in the year. Tarentum was the only emporium of those parts, because (until that of Brundusium was formed, long afterwards) it had the only harbour on the eastern side of Italy, to which all the traffic of Greece, Illyricum, and Asia naturally flowed. The Tarentines had a large standing army with which Archytas gained many victories: they had a fine fleet, and many cities were subject to them. Tarentum itself, which now is said to contain about 18,000 inhabitants, in the days of its power contained 300,000. It flourished no less in arts than in war and commerce. These it retained after it had ceased to be powerful, and the number of edifices was great, especially, as might be expected, those that were devoted to amusement. The coins of Tarentum are among the finest specimens that we possess. 'The modern Tarentines, as much as their poverty will allow them, seem to copy the gentle indolent manners of their forefathers, citizens of 'molle Tarentum.' They are still passionately fond of amusements, and eager only in the pursuit of pleasure. Their address is affable and pleasing to strangers; their pronunciation lisping, and softer than that of the natives of the neighbouring provinces" (Swinburne, vol. i. p. 269).

36. [*exacta*] 'Unless he has first well examined the principles of flavours.']

37. *cara pisces avertere mensa*] 'Mensa' is the fishmonger's board, which is called dear instead of the fish exposed on it. If 'avertere' be the true word, it is properly interpreted by Porphyrion: "*Avertere:* abstrahere, auferre." Compare Virgil (Aen. x. 78): "Arva aliena jugo premere atque avertere praedas." It is commonly used with 'praeda,' as in Caesar, B. C. iii. 59: "praedam omnem domum avertebant;" and Sil. Ital. iii. 321: "invadere fluctu Audax naufragia et praedas avertere ponto," where 'avertere,' and not 'avellere,' is the proper reading. It may be applied humorously in this sense here, the man making a booty of the fish he loved. Orelli thinks it may be taken in a like sense to 'vertit,' to embezzle wrongfully, to appropriate to one's own use, in Cic. in Verr. Divin. 17: "ex illa pecunia magnam partem ad se vertit," where Zumpt reads 'avertit' and

Ignarum quibus est jus aptius et quibus assis
Languidus in cubitum jam se conviva reponet.
Umber et iligna nutritus glande rotundas
Curvat aper lances carnem vitantis inertem;
Nam Laurens malus est, ulvis et arundine pinguis.
Vinea submittit capreas non semper edules.
Fecundae leporis sapiens sectabitur armos.
Piscibus atque avibus quae natura et foret aetas

Lambinus 'averrit.' Lambinus has a partiality for that word, which he introduces for 'avertere' here, though from the Scholiasts downwards the latter word had appeared in all the commentaries and editions. Torrentius, though he edits 'avertere,' prefers 'averrere,' which he interprets sweeping the board as fishermen sweep the sea with their nets, (See S. 3. 235.) Cruquius, though he follows the received reading, says that all his MSS. but one inferior to the rest had 'averrere,' and Bentley adopts and defends that reading, but in a new sense, contrary to the meaning of the passage. 'Averrere' is not used by any classical author; but that does not prove any thing. It appears in all the oldest Parisian MSS. In many of the later ones 'avertere' appears as it does in Orelli's Berne and St. Gallen MSS. and in most of Fea's. It is not certain which Horace wrote, but I prefer 'avertere,' in the plain sense of carrying off. [Ritter has 'averrere.'] 'Mensa' is often used for the counter of the 'argentarius,' but nowhere else in the sense it has here. On 'pisces patinarii' ('quibus jus est aptius') and 'assi' see S. i. 3. 81 n.

39. *Languidus in cubitum*] Catius says it is of no use for a man to buy expensive fish if he does not know how to dress them, that is, which should be served up with sauce, and which when fried will tempt the guest, after he has laid himself down tired of eating, to raise himself on his elbow and begin eating again.

41. *Curvat aper*] On 'aper' see above, S. 3. 234. The great majority of MSS. and editions have 'curvat.' Bentley, rather perversely, considering that he acknowledges the matter is indifferent, reads 'curvet' on little authority. The same confusion between the indicative and imperative is found in C. iii. 19. 11, "tribus aut novem miscentur cyathis," where some MSS. and editions have 'miscentor.' (See note.)

43. *Vinea submittit*] He says that the flesh of wild deer fed in vineyards is not always eatable. I confess I do not understand what he means. How the 'caprea,' a mountain goat, chamois, or some one of the deer kind, should be habitually fed in vineyards, as the verse seems to imply, is unintelligible to me. There is no variation in the MSS. 'Capreoli,' and some say 'capreae' (see Forcell. sub. v.), were shoots of the vine. But that sense has no place here as the verse stands. 'Submittit' is equivalent to 'suppeditat,' 'supplies.' See C. iv. 4. 63: "Monstrumve submisere Colchi." Heindorf quotes Lucan (iv. 410): "Non pabula tellus Pascendis submittit equis."

44. *Fecundae leporis*] The ancients had odd notions about the hare (which Sir Thomas Browne has handled with his usual learning and gravity, Vulgar Errors, Book iii. c. 17), that it was of both sexes, and that it was always with young, and brought forth two or three every month. See Pliny (x. 63): "Dasypodes omni mense pariunt et superfetant, sicut lepores." Herodotus mentions the same circumstance (iii. 108), *ὁ λάγος—οὕτω δή τι πολύγονόν ἐστι, ἐπικυΐσκεται μοῦνον πάντων θηρίων·* and Aristotle the same (Hist. An. vi. 33), *οἱ δὲ δασύποδες ὀχεύονται καὶ τίκτουσι πᾶσαν ὥραν καὶ ἐπικυΐσκονται ὅταν κύωσι, καὶ τίκτουσι κατὰ μῆνα.* The superfetation of the hare and rabbit is an admitted fact. The Scholiasts and all the old editions, and the majority of MSS., have 'fecundi' [which Ritter has]. Cruquius, I believe, first edited 'fecundae,' which appeared in his oldest Blandinian MS. Bentley adopted the reading, and most modern editors have done the same. Lepus is nowhere else used in the feminine gender, but I believe it might be in such a case as this, and Priscian (p. 658, quoted by Bentley) says it is of common gender. Orelli's St. Gallen MS. has 'fecundae,' and that editor adopts it, as he does 'albae' with 'anseris' in S. 8. 88. Either I think would do. A modern epicure would not choose the shoulder of a hare as the most delicate part. It is so distinguished again S. 8. 89.

Ante meum nulli patuit quaesita palatum.
Sunt quorum ingenium nova tantum crustula promit.
Nequaquam satis in re una consumere curam,
Ut si quis solum hoc mala ne sint vina laboret,
Quali perfundat pisces securus olivo.
Massica si caelo suppones vina sereno,
Nocturna si quid crassi est tenuabitur aura,
Et decedet odor nervis inimicus; at illa
Integrum perdunt lino vitiata saporem.
Surrentina vafer qui miscet faece Falerna
Vina columbino limum bene colligit ovo,
Quatenus ima petit volvens aliena vitellus.
Tostis marcentem squillis recreabis et Afra
Potorem cochlea; nam lactuca innatat acri
Post vinum stomacho; perna magis ac magis hillis
Flagitat immorsus refici; quin omnia malit

46. *Ante meum*] See Introduction.

[47. *crustula*] S. i. 1. 25.]

51. *Massica si caelo suppones*] See C. i. 9. 7 n. respecting the different wines mentioned here. The wine in the amphora required clearing before it could be drunk. One way of effecting this appears to have been exposing the vessel for some time to the open air, which process also took off some of its strength. In Athenaeus (p. 33, A Cas.) we find this advice; *οἰνοποιητέον δ' αὐτοὺς πρό τινος χρόνου καὶ εἰς ἀναπεπταμένον τόπον θετέον εἰς τὸ διαπνεῦσαι τὸ παχὺ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶν.* Pliny also (xiv. 27) informs us that "Campaniae nobilissima exposita sub dio in cadis verberari sole, luna, imbre, ventis aptissimum videtur." Catius mentions the yolk of pigeons' eggs as another means of precipitating the lees of the wine. White of egg however was a more usual agent. Pliny mentions sulphur; several materials, such as pounded shells, gypsum, chalk, milk, &c., were used for the same purpose. But the commonest way was to strain the wine either through a 'saccus,' a bag of fine linen (which was apt to hurt the flavour), or through a metal sieve, 'colum,' these being in the hot weather filled with snow.

53. *odor nervis inimicus*] This is what we call the bouquet, which helped the wine in its intoxicating effects upon the brain. With the inferior wines aromatics were frequently introduced for the purpose of giving them an agreeable perfume.

58. *Tostis marcentem squillis*] When the guest is surfeited or has drunk so much he cannot digest any more, his appetite is to be tempted with fried shrimps and snails, of which a large sort came from the coast of Africa, and were called 'Solitanae' (Varro de R. R. iii. 14, and Pliny ix. c. 56; xxx. 6): also with bacon and sausages. Comm. Cruq. says that 'hilla' is a diminutive form of 'hira:' "et significat intestinum salsum, vel ut alii dicunt fartum salsitium." The lettuce, Catius says, ought not to be taken for this purpose, because it does not settle on the stomach when it is irritated. 'Lactuca' was commonly eaten at the 'gustatorium' as an incentive to the appetite. Pliny, speaking of the different species of this plant, says: "Est natura omnibus refrigeratrix, et ideo aestate gratae stomacho fastidium auferunt cibique appetentiam faciunt" (xix. c. 8). Catius says the cloyed stomach would rather (malit) have any coarse dish brought in from the cookshop to stimulate it than lettuce after drinking wine, which was a different thing from taking it before dinner. ['Squillae' is translated 'crabs' by some editors. 'Squilla' or 'Scilla' is also the name of a bulbous root, which is tunicated like the onion. 'Squilla' (Juvenal, v. 80) is said to be a lobster.]

61. *Flagitat immorsus refici*] 'Immorsus' agrees with 'stomachus,' and signifies stimulated, 'pervulsus,' as "qualia lassum pervellunt stomachum" (S. 8. 9). Nearly all the older editions have 'in morsus,' as if the meaning was that the stomach must be recruited for a fresh attack upon the viands. This reading, which is that of

Quaecunque immundis fervent allata popinis.
Est operae pretium duplicis pernoscere juris
Naturam. Simplex e dulci constat olivo,
Quod pingui miscere mero muriaque decebit,
Non alia quam qua Byzantia putuit orca.
Hoc ubi confusum sectis inferbuit herbis
Corycioque croco sparsum stetit, insuper addes
Pressa Venafranae quod baca remisit olivae.
Picenis cedunt pomis Tiburtia succo;
Nam facie praestant. Venucula convenit ollis;
Rectius Albanam fumo duraveris uvam.
Hanc ego cum malis, ego faecem primus et allec,

some MSS., including all those of the Royal Library at Paris collated by Pottier, probably arose out of the word 'inmorsus,' a way of writing the compounds with 'in' found in many MSS.

62. *immundis fervent allata popinis*] The 'popinae' were the lowest sort of eating-houses, where meat was cooked and usually eaten on the premises, but sometimes sent out. They were the same as the Greek *καπηλεῖα*. They were a lower sort of 'cauponae' (S. i. 5. 2 n.). Their keepers, 'popae,' were, as might be expected, usually persons of no credit ("mirabar tamen credi popae," Cic. pro Mil. 24). The shops were dirty, and the company very low. Compare Epp. i. 14. 21. There were great numbers of these shops about the city; whence Martial says, in speaking of the improvement of the streets (vii. 61):

"Stringitur in densa nec caeca novacula turba:
Occupat aut totas nigra popina vias.
Tonsor, caupo, coquus, lanius sua limina servant.
Nunc Roma est, olim magna taberna fuit."

The 'popinae' were called 'thermopolia' by Plautus, because there the Romans drank hot spiced wine and water, 'calda.' Becker (Gallus, 272) says there was no difference between a 'popina' and 'thermopolium.'

63. *duplicis pernoscere juris*] Catius goes on to describe the sauces, of which there are two kinds: one which he calls simple, but which was not entirely so, being made of sweet olive oil mixed with rich wine and 'muria,' which is not, as Comm. Cruq. says, salt water, but 'garum,' made from certain shell-fish (S. 8. 53). There was a composite sauce which was made up of the above boiled with chopped herbs, with a sprinkling of saffron, and, when it had stood to cool, the finest olive oil of Venafrum (C. ii. 6. 16 n.).

66. *Byzantia putuit orca*] The 'thynnus' from which the best 'garum' was made was found best in the neighbourhood of Byzantium (Pliny ix. 20). 'Orca' is a jar used for preserving sauces and pickles. Suidas derives it from an Aeolic word *ὄρχη: ὄρχαι κεράμινα ἀγγεῖα ὑποδεκτικὰ ταρίχων*. See Bentley's note and Forcell. Nearly every known MS. has 'putuit.' Lambinus and Torrentius and many of the old editions have 'putruit' (S. 3. 194 n.). The 'crocus' of Mons Corycus in Cilicia was most celebrated (Pliny xxi. 17). 'Stetit' Comm. Cruq. explains "cessavit agitare, fervere."

70. *Picenis cedunt pomis Tiburtia*] The apples of Tibur and Picenum are referred to, C. i. 7. 14; S. ii. 3. 272.

71. *Venucula convenit ollis*] This grape derives its name, Comm. Cruq. says, from Venusia, which is very doubtful. The word is variously written. Pliny says (xiv. c. 2. 6), "Veniculam inter optime deflorescentes et ollis aptissimam Campani malunt sirculam vocare; alii staculam." Columella also (iii. 2. 2, xii. 45) speaks of grapes preserved in jars for the winter. Pliny (xiv. 3) says "aliis gratiam, qui et vinis, fumus affert fabrilis." For drying in this way Catius says the grape of the Alban hills is best.

73. *Hanc ego cum malis*] Catius says he was the first to introduce Alban raisins at the second course, and likewise 'faex' and 'allec,' two pickles, as it would seem, but Forcellini makes them the same, being the lees of the 'muria' (v. 63 n.). So Pliny describes 'alec,' or 'alex' as it is otherwise written. Speaking of 'garum,' he says,

Primus et invenior piper album cum sale nigro
Incretum puris circumposuisse catillis.
Immane est vitium dare milia terna macello
Angustoque vagos pisces urgere catino.
Magna movet stomacho fastidia, seu puer unctis
Tractavit calicem manibus dum furta ligurit,
Sive gravis veteri craterae limus adhaesit.
Vilibus in scopis, in mappis, in scobe quantus
Consistit sumptus? Neglectis flagitium ingens.
Ten lapides varios lutulenta radere palma

"Vitium hujus est alex imperfecta nec colata faex." The names came to be differently applied perhaps. Pliny goes on to say: "Transiit deinde in luxuriam creveruntque genera ad infinitum.—Sic alex pervenit ad ostrea," &c. So that it came from being a poor man's sauce to be a rich man's. Catius also claims the merit of introducing little dishes containing a mixture of salt and white pepper. The object of all this, as well as the pickles, was to promote thirst, and add to the pleasure of drinking after dinner. White pepper, as Pliny (xii. c. 7) says, is milder than black. It is made by blanching the finer grains of the black and taking off the rind. The ancients got their pepper from the East Indies. The best is grown on the Malabar coast. [Pliny, H. N. 31. c. 7. 40 says of black salt: "quicunque ligno confit sal niger est;" salt obtained from wood-ash. See Epp. ii. 2. 60.]

75. *Incretum*] This comes from 'incernere,' to sift, or 'incernendo spargere,' to sprinkle over with a sieve or 'incerniculum.' It therefore means that the pepper was sprinkled over the salt.

76. *milia terna macello*] 3000 sesterces for a dish of fish is a large sum, but not perhaps exaggerated. Larger sums were given for dainties. As to 'macellum,' see S. 3. 229 n. By 'vagos pisces' he means that it is a shame to confine in a narrow compass animals that have had the range of the seas. The liberty of the bird is expressed by the same epithet in C. iv. 4. 2.

79. *calicem*] The slave handing a drinking cup ('calix') to a guest, just after he had been licking up the remains of the dishes, would leave the marks of his fingers upon it, and this would turn the stomachs of the company, who would also be disgusted if they saw dirt upon the 'cratera' in which the wine and the water were mixed. The 'calix' was the same as the Greek κύλιξ. Its shape and size and material varied. There were wooden and earthenware 'calices,' and others of common glass, and others of greater value of coloured glass; but those that were most valued of all were the 'crystallina' of a pure and highly transparent crystal glass. The coloured glass cups came principally from Alexandria. The Romans were curious in collecting old vessels for their table ('veteres craterae') (S. 3. 21 n.). ['Furta:' there is a bad reading 'frusta.']

81. *Vilibus in scopis*] 'Scopae' were besoms for sweeping the floors, walls, and furniture of a room, usually made of the branches of the wild myrtle or tamarisk. The palm seems also to have been used. Martial (xiv. 82), "In pretio scopas testatur palma fuisse." 'Mappae' were towels, for which 'mantilia' was another name. Each guest had a napkin, which it would seem he brought with him. See Martial (xii. 29. 21 sq.):—

"Ad coenam Hermogenes mappam non attulit unquam,
A coena semper rettulit Hermogenes."

But it does not appear that 'mappis' here means dinner-napkins. They are probably towels or dusters to clean the furniture and walls. As to 'scobe' Becker says (Gallus, p. 138 n.), "it still remains a question whether common saw-dust used for cleaning is meant by Horace, as there was scarcely any 'sumptus' in that. It was customary to strew the floor with dyed or sweet-smelling saw-dust, or something similar."

83. *Ten lapides varios*] 'Tene?' is it for such as you? 'Tene decet?' The floors in the houses of the rich were laid with slabs of marble and mosaic work, and marble slabs were also introduced in the walls, though paintings were more common. Representations of different 'pavimenta' found at Pompeii are given in

Et Tyrias dare circum inluta toralia vestes,
Oblitum quanto curam sumptumque minorem
Haec habeant tanto reprehendi justius illis
Quae nisi divitibus nequeant contingere mensis?"
"Docte Cati, per amicitiam divosque rogatus
Ducere me auditum perges quocunque memento.
Nam quamvis memori referas mihi pectore cuncta,
Non tamen interpres tantundem juveris. Adde
Vultum habitumque hominis, quem tu vidisse beatus
Non magni pendis quia contigit; at mihi cura
Non mediocris inest, fontes ut adire remotos
Atque haurire queam vitae praecepta beatae."

Dict. Ant. 'Torus' is a round pillow. 'Toral' would therefore be something belonging to the pillows, and seems to signify something put over the rich 'stragula vestis' (see last Satire, v. 118 n.), as we put chintz coverings over our furniture when it is not in use, or on ordinary occasions. Becker thinks 'mappae' and 'toralia' mean here the same thing, because 'scopae' and 'palma' do so. He finds fault with Heindorf for saying that the 'toralia' were coverings for the cushions. He says that they were hangings with which the 'lectus' was draped from the 'torus' to the floor, relying upon a description of Petronius. But by this he contradicts himself, since the 'mappae' were not hangings. See Becker's Gallus, pp. 367. 369, Engl. abrt. Inviting his friend Torquatus to dinner, Horace tells him he will take care "ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa Corruget nares" (Epp. i. 5. 22). [Krüger says "the construction is 'dare inluta toralia circum Tyrias vestes.'" Doederlein says that "'circum' belongs to 'inluta toralia.'"]

85. *Oblitum quanto*] Catius says that the neglect of those matters, which cost little and require but little attention, is more reprehensible than the absence of furniture, which the rich only can afford. The case he supposes is that of a man who combines dirt with finery, slovenliness with ostentation.

88. *Docte Cati*] Catius, having brought his discourse to an end with an exhortation upon decency and order, Horace entreats him wherever he goes to get such lessons to take him with him, that he may drink wisdom at the fountain head. Catius, he says, no doubt repeats accurately what he has heard, but such precepts would be more highly commended by the aspect, bearing, and voice of the teacher himself.

94. *fontes ut adire remotos*] Horace here parodies Lucretius (i. 927): "juvat integros accedere fontes atque haurire."

SATIRE V.

In this Satire, which has a good deal of humour in it, Horace takes up the practice of will-hunting, of which, as of many other degrading vices that afterwards pervaded Roman society, he saw only the beginning. Describing the rage for making money in Epp. i. 1. 77, he says,—

"Pars hominum gestit conducere publica: sunt qui
Crustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras
Excipiantque senes quos in vivaria mittant."

The practice was sufficiently common in Cicero's time to be thus spoken of by him (Paradox. v. 2):—"An eorum servitus dubia est qui cupiditate peculii nullam conditionem recusant durissimae servitutis? Hereditatis spes quid iniquitatis in serviendo non suscipit? quem nutum locupletis orbi senis non observat? loquitur ad voluntatem;

quicquid denunciatum sit facit; assectatur, assidet, munerat. Quid horum est liberi? quid non denique servi inertis?" This practice will only be found to prevail in a corrupt state of society; and Pliny (N. H. xiv. Proem.) connects it with the growth of wealth, and the time when money began to be the instrument of ambition and the measure of respectability; that is, he dates its birth from the decline of the Republic. His words are: "Postquam senator censu legi coeptus, judex fieri censu, magistratum ducemque nihil magis exornare quam census, postquam coepere orbitas in auctoritate summa et potentia esse, captatio in quaestu fertilissimo ac sola gaudia in possidendo, pessum iere vitae pretia, omnesque a maximo bono liberales dictae artes in contrarium cecidere, ac servitute sola profici coeptum. Hanc alius alio modo et in aliis adorare, eodem tamen habendique ad spes omnium tendente voto." Petronius (Sat. 124) speaks of finding "turbam heredipetarum" at Crotona. He wrote in the reign of Tiberius.

Duentzer calls this Satire "felicissima fictio." Dacier thinks nothing could be more ingenious "que le tour qu'il donne à cette Satire, ni plus heureux que le choix des acteurs qu'il introduit." The extravagance of the anachronism and the incongruity of the persons heighten the absurdity, but do not help the Satire, as far as I can see. Homer (Odyss. xi.) makes Ulysses go down to Hades and there meet Tiresias the Theban prophet, who tells him of the hardships that awaited him in his journey home, where however in the end he is destined to arrive. Horace supposes a continuation of the interview, and makes Ulysses ask the soothsayer how he is to repair his fortunes when he gets home, and finds his property wasted by his wife's suitors, as the prophet told him it would be (see note on v. 6). Tiresias, though he implies that the cunning Ulysses would be at no loss in such a matter if he once got home, gives him his advice, which is to lay himself out for pleasing old men and women of fortune, and getting named in their wills, for which he lays down a few ordinary rules, of which a persevering and coarse servility is the chief, such as Periplectomenes describes in the Miles Gloriosus, iii. 1. 110 sqq. Ulysses appears in as low a character as he can,—an apt disciple, ready to be the shadow of a slave, and to prostitute his chaste Penelope if need be. The Ulysses of all poets after Homer is a contemptible personage, and it must be said in favour of Horace that Penelope, whose character in the Odyssey is feminine and pure, is by later writers represented as less chaste than Homer has drawn her. Those who only know her as the virtuous wife and mother, will not easily forgive the coarse allusions to her in this Satire. Sanadon and Dacier are anxious it should be understood, that when Ulysses appears to acquiesce in the advice of the prophet, he has no intention of demeaning himself so far as to follow it: "il se retire après la consultation sans répondre à Tirésias, et sans déclarer le parti à quoi il se détermine" (Sanadon). As it would be difficult to avoid condemning the whole construction of the Satire except by understanding it to be an extravagant burlesque, we need not be at the trouble of determining what the intentions of Ulysses were when the imperious Proserpine abruptly summoned his counsellor, and broke off the dialogue.

The mention of the Parthians (v. 62) once more raises up among the chronologists the ghost of Crassus and the standards recovered in A.U.C. 734. The French editors take it for granted the Satire was written after that event. Franke more probably places the date before the battle of Actium, though he should have remembered C. i. 2. 41,

"Sive mutata juvenem figura
Ales in terris imitaris,"

where, by 'juvenem,' Augustus is clearly meant (see note), before he came to the conclusion that after the battle of Actium "poeta unicum rerum arbitrum vix juvenis nomine insignivisset." The above ode was written not earlier than A.U.C. 725.

ARGUMENT.

Tell me now, Tiresias, before we part, how I may repair my broken fortunes. Why smile?

What, is it not enough that I promise you a safe return?

O true prophet, you see how I am naked and poor, eaten out of house and home by those suitors, and what are birth and merit without money?

Well, to be brief, since you have such a horror of poverty, I will tell you how to get rich. If a friend sends you some game, pass it on forthwith to some rich old gentleman, and take care he has the first fruits of your garden; never mind your Lares, —he is better than they. Be he the lowest of the low, walk out with him and give him the wall.

What, I give the wall to a dirty slave? So did I never at Troy.

Well then you must be content to be poor.

If that be so, then I must nerve my great heart. Tell me now how I am to act.

I repeat, you must fish for the old men's wills; and though you may now and then have only a nibble never give up in despair. If there is any suit going forward, don't ask which of the parties has the best case but which is the richest; and if he be without children go up to him and offer your services; call him delicately by his praenomen; tell him you love him for his virtues; you know the law, and will see that no one defrauds him of his rights; he may go home and make himself easy and leave the matter in your hands; and then do you persevere and carry it through for him. Summer or winter, never mind; men will admire your zeal; many fish will come into your pond. Or if you know a widower with a sickly boy, try and get named second heres, that you may step in if the lad dies. And when any one asks you to read his will, affect reluctance, but get a glance at the contents nevertheless.— It will happen occasionally that an astute fellow overreaches his man, as Coranus will Nasica.

What is this? Pray tell me if you may.

In times to come, when a son of Aeneas shall be mighty by land and by sea, Nasica shall marry his fair daughter to stout Coranus, and so think to get rid of his debts. Then shall the son hand his testament to the father and pray him to read. He shall modestly decline; but, being pressed, shall read in silence and find that he and his are left—nothing!—But to go on. If the dotard has a tricksy damsel or a freedman that manages him, make up to them; flatter them, and they will return the favour. But it is best to attack the head first. Praise his bad verses if he is fool enough to write; or if that is in his line, don't wait till he asks, but of your own accord send him your Penelope.

What, think you one so chaste, on whom her suitors could make no impression, would consent to this?

The suitors came with scanty gifts and thought more of your kitchen than your wife. Penelope is chaste till she shall have tasted of the old man's money.

There was a sly old woman at Thebes who made a provision in her will that her heres should carry her on his shoulders, greased for the occasion, to burial, and if he dropped her he was to forfeit. He had stuck to her all her life, and she hoped she might shake him off in this way when she was dead. Take warning by this and make your approaches carefully, neither too slack nor too impetuous; be neither too talkative nor too silent. Stand, like Davus in the play, with your head meekly bent and your eyes on the ground. Push your way with servility: if the wind blows, entreat him to cover up his dear head; clear his way in a crowd; be all attention to his prattle; if he is greedy of flattery ply him till he cries, Enough, and still blow him up like a bladder. And when your bondage is done, and the will is read, and you

hear the pleasant words, "Let Ulysses inherit a fourth of my estate," and are sure you are not dreaming, then squeeze out a tear and cry for the dear departed, and take care your face does not betray you. Spare no expense for his funeral and his tomb. It will get you golden opinions. And if one of your co-heirs seems to be near his end, go and offer him any part of your share he likes as a present—But hold: stern Proserpina summons me. Adieu, adieu.

"Hoc quoque, Tiresia, praeter narrata petenti
Responde, quibus amissas reparare queam res
Artibus atque modis. Quid rides?" "Jamne doloso
Non satis est Ithacam revehi patriosque penates
Adspicere?" "O nulli quidquam mentite, vides ut
Nudus inopsque domum redeam, te vate, neque illic
Aut apotheca procis intacta est aut pecus; atqui
Et genus et virtus nisi cum re vilior alga est."
"Quando pauperiem, missis ambagibus, horres,
Accipe qua ratione queas ditescere. Turdus

3. *Quid rides*] These words appear to be spoken by Ulysses, though some editors take them otherwise. Tiresias may be supposed to smile at Ulysses for asking advice in a matter in which his own craftiness would help him better than any counsel he could give him. His answer seems to mean, though obscurely, that when he gets back to his home, his wits will soon teach him how to repair his fortune. 'Jamne' means, 'what now I have told you that you will get home?'

6. *te vate*] See Hom. Odyss. xi. 112:—

εἰ δέ κε σίνηαι, τότε τοι τεκμαίρομ' ὄλεθρον
νηΐ τε καὶ ἑτάροις, αὐτὸς δ' εἴπερ κεν ἀλύξῃς,
ὀψὲ κακῶς νεῖαι ὀλέσας ἄπο πάντας ἑταίρους
νηὸς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίης· δήεις δ' ἐν πήματα οἴκῳ,
ἄνδρας ὑπερφιάλους οἵ τοι βίοτον κατέδουσιν
μνώμενοι ἀντιθέην ἄλοχον καὶ ἕδνα διδόντες.

There is no necessity therefore to suppose two interviews between the prophet and Ulysses. That his property would be consumed by the suitors is here declared: the king therefore had no occasion to go home to discover it, and then to evoke the shade of the seer for the purpose of asking his advice, as some editors think. The dialogue is supposed to be a continuation of that which Homer relates, and takes place in Hades.

7. *apotheca*] See C. iii. 8. 11 n.

9. *missis ambagibus*] Heindorf understands this to apply to Ulysses: 'since you admit without circumlocution that you dread poverty.' It seems rather to belong to Tiresias, who comes to the point at once. "Omissis multis verbis accipe quomodo divitias compares" (Comm. Cruq.). The 'ambages,' as Dacier says, were Ulysses' fine words about birth and merit, and Tiresias means, 'since you will have my advice let us waste no words but begin.'

10. *Turdus*] This bird, if well fattened, was considered a great delicacy by the Romans. Martial ranks it first among birds (xiii. 92):—

"Inter aves turdus, si quis me judice certet,
Inter quadrupedes mattea prima lepus."

See also xiii. 51, where there is the following conceit:—

"Texta rosis fortasse tibi, vel divite nardo,
At mihi de turdis facta corona placet."

In Epp. i. 15. 40, the glutton Maenius pronounces that there is nothing better than one of these birds, "obeso nil melius turdo;" and the host at Beneventum produced a dish of them in honour of his visitors, but they were poor things (S. i. 5. 72). 'Turdi' were preserved and fed, and cost a good deal for their size, being such small birds. Varro says that in his time they fetched three denarii apiece, and that from one villa 5000 were produced in a year (R. R. iii. 2. 15. See Becker's Gallus,

Sive aliud privum dabitur tibi, devolet illuc
Res ubi magna nitet domino sene; dulcia poma
Et quoscunque feret cultus tibi fundus honores
Ante Larem gustet venerabilior Lare dives;
Qui quamvis perjurus erit, sine gente, cruentus
Sanguine fraterno, fugitivus, ne tamen illi
Tu comes exterior si postulet ire recuses."
"Utne tegam spurco Damae latus? Haud ita Trojae

p. 70 n.). Columella (viii. 10) gives instructions for rearing them, and says, "nunc aetatis nostrae luxuries quotidiana facit haec pretia." 'Turdus' was not the common thrush, but the fieldfare, which is still reckoned a delicate bird. ['Privum,' from which there is the derived form 'privatum,' means 'proprium:' 'whether a thrush shall be given to you or any thing else as a present.' But the meaning of 'privum' may be extended to signify 'something choice.']

14. *Ante Larem*] The first-fruits were offered to the Lares, as represented on a gem in Gorlaeus' collection, P. i. No. 190, in which is a naked figure standing by an altar with a basket of fruit in his right hand and two ears of corn in his left. Tibull. i. 1. 13:—

"Et quodcunque mihi pomum novus educat annus
Libatum agricolae ponitur ante deo."

No divinity was dearer to a Roman than his Lares, whose images stood in his hall, who reminded him of his departed ancestors, and whom he invoked and sacrificed to every day at his meals (C. iv. 5. 34).

15. *sine gente*] Suppose him to be a 'libertinus,' and in former days to have run away from his master, in which case he might be branded on the forehead, and the shame of attending him would be greater. He would also be 'sine gente,' that is, he would belong to no 'gens,' if he were the descendant of a freedman, or had suffered 'capitis diminutio,' if the definition of 'gentilis' by Scaevola given by Cicero (Top. vi.) is correct (Dict. Ant. art. 'Gens,' p. 448 *a*). Horace means one of low birth, or who has been disgraced.

17. *Tu comes exterior*] Tiresias advises that, if the rich man should call upon him to attend him when he walks abroad, he should never refuse to go, taking the least honourable place, which was by his patron's side, and usually between him and the road. The Scholiast's explanation, "*Exterior:* sinisterior, in sinistra parte positus," is not sufficient: the business of the humble companion was to give his patron the wall and to walk outside, "sive dexter sit sive sinister," as Forcellini says (s. v. 'interior'). The expressions 'tegere latus,' 'claudere latus,' were common enough, and meant plainly to take that side which was most exposed. See Juvenal (iii. 131):—

"Divitis hic servi claudit latus ingenuorum
Filius ——,"

where 'servi' means, as here, one who had been a slave. Martial calls the companion 'latus,' but the expression was probably peculiar to himself (vi. 68):—

"Inter Baianas raptus puer occidit undas
Eutychus, ille tuum, Castrice, dulce latus."

Ovid, speaking of the respect shown to a senator of the olden time on account of his age, says (Fast. v. 67):—

"Et medius juvenum non indignantibus ipsis
Ibat, et interior si comes unus erat."

Suetonius, speaking of the condescension of Claudius (c. 24), says, "Aulo Plautio etiam ovationem decrevit (on account of his success in Britain), ingressoque urbem obviam progressus, et in Capitolium eunti et inde rursus revertenti latus texit." Eutropius (vii. 13), repeating the same anecdote, says, "conscendenti Capitolium laevus incederet;" from which it would seem as if the less honourable place was called conventionally 'laevus,' though the outside must as often be right as left (Epp. i. 6. 50 n.). 'Utne tegam' is a short way of saying 'hortarisne me ut tegam?' 'Damae' is used generally as a common name of slaves (see S. i. 6. 38). 'Spurcus' is a word Lucilius used, as in that verse quoted by Cicero (Tusc. ii. 17), "Ergo hoc poterit 'Samnis spurcus homo vita illa dignus locoque?'" ['Certans melioribus:' 'melioribus' is the dative.]

Me gessi certans semper melioribus." "Ergo
Pauper eris." "Fortem hoc animum tolerare jubebo;
Et quondam majora tuli. Tu protinus unde
Divitias aerisque ruam dic, augur, acervos."
"Dixi equidem et dico: captes astutus ubique
Testamenta senum, neu, si vafer unus et alter
Insidiatorem praeroso fugerit hamo,
Aut spem deponas aut artem illusus omittas.
Magna minorve foro si res certabitur olim,
Vivet uter locuples sine natis, improbus ultro
Qui meliorem audax vocet in jus, illius esto
Defensor; fama civem causaque priorem
Sperne, domi si natus erit fecundave conjux.
Quinte, puta, aut Publi, (gaudent praenomine molles
Auriculae) tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum;
Jus anceps novi, causas defendere possum;
Eripiet quivis oculos citius mihi quam te
Contemptum cassa nuce pauperet; haec mea cura est,
Ne quid tu perdas neu sis jocus. Ire domum atque
Pelliculam curare jube; fi cognitor; ipse

20. *hoc*] When Tiresias tells him he must be content to be poor, or do as he bids him, Ulysses consents to the degradation rather than incur the poverty, and makes a merit of doing so: he will bear the disgrace with his usual magnanimity. Some take 'hoc' as referring to 'pauper eris,' which, as Orelli says, the context disproves. The hero's language is a parody of that which Homer puts into his mouth (Odyss. xx. 18):—

τέτλαθι δή, κραδίη· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης.

And v. 223:—

ἤδη γὰρ μάλα πόλλ' ἔπαθον καὶ πόλλ' ἐμόγησα
κύμασι καὶ πολέμῳ· μετὰ καὶ τόδε τοῖσι γενέσθω.

22. *Divitias aerisque ruam*] Forcellini explains 'ruam,' "eruam, inveniam, comparem," quoting Lucilius (ap. Nonium, iv. 389), "ruis haec et colligis omnia furtim." Virgil uses the word in a similar sense (Georg. i. 105), "cumulosque ruit male pinguis arenae" [but see Conington's note on Virgil; and Georg. ii. 308, and Aeneid. xi. 211]; and Plautus, 'corruere,' Rudens ii. 6. 58: "Ibi me corruere posse aiebas divitias." ['Protinus—dic:' 'go on and tell me.']

27. *olim*] See C. ii. 10. 17 n. On 'ultro,' C. iv. 4. 51; on 'vocet in jus,' S. i. 9. 74 n.

28. *sine natis*] Compare Lucian (Dial. Mort. vi. 5), καινὴν γάρ τινα ταύτην τέχνην ἐπινενοήκατε, γραῶν καὶ γερόντων ἐρῶντες καὶ μάλιστα εἰ ἄτεκνοι εἶεν· οἱ δὲ ἔντεκνοι ὑμῖν ἀνέραστοι.

[— *improbus ultro*] I have erased the comma after 'improbus,' for the construction is 'improbus ultro qui vocet,' 'bad enough audaciously to summon without cause a more honest man to court.' Comp. Ep. xvi. 31.]

32. *Quinte, puta, aut Publi*] These names would be given a slave at his manumission, as Persius (v. 75) describes it:—

"Verterit hunc dominus; momento turbinis exit
Marcus Dama."

[36. *cassa nuce pauperet*] 'Bring you into contempt and impoverish you by the amount of a cracked nut;' a proverbial expression. Ritter has 'quassa,' the reading of the best MSS.]

38. *Pelliculam curare jube*] This diminutive is frequently used without any particular force. The expression is like that in Epp. i. 2. 29:—

Persta atque obdura, seu rubra Canicula findet
Infantes statuas, seu pingui tentus omaso
Furius hibernas cana nive conspuet Alpes.
Nonne vides, aliquis cubito stantem prope tangens
Inquiet, ut patiens, ut amicis aptus, ut acer?
Plures adnabunt thunni et cetaria crescent.
Si cui praeterea validus male filius in re
Praeclara sublatus aletur, ne manifestum

"In cute curanda plus aequo operata juventus;"

and in Epp. i. 4. 15:—

"Me pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute vises,
Cum ridere voles Epicuri de grege porcum."

'Corpus curare' is a common phrase, and Horace has "genium curare" (C. iii. 17. 15 n.).

— *fi cognitor; ipse*] 'Si,' 'sis,' 'fis,' appear in the old editions and in some MSS. Lambinus restored the word 'fi,' which is found in the best MSS. and in two of the oldest editions, that of Milan, 1476, and the Venetian, 1479. 'Cognitor' is one who is authorized to appear for another, either in maintaining or defending an action. 'Procurator' was also one who acted for another; but there was this difference between the two, that the procurator had to give security that the plaintiff would adopt his acts, which the plaintiff was not bound to do, because the procurator was not necessarily appointed by the plaintiff; while the cognitor had no security to give, because he was appointed by and looked upon as the principal, and he was liable as such (Gaius iv. 97). The obsequiousness of the will-hunter was not to be deterred by such a responsibility. The editors generally take 'ipse' with 'cognitor,' in which case it must mean that he was of his own accord ('ipse') to offer himself to the man as his cognitor, and see that he got his rights without any trouble or anxiety. This meaning of 'ipse' is not uncommon. The Greeks used *αὐτός* in the same way. But it seems more simple to take 'ipse,' as Heindorf does, with what follows: "become his cognitor, and let him go home, while you yourself persevere, and hold out for him, whatever the weather may be."

39. *seu rubra Canicula*] He means in the height of summer or the depth of winter. The 41st verse, with the substitution of Furius for Juppiter, is taken from Bibaculus (Exc. on S. i. 10. 36). The epithet 'rubra' for the dog-star, and 'infantes' as an ornamental epithet to express the speechlessness of the statues (Epp. ii. 2. 83) are sufficiently absurd, and the hyperbole is not in good taste; there is vulgarity likewise in 'conspuet.' 'Omaso' Forcellini interprets 'pro ipso ventre.' It does not occur elsewhere in this sense. It usually signifies tripe, a vulgar dish even among the Romans. (See Epp. i. 15. 34.)

42. *cubito stantem prope tangens*] Persius has the same expression: "Est prope te ignotus cubito qui tangat" (S. iv. 34).

[43. *amicis aptus*] 'A useful friend,' Doederlein; that is, 'a useful man to his friends.' He compares Cicero ad Fam. xii. 30, 'O hominem semper illum quidem mihi aptum.']

44. *Plures adnabunt thunni*] The tunny fish is found in large shoals at particular seasons in the Mediterranean, into which it comes from the Atlantic to deposit its spawn, and passes through to the Black Sea. Vast quantities were and still are caught and salted. 'Cetaria' were artificial preserves into which the fish were attracted and then taken. Salting-houses were built hard by. 'Thunni' here is put for the rich fools who would be caught by the servility of the fortune-hunter.

46. *sublatus*] This sense of 'tollere,' to educate, bring up, is said to be taken from the practice of fathers taking up in their arms immediately after their birth such of their children as they wished to be reared, while the others they left to be exposed. Terence (Heaut. iv. 1. 13):—

"*So.* Meministin' me esse gravidam, et mihi te maximo opere edicere
Si puellam parerem nolle tolli? *Ch.* Scio quid feceris,
Sustulisti."

In Plautus (Trucul. ii. 4. 45) it is coupled with 'educare:' "Si quod peperissem id

Caelibis obsequium nudet te, leniter in spem
Adrepe officiosus, ut et scribare secundus
Heres et, si quis casus puerum egerit Orco,
In vacuum venias: perraro haec alea fallit.
Qui testamentum tradet tibi cunque legendum,
Abnuere et tabulas a te removere memento,
Sic tamen ut limis rapias quid prima secundo

educarem ac tollerem." ['Validus male:' see Index.]

47. *Caelibis*] 'Caelebs' is a widower as well as a bachelor, as in Martial (iv. 69): "Diceris hac factus caelebs quater esse lagena." 'Nudare' Horace uses in this sense of 'exposing' in S. 8. 73:—

"Sed convivatoris uti ducis ingenium res
Adversae nudare solent, celare secundae."

['Caelebs,' says Schol. Cruq., must be taken in the sense of 'orbus.' 'Ne manifestum,' &c.: 'that palpable attention to one who has no children may not expose you.' He must court a man, who has a sickly child, not a man who has no child; for in that case his object would be seen. Or it may mean, 'that such attention as you would show to a childless man may not betray you,' 'leniter,' &c.]

48. *ut et scribare secundus heres*] Wills were usually written on tablets of wax: hence below (v. 54) 'cera' is used as synonymous with 'tabula.' When a man made his will he commonly named a 'secundus heres,' or more than one, who would succeed to the 'hereditas,' if the first 'heres' or 'heredes' refused it, or had become disqualified, or had failed to express his or their intention of accepting it within a time named in the will. These second 'heredes' were named 'substituti.' The testator might also make provision, in the case of naming his children his 'heredes,' that if they died 'impuberes,' another person or persons named by him should take the 'hereditas.' Cicero (Topic. 10; de Or. i. 39) speaks of L. Crassus: "agens de eo qui testamento sic heredem instituisset, ut si filius natus esset in decem mensibus isque mortuus prius quam in suam tutelam venisset, secundus heres hereditatem obtineret." Cicero (de Invent. ii. 42): "Paterfamilias quum liberorum nihil haberet, uxorem autem haberet, in testamento ita scripsit: SI MIHI FILIUS GENITUR UNUS PLURESVE IS MIHI HERES ESTO. Deinde quae assolent. Postea, SI FILIUS ANTE MORITUR QUAM IN TUTELAM SUAM VENERIT TU MIHI, dicebat, SECUNDUS HERES ESTO." No son was born, and the next of kin disputed the right of the 'secundus heres' because he was appointed to succeed in the event of the supposed son dying before he could come 'in tutelam suam.' This was called 'pupillaris substitutio,' and may be referred to by Horace in this place. [Gaius, ii. § 174, De substitutionibus.] (Dict. Ant., art. 'Heres,' p. 476, *b.* sq.)

49. *puerum egerit Orco*] There is a little mock pathos in this. 'Agere,' with the dative is not a prose construction. See C. i. 24. 18: "Nigro compulerit gregi." [Krüger compares Homer Il. i. 3, 'Αΐδι προΐαψεν.]

53. *ut limis rapias*] 'Oculis' is understood after 'limis.' The advice is that if the testator should give the man his will to read, he should affect indifference and put it from him, taking care first to get a side glance at the contents, and see if his name appears in the next line after the testator's. A will was commonly written on three pages, which were called severally 'prima,' 'secunda,' and 'ima cera.' The testator's name appeared in the first line of the first page, and after his came those of the 'heredes.' Suetonius thus describes the will of C. Julius Caesar (c. 83): "Novissimo testamento tres instituit heredes sororum nepotes, C. Octavium ex dodrante, et L. Pinarium et Q. Pedium ex quadrante reliquo: in ima cera C. Octavium etiam in familiam nomenque adoptavit: pluresque percussorum in tutoribus filii, si quis sibi nasceretur, nominavit: D. Brutum etiam in secundis heredibus. Populo hortos circa Tiberim (S. i. 9. 18) publice, et viritim trecenos sestertios legavit." In the last page therefore, if the text is correct (as I believe it to be, though Lipsius has altered it), appeared the names of all but the 'primi heredes' (that is, the 'legatarii' and 'substituti'), together with the general provisions of the will. Martial (iv. 70):—

"Nil Ammiano praeter aridam vestem
Moriens reliquit ultimis pater ceris."

This disposes of the opinion of those who think that 'secundo versu' is equivalent to

Cera velit versu; solus multisne coheres,
Veloci percurre oculo. Plerumque recoctus
Scriba ex quinqueviro corvum deludet hiantem,
Captatorque dabit risus Nasica Corano."
"Num furis? an prudens ludis me obscura canendo?"
"O Laërtiade, quidquid dicam aut erit aut non:
Divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo."
"Quid tamen ista velit sibi fabula, si licet, ede."
"Tempore quo juvenis Parthis horrendus, ab alto

'heres secundo gradu;' that is, 'substitutus.' Porphyrion's note is "*Quid prima secundo:* bene hoc et juxta ordinem, quia prius testatoris nomen, secundo heredis." According to Suetonius (Nero, c. 17) in the time of Nero provision was made "ut in testamentis primae duae cerae, testatorum modo nomine inscripto, vacuae signaturis ostenderentur;" the object being that the witnesses who attested the signature of the testator might not become acquainted with the names of the 'heredes' which would appear in the two first 'cerae.' 'Solus heres' would be called 'heres ex asse;' if there were several 'heredes' they would be 'heres' 'ex dodrante,' 'ex quadrante,' &c., according to the proportion of the estate given to each, which was described by the different divisions of the as.

55. *Plerumque recoctus scriba ex quinqueviro*] 'Plerumque' is used by Horace in the tense of 'interdum' here and elsewhere. (See A. P. v. 14 and 95.) Forcellini only gives examples of this meaning from later writers. The 'scribae,' of whom an example occurs above (S. i. 5. 35), were clerks in public offices. These places were often got by purchase, and the 'scriba' received public pay. Nevertheless the 'quinqueviri' appear from this passage to have ranked lower than the 'scribae;' and Cicero speaks rather contemptuously of the office in his Acad. Prior. ii. 44. They were officers appointed to relieve the other magistrates at night of the charge of the city. These were the permanent 'quinqueviri;' but extraordinary commissions of five were often appointed for various purposes. (See Dict. Ant.) The meaning of 'recoctus' has been variously given. The Scholiasts Acron and Comm. Cruq. make it equivalent to 'astutus,' 'vafer:' "saepe refectus et per hoc astutus." Porphyrion says it is "iterum scriba factus," as if the man had been a 'scriba,' had become a 'quinquevir,' and had returned to his former condition again. Some editors take it as Acron does, though his sense I think is only suggested by the context. Others (as Lambinus) follow Porph. What the exact force of Horace's description is I do not see, whether we take 'recoctus' in the sense of the last Scholiast, or suppose it only to mean, as it may, one who having been a 'quinquevir' has been transformed into a 'scriba.' Perhaps Tiresias means to say that Coranus, who had got into a situation in which he had acquired a good deal of money and some knowledge of business, saw through the attentions of the fortune-hunter and laughed at him. The 'corvus hians' is perhaps taken from Aesop's fable of the fox and crow, copied by Phaedrus (i. 13).

57. *Captator*] This word, as 'captare' above (v. 23), is used by Juvenal several times for this character: another word used in the same sense was 'heredipeta,' whether by any classical author besides Petronius I do not know. We know nothing more of the actors in this story, Nasica and Coranus, but it appears likely they were living persons and the case well known.

58. *Num furis*] Ulysses does not understand him, and asks if he is frenzied, as prophets were when inspired.

59. *aut erit aut non*] This is taken by some to be an ironical διλογία; that is, it may be taken as if Tiresias meant that whatever he said was going to happen would happen, and vice versa; whereas he may mean to say that there is no certainty about the issue of the prophecies,—they will happen or will not, and he does not know which. I am not sure about the double meaning, and rather think Horace only meant to put a pompous truism into the mouth of the prophet.

62. *juvenis*] See Introduction. Virgil (Aen. i. 286):—

"Nascetur pulchra Trojanus origine Caesar,
Imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,
Julius a magno demissum nomen Iulo:

Demissum genus Aenea, tellure marique
Magnus erit, forti nubet procera Corano
Filia Nasicae metuentis reddere soldum.
Tum gener hoc faciet: tabulas socero dabit atque
Ut legat orabit; multum Nasica negatas
Accipiet tandem et tacitus leget, invenietque
Nil sibi legatum praeter plorare suisque.
Illud ad haec jubeo: mulier si forte dolosa
Libertusve senem delirum temperet, illis
Accedas socius; laudes, lauderis ut absens.
Adjuvat hoc quoque, sed vincit longe prius ipsum
Expugnare caput. Scribet mala carmina vecors:
Laudato. Scortator erit: cave te roget; ultro
Penelopam facilis potiori trade." "Putasne?

Hunc tu olim caelo spoliis Orientis onustum
Accipies secura."

By his adoption into the Julia gens Augustus claimed direct descent from Aeneas. Tacitus mentions a speech delivered by Nero in favour of the people of Ilium, which was built not far from the supposed site of the ancient city, in which "Romanum Troja demissum, et Juliae stirpis auctorem Aeneam, aliaque haud procul fabulis vetera, facunde executus, perpetrat ut Ilienses omni publico munere solverentur" (Ann. xii. 58). Suetonius, in his life of Claudius (c. 25), mentions the same act of grace, and the speech of Nero, "pro Rhodiis et Iliensibus Graece verba fecit" (Nero. c. 7). The Romans attached much importance to the legend which derived their origin from the Trojans. See C. iii. 3, Introduction. On 'genus' see C. i. 3. 27 n.

64. *forti nubet procera*] These epithets are mock heroic, and adapted to the character of the speaker. Nasica owed money to Coranus, and gave him his tall daughter by way of discharging the debt and getting an interest in his son-in-law's will. Coranus understands him, and begs him to read his will. He coquets with the proposal just as Tiresias advises his hearer to do, but allows his modesty to be overcome, and on reading it through in silence finds no legacy left to himself or his family. We need not suppose with Jacobs (Lect. Ven. p. 402) that the will contained any such words as "Nasicam cum suis plorare jubeo." There was nothing in the will about Nasica or his family. The phrase is equivalent to οἰμώζειν or κλαίειν κελεύω. (See S. i. 10. 91.)

65. *metuentis reddere soldum*] On 'metuo' see C. ii. 2. 7. He had neither power nor will to pay. 'Solidum' means the entire debt, including principal and interest. The contracted form is used before (S. i. 2. 113).

67. *orabit*] The rich man is maliciously bent on seeing the disappointment of his father-in-law.

[70. *Illud ad haec jubeo*] 'Ad haec' is what he has said. 'Illud' is that which he is going to say. 'Scribet,' 'scortator erit' are usual hypothetical formulae: 'suppose, he writes,' &c. 'Cave' may be a monosyllable.]

73. *vincit longe prius*] 'It is better by a great deal first to take the head by storm.'

76. *Penelopam*] Most of the MSS. have this form. Some have the Greek, Penelopen. What Bentley says on this subject (Epod. xvii. 17 n.) admits of exceptions, as all such rules will be found to do when the metre requires it. Immediately below (v. 81) we have Penelope (which Bentley and Fea change to Penelopa without making it more Latin), and in Epp. i. 7. 41, 'Ithace.' Dacier thinks Ulysses means to express no sort of horror at the advice of Tiresias, but is only afraid his wife will prove too chaste; which apprehension the prophet sets himself to dispel. 'Perductor' is the name for a pimp. See Cicero (Verr. ii. 1. 12): "Sileatur de nocturnis ejus bacchationibus; lenonum, aleatorum, perductorum nulla mentio fiat." Plautus (Mostell. iii. 2. 161):

Perduci poterit tam frugi tamque pudica,
Quam nequiere proci recto depellere cursu?"
"Venit enim magnum donandi parca juventus,
Nec tantum veneris quantum studiosa culinae.
Sic tibi Penelope frugi est, quae si semel uno
De sene gustarit tecum partita lucellum,
Ut canis a corio nunquam absterrebitur uncto.
Me sene quod dicam factum est: anus improba Thebis
Ex testamento sic est elata: cadaver
Unctum oleo largo nudis humeris tulit heres,
Scilicet elabi si posset mortua; credo

"Apage istum a me perductorem; nihil moror ductarier;
Quiquid est errabo potius quam perductet quispiam."

The words 'frugi' and 'frugalitas' Cicero (Tusc. Disp. iii. 8) derives from 'fruge,' because it is the best thing the earth produces: a bad reason even if the etymology be right. He gives the word a wide meaning: "tres virtutes, fortitudinem, justitiam, prudentiam, frugalitas est complexa. —Ejus videtur esse proprium motus animi appetentes regere et sedare semperque adversantem libidini moderatam in omni re servare constantiam." The Greek σώφρων corresponds to 'frugi,' according to this definition, though Cicero limits its meaning as much as he extends 'frugi.' 'Discreet' is the nearest English word perhaps corresponding to 'frugi.'

79. *magnum donandi parca*] The suitors are once only mentioned as offering presents to Penelope, and their value was not great. (Odyss. xviii. 290 sqq.) They were offered in consequence of the taunts of Penelope herself.—['Venit enim:' 'Well, and the reason is that suitors came who were sparing in making large presents.' If the common translation 'for' (enim) is used, the reader must supply, 'I grant you,' or the like.]

80. *studiosa culinae*] This corresponds with Homer's description. See, among other places, Odyss. ii. 55, where Telemachus complains of the suitors thus:

οἱ δ' εἰς ἡμέτερον πωλεύμενοι ἤματα πάντα
βοῦς ἱερεύοντες καὶ ὄϊς καὶ πίονας αἶγας
εἰλαπινάζουσιν, πίνουσί τε αἴθοπα οἶνον
μαψιδίως.

81. *Sic tibi Penelope frugi est, quae*] 'Sic' means 'to that extent;' that is, provided she has no great temptation: but if she once gets a taste of any old man's money she will be chaste no longer. The proverb that follows is Greek. Theocritus has it (x. 11) *μηδέ γε συμβαίη· χαλεπὸν χορίω κύνα γεῦσαι.*

84. *anus improba Thebis*] 'Improba' seems to mean 'sly,' which we too call 'wicked.' See S. 1. 9. 73.

87. *Scilicet elabi si posset*] 'Of course it was to see whether she could escape from him when dead,' or 'in hopes that she might.' We are to suppose, as Comm. Cruq. says, she had made it a condition in her will that if he did not carry her without letting her drop, he was to forfeit the inheritance. [Ritter says, if she had intended this, she might have left him by her testament nothing 'nisi plorare;' and he adds, 'non testamento excidere hominem, sed captatorem civium suorum oculis denotare voluit.' But the old woman would not have had her revenge by simply omitting the man in her will; and unless the loss of the inheritance followed the failure of complying with the condition, the man would have the inheritance, and that was not what the old woman intended.] Of this story Estré says (p. 555): "quin Romae Horatii tempore acciderit mihi dubium non esse videtur." Orelli thinks it is taken from some 'mimus,' and considers it an incredible story. It is certainly very strange. 'Scilicet' is in reality a verb, and signifies 'you may know,' 'you may be sure.' For this use of 'si' see Key's L. G. 1422, and compare the example there quoted from Caesar. "Hostes circumfunduntur ex omnibus partibus si quem aditum reperire possint" (Bell. Gall. vi. 37). Fea quotes some Vatican MSS. that have 'sic,' and the oldest Blandinian has 'ut sic,' whereby the authority of that MS. is much damaged.

Quod nimium institerat viventi. Cautus adito:
Neu desis operae neve immoderatus abundes.
Difficilem et morosum offendet garrulus ultro;
Non etiam sileas. Davus sis comicus atque
Stes capite obstipo, multum similis metuenti.
Obsequio grassare; mone, si increbuit aura,
Cautus uti velet carum caput; extrahe turba
Oppositis humeris; aurem substringe loquaci.
Importunus amat laudari; donec Ohe jam!

89. *neve—abundes*] 'Don't overdo it.'

90. *ultro; non etiam sileas*] 'Ultro' has given a good deal of trouble. Fea quotes several MSS. that have 'ultra,' and Lambinus mentions that reading, which was in all the Blandinian MSS. Pottier, who edits from a collation of the Paris MSS., has 'ultra' in his text, and mentions no various readings. Baxter and Combe have 'ultra,' but it seems to me to have no meaning here. [Ritter, who writes 'garrulus: ultra non . . sileas,' says that 'ultra' is the reading of the best MSS.] The editors who have 'ultro' differ as to the connexion, some taking it with 'garrulus,' others with what follows. I think it goes with 'garrulus,' and means that he should not speak before he was spoken to. On 'ultro' see C. iv. 4. 51 n. [Krüger and Doederlein connect 'ultro' with 'offendet;' but if 'ultro' is the true reading, and the pointing in the text is received, we must understand 'garrulus ultro.'] As to 'non' for 'ne,' compare Epp. i. 18. 72: "Non ancilla tuum jecur ulceret ulla puerve;" and A. P. 460. Quintilian says this is a soloecism (i. 5. 50): "qui dicat pro illo 'ne feceris' 'non feceris' in idem incidat vitium, quia alterum negandi est, alterum vetandi."

91. *Davus sis comicus*] Horace has introduced a Davus in this respectful attitude in S. 7. 1 of this book: "Jamdudum auscultans et cupiens tibi dicere servus Pauca reformido."

92. *Stes capite obstipo*] Suetonius, describing Tiberius, says (c. 68), "incedebat cervice rigida et obstipa;" "hic est qui Graecis dicitur *βυσαύχην*, nam *βύειν* est stipare—contrarii sunt his qui rigida cervice capite retrorsum adducto incedunt quos Graeci *σιμοτραχήλους* nominant" (Casaubon). Arrian in Epictetus speaks of a man walking as though he had swallowed a spit: *τί ἡμῖν ὀβελίσκον καταπιὼν περιπατεῖς;* (quoted in the same note of Cas. on Suet. l. c.). The booby in Persius (S. iii. 80) turns up his nose at the philosophers who go about "obstipo capite et figentes lumine terram." 'Obstipo' therefore means stiff, unbending, or bent downwards, with the eyes fixed on the ground. As to 'multum similis,' see S. i. 3. 57 n., and Epp. i. 10. 3.

93. *Obsequio grassare*] 'Grassor' is a frequentative form of 'gradior,' and signifies to go on, advance. The expression in the text is like 'grassari dolo' (Tac. Hist. iv. 16), and other like phrases. Livy and Tacitus use the word often. The MSS. vary between 'increbuit,' 'increbruit,' and 'increpuit.' Fea adopts the last, though he must have been aware that the quantity of the second syllable is short. All the Paris MSS. have 'increpuit' or 'increbuit,' except three, which have 'increbruit.' The oldest Bland. had 'increbruit,' the others all 'increpuit.' One of the Berne has 'increbuit,' another 'increpuit,' and I take the latter to be merely a corruption introduced by copyists who found 'increbuit,' and thought it was wrong. Lambinus, Torrentius, and others argue for 'increbruit,' which form appears in every instance in the Medicean MS. of Virgil. (See V. L. Georg. i. 359, Wagner.) Orelli approves that form, Heindorf the other. The root of the word is 'creb,' and the second 'r' is no part of the root. See note on Cic. in Verr. ii. 2. 3, by Mr. Long.

95. *aurem substringe loquaci*] 'Stringere' means to grasp in the hand; 'aurem substringe' therefore may mean to hold up the ear as we commonly do when we wish to catch every word that is said. Other explanations have been given, but they all come to the same point, which cannot be mistaken. He was to pay the strictest attention to the old man, let him be as garrulous as he would. "Arrige aurem subjecta manu et quasi collige. Sic vestis substringi dicitur quae attollitur et accingitur" (Juvencius).

96. *donec Ohe jam!*] If he is fond of flattery, ply him with it till even he is forced to cry 'hold, enough!' and blow him up

Ad caelum manibus sublatis dixerit, urge,
Crescentem tumidis infla sermonibus utrem.
Cum te servitio longo curaque levarit,
Et certum vigilans, QUARTAE SIT PARTIS ULIXES,
Audieris, HERES: Ergo nunc Dama sodalis
Nusquam est? Unde mihi tam fortem tamque fidelem?
Sparge subinde; et, si paulum potes, illacrimare: est
Gaudia prodentem voltum celare. Sepulcrum
Permissum arbitrio sine sordibus exstrue; funus
Egregie factum laudet vicinia. Si quis
Forte coheredum senior male tussiet, huic tu
Dic, ex parte tua seu fundi sive domus sit

with your fulsome breath like a bladder. Though the old man might say he had enough, he was not to be taken at his word, but plied still harder, for he never could have too much. If the man's tact were proportioned to his servility, this advice might be of use to him; otherwise it would only do in very gross cases. 'Importunus' Lambinus explains as "is qui nunquam conquiescit neque aliis conquiescendi potestatem facit." The expression 'Ohe jam satis' is common. See S. i. 5. 12, and Martial (iv. 91):

"Ohe jam satis est, ohe libelle,
Jam pervenimus usque ad umbilicum."

100. *Et certum vigilans*] Bentley illustrates this by Ovid (Heroid. x. 9):

"Incertum vigilans, a somno languida, movi
Thesea pressuras semisupina manus;"

It means therefore 'wide awake,' not confusedly as those who are half asleep.

— *Quartae sit partis*] The 'heres' of one fourth of the property would be 'ex quadrante' or 'ex teruncio.' (See note on v. 53, above.) The formula in wills was such as this: "Sola mihi uxor heres esto," "Sempronius ex parte dimidia heres esto;" wherefore Bentley, with a very little authority, substitutes 'esto' for 'sit.'

101. *Dama*] See v. 18. He is to throw in now and then ('sparge subinde') a whine for the dear man that is gone, and squeeze out a tear if he possibly can.

102. *Unde mihi tam fortem*] This abrupt and elliptical way of speaking occurs again below (S. 7. 116): "Unde mihi lapidem? Quorsum est opus? Unde sagittas?" Seneca (Herc. Fur. 296) has the same:

"—— unde illum mihi
Quo te tuamque dexteram amplectar diem?"

Compare the broken language Parmeno puts in Phaedria's mouth in Terence (Eun. i. 1. 20): "Egone illam? quae illum?" quae me? quae non?" &c. 'Parabo' may be understood, or some such word.

[103. *illacrimare*] Krüger has adopted Lachmann's emendation (Lucretius, v. 533, p. 297), 'illacrima: e re est.' According to the pointing of the text, this passage is evidence of a form 'illacrimor;' but Doederlein suggests that 'illacrimare' is the infinitive, and that so there should be a comma after 'illacrimare:' 'and if you can drop a tear, you may hide a countenance which betrays joy;' or, as he says, we may translate, 'and if you can shed a tear—,' and leave the reader to supply what is wanting. Any thing is better than Lachmann's monstrous emendation.]

— *est*] This is equivalent to ἔξεστι. Lambinus quotes this verse from Publius Syrus: "Heredis fletus sub persona risus est."

105. *Permissum arbitrio*] A sum of money was generally named in the will for the funeral expenses. Sometimes they appear to have been left expressly to the judgment and liberality of the 'heres' or 'heredes' as here. But if no mention was made of this subject in the will, or if a man died intestate, those who succeeded to the property were bound to provide all that was decent for his interment. As to 'funus,' see note on S. i. 6. 43. 'Commissum' was the common reading before Lambinus (though Venn. 1483 has 'permissum'); but 'permissum' has more authority, and Lambinus says truly "committere fidei dicimus, poteris permittere potestati et arbitrio." See C. i. 9. 9: "permitte divis caetera."

108. *seu fundi sive domus sit emptor*] 'Fundus' is an estate with the buildings on it. 'Domus,' which is opposed to

Emptor, gaudentem nummo te addicere. Sed me
Imperiosa trahit Proserpina; vive valeque."

'fundus' here, and in Epp. i. 2. 47, may mean a town-house. The advice is, that if one of the man's 'coheredes,' who is old, and by a bad cough shows he is near his end, expresses a wish to have an estate or house which forms part of his share, he should declare himself delighted to make it over to him for a nominal price, a single 'sestertius.' This would be a bold game, but he might hope that such generosity on his part would be remembered in the sick man's will. 'Addicere' is a legal term used in selling, "and signifies the declaration of him who sells as to the transfer of the thing to the buyer" (Long, Verr. ii. 2. 32). It was used in private bargains as here, and at public auctions it was the word used for declaring who was the purchaser. Suetonius, speaking of Caesar's fondness for Servilia, and his rich presents to her, says (Caesar, c. 50), "super alias donationes amplissima praedia ex auctionibus hastae (ei) nummo addixit," where 'minimo' has been proposed for 'nummo,' and appears in some MSS.

SATIRE VI.

A.U.C. 724.

Whenever Horace touches on matters personal to himself he does it with humour and feeling. He is also very skilful in telling a story or representing a dramatic tableau. The fable of the town and country mouse could hardly have been better told than it is here. The apostrophe to the country beginning 'O rus, quando ego te adspiciam,' and the contrast between a town and country life, are among his most natural touches; and the allusion to his intimacy with Maecenas, and the envy it had brought upon him, is managed with delicacy towards his patron, while it shows in a very few words the mixture of pride and annoyance which the feeling against him caused. He outlived this feeling, as he tells us in C. iv. 3. 16 (see Introduction); but at this time it perhaps caused him a good deal of pain; for he was not a man of vigorous temperament, capable of disregarding a jealousy he did not deserve, and he had none of the ambition which overleaps the jealousy it creates. He had no desire to be mixed up with public affairs: and if he sought Maecenas, it was in gratitude for his kindness and for the pleasure of his society, and that of the circle to which his patronage introduced him. When therefore vulgar people appealed to him as the depository of state secrets and in the great man's confidence, it disturbed and annoyed him probably, as he here with evident sincerity professes.

The historical references in this Satire mark the date of the composition pretty accurately. It appears (v. 53) that the Daci were in arms against the Romans. There is an allusion to the Daci (C. iii. 6. 14). It was in the year, A.U.C. 724, that M. Crassus was sent against them. (Dion Cass. li. 23.) In the same book (c. 3 sq.) Dion relates that the veterans who had fought at Actium, having been sent back to Italy, were discontented and broke out into mutiny because they had no reward. In the middle of the winter of A.U.C. 723—724, Augustus came from Asia to Brundusium for the purpose of quelling this mutiny, and gave money to some, and to the others he distributed land in those districts which had been favourable to Antonius. This distribution had been promised but not made when this Satire was written (v. 55). In the absence of Augustus, when he went against Antonius and till his return to Rome, Maecenas, at first singly and afterwards in conjunction with M. Agrippa, was deputed by Augustus to exercise those powers in the city and in Italy which he himself would have exercised had he been there. (Dion Cass. li. 3; Pliny xxxvii. C. 1. 4.) This too is referred to in v. 38: all of which goes to indicate the beginning of A.U.C. 724 as the time when this

Satire was written. In v. 40 he says that upwards of seven years had passed since he became intimate with Maecenas; add to that the nine months that elapsed between his first introduction and his recall (S. i. 6. 61), and we bring the former event to the beginning of A.U.C. 716. How long he had been in possession of his Sabine estate we cannot gather from this Satire; but there is nothing in it to disturb the opinion that it was presented to him either in A.U.C. 721 or 722. He speaks familiarly of a country life no doubt, but one or two seasons there would give him a sufficient taste of that way of living to account for any expressions in this poem.

ARGUMENT.

The height of my desires used to be a small bit of ground with a garden, a running stream, and a little wood to crown them all. I have more than I asked, and I ask no more, thou son of Maia, than that these may be mine for ever. If I have neither increased my store by dishonesty, nor am likely to waste it through vice or neglect,—if I am content with that I have, nor have prayed for a slice of my neighbour's field, nor sighed for hidden treasure,—I ask thee to fatten my flocks, and all I have but my wits, and be with me, my mighty protector.

(v. 16.) Now that I have retreated to my castle in the mountains, what subject is worthier of my muse than the spot where I escape from the snares of ambition and the pestilent winds of autumn?

(v. 20.) Janus, be thou the beginning of my song. At Rome thou hurriest me to the Forum. 'Haste, lest any be at the post of duty and friendship before thee:' and so in all weathers I must go. And when the business is over and I have given my promise, I must struggle through a crowd, and be cursed and taunted with 'What are you about, mad fellow? Are you to be thrusting every one out of your way to get back with all haste to Maecenas? And this tickles my vanity, I confess. And when I get to my friend's, hundreds of commissions come dancing before my mind. 'Roscius entreated you to be early at the Puteal to-morrow.' 'The Scribae wanted you to attend their meeting very specially to-day.' 'Mind Maecenas puts his seal to this diploma.' 'I'll try.' 'You know you can if you like.'

(v. 40.) It is nearly eight years since Maecenas began to take notice of me, just to the extent of taking me with him into the country, and talking of most common-place topics. From that day envy has been growing upon me. If I go with him to the games or the Campus Martius, 'Son of Fortune!' cry they all. Is some bad news abroad, every body comes to me for information, and if I profess ignorance, 'Oh you are laughing at us; you must know.' 'Are the soldiers to have their lands in Sicily or Italy?' Though I swear I know no more than they do, they only think me the closest of mortals. And so my life is wasted, and I cry, O country, when shall I behold thee again, and quaff forgetfulness of care in the midst of my books, with quiet nights and idle days, and light repasts, and pleasant friends, with the wine-cup free and conference of soul, and the prattle of our good old Cervius.

(v. 78.) A good story was that he told us when one commended the wealth of the miser Arellius, little knowing the anxiety it cost him.

"Once upon a time," said he, "a country mouse entertained a city friend in his hole: a shrewd thrifty mouse, but hospitable nevertheless. Well, he put before his friend the best he had,—pulse and oats, and dry grape stones, and nibbled bits of lard,—to tempt his dainty palate, while he himself ate nought but coarser grains. Then at length says the gentleman from the town, 'How canst thou endure, my friend, to live in these wilds? Wouldst thou not prefer the haunts of man to these rough woods? Then haste, come back with me; life is short; we all must die; live cheerfully while thou mayest.' So the clown jumps up, and off they set for the city. The night was at its noon when they entered the rich man's house, where the bright coverlid clothed the

ivory couch, and plenteous were the remains of the evening's repast. Then the host sets his rustic friend on the fine couch, and girds himself up to attend him, changes the dishes, and tastes before he serves them. While the other is making merry over his altered condition, lo! the doors creak upon their hinges, the watch-dogs bark, and the trembling friends rush hither and thither, till safe at last, says the countryman, "I like not this life of thine: farewell. In my hole in the woods I fear no surprises, and I'll make myself happy with my humble fare.'"

Hoc erat in votis: modus agri non ita magnus,
Hortus ubi et tecto vicinus jugis aquae fons
Et paulum silvae super his foret. Auctius atque
Di melius fecere. Bene est. Nil amplius oro,
Maia nate, nisi ut propria haec mihi munera faxis.
Si neque majorem feci ratione mala rem
Nec sum facturus vitio culpave minorem;
Si veneror stultus nihil horum: 'O si angulus ille
Proximus accedat qui nunc denormat agellum!
O si urnam argenti fors quae mihi monstret, ut illi

1. *non ita magnus*] Key's L. G. 1451, i. Compare with these lines C. iii. 16. 29 sqq. Cicero (ad Att. xiii. 33. 2): "nihil proscripsit nisi de modo agri." ['Modus' is a word used in the matter of the Agrarian laws: 'alteram (legem) de modo agrorum, ne quis plus quingenta jugera agri possideret' (Livy, vi. 35).]

2. *jugis aquae fons*] It is doubted whether 'jugis' belongs to 'aquae' or 'fons.' I have no doubt it belongs to 'aquae.' It signifies running water, and a good spring would be of great value to the property.

3. *super his*] 'Besides these.' In this sense 'super' usually governs the accusative. (Key's L. G. 1381, e.) Another instance of the ablative is in Silius (Pun. i. 60):

"—— his super aevi
Flore virens avet Aegates abolere, parentum
Dedecus."

'Super' is used absolutely in this sense of 'more,' as in Epod. i. 31: "Satis superque me benignitas tua Ditavit," which passage may be compared with what follows: "auctius atque Di melius fecere." 'Bene est' occurs in C. iii. 16. 43: "Bene est cui deus obtulit Parca quod satis est manu," and is familiar in the formula S. V. B. E. V. (si vales bene est; valeo) which the Romans prefixed to their letters.

5. *Maia nate*] Respecting Mercury, the god of luck and gain, the protector of poets and of Horace in particular, see S. ii. 3. 68; C. ii. 7. 13; ii. 17. 29. ['Proprius,' a man's own, is sometimes equivalent to 'permanent.' Comp. S. 3. 134.] (See also S. 2. 129 n.) As to the form 'faxim' see S. ii. 3. 38 n.

7. *vitio culpave*] Heindorf distinguishes these words as 'prodigentia—negligentia.' 'Culpa' is often used by the law-writers in the sense of 'negligence.' 'Vitium' appears to mean a defect of the nature, 'culpa' of the conduct.

8. *Si veneror stultus nihil horum*] As to 'veneror,' 'to pray for,' see C. S. 49. See Persius (S. ii. 9):

"Illa sibi introrsum et sub lingua immurmurat: 'O si
Ebulliat patruus, praeclarum funus!' et, 'O si
Sub rastro crepet argenti mihi seria, dextro
Hercule!'"

One of Cruquius' MSS. (none of the Blandinian), and a few others quoted by Fea, and most of the editions of the sixteenth century, have 'deformat.' The Scholiasts had 'denormat,' which Porphyrion explains, "extra modum procedens, denormare facit." Acron says rightly: "*denormat:* decurtat et inaequalem facit. Est autem norma ad quem mensores fines aequales dirigunt habita perpendiculi ratione." 'Mercenarius' is a free labourer who works for pay.

Thesauro invento qui mercenarius agrum
Illum ipsum mercatus aravit, dives amico
Hercule!' si quod adest gratum juvat, hac prece te oro,
Pingue pecus domino facias et cetera praeter
Ingenium, utque soles custos mihi maximus adsis.
Ergo ubi me in montes et in arcem ex urbe removi,
Quid prius illustrem satiris musaque pedestri?
Nec mala me ambitio perdit nec plumbeus Auster

12. *amico Hercule*] Acron says "Mercurius dicitur esse dator opum: Hercules vero custos;" and Porphyrion "ideo quod thesauris praeest: et sunt qui eundem incubonem quoque esse velint; unde putant et quod res rustica in tutela sit ejus, nam illi sacrificia reddunt rustici cum juvencos domuerint." 'Incubo' is applied to one who watches over a treasure in a passage of Petronius quoted by Forcellini. Though Hercules was especially a Grecian hero, and was in no way connected historically with the Romans, he was held by them in high esteem. He had a temple in the north part of the city near that of Venus Erycina, and not far from the Porta Collina (Livy, xxvi. 10). We read in Plutarch of Sulla and Crassus dedicating a tenth of their whole fortune to Hercules, and feasting the people magnificently in his honour. (Sulla, c. 35; Crassus, c. 2. 12.) He was associated with Mercury in various ways; as the god of gain, which we find here and in the offerings above mentioned, which were of frequent occurrence; as the god of ways and of boundaries, 'vialis' and 'terminalis;' and likewise as presiding over the 'palaestra.' There are representations of the two gods in one, of which a specimen is given in Agostini's collection from a gem (No. 109), and he mentions having seen others on rings that had been worn by 'athletae,' and many statues in marble. The combined form is called Ἑρμηρακλῆς by Athenaeus, and it appears to have been very common. The notion seems to be that of combining strength and cunning. [Comp. Cic. ad Att. i. 4: "Quod ad me de Hermathena scribis."]

13. *quod adest*] See C. iii. 29. 32: 'quod adest memento Componere aequus." It is an adaptation of the Greek τὸ παρόν. 'Gratum juvat' may either mean 'satisfies me for I am grateful,' or 'is welcome and satisfies me.' Orelli prefers the latter.

16. *in montes et in arcem*] C. iii. 4. 21: "Vester, Camenae, vester in arduos Tollor Sabinos." By 'arcem' he means his house on the Sabine hills.

17. *Quid prius illustrem*] 'What subject should I take in preference to this;' that is, the country to which he retires. On 'pedestri' see C. ii. 12. 9 n.

18. *plumbeus Auster*] The south-wind is so called as depressing the energies and spirits. The epithet is very expressive, 'the leaden south.' Compare C. ii. 14. 15:

"Frustra per Auctumnos nocentem
Corporibus metuemus Austrum;"

and C. iii. 23. 8: "Pomifero grave tempus anno;" and Epp. i. 7. 5:

"—— dum ficus prima calorque
Designatorem decorat lictoribus atris."

Juvenal also speaks thus:

"—— Jam letifero cedente pruinis
Auctumno, jam quartanam sperantibus aegris." (S. iv. 56.)

And again—

"Grande sonat metuique jubet Septembris et Austri
Adventum." (S. vi. 517.)

Auster and Notus are not distinguished by the poets. They are represented as bringing heavy rains: "quid cogitet humidus Auster" (Georg. i. 462). Ovid has a representation, which seems to have been taken from a picture (Met. i. 264):

"—— Madidis Notus evolat alis,
Terribilem picea tectus caligine vultum.
Barba gravis nimbis; canis fluit unda capillis:
Fronte sedent nebulae: rorant pennaeque sinusque."

Statius refers to these 'sinus' or folds of his garments, it would seem from another picture:

"—— sed plurimus Auster
Inglomerat noctem, et tenebrosa volumina torquet,
Defunditque imbres." (Theb. i. 350.)

Auetumnusque gravis, Libitinae quaestus acerbae.
Matutine pater, seu Jane libentius audis,
Unde homines operum primos vitaeque labores

We do not know what we have lost in the paintings of the ancients till we read these fine descriptions. Probably following the same guidance, Statius speaks of "pallens Auctumnus" (Silv. ii. 1. 217). Horace had a different picture in view perhaps when he wrote "decorum mitibus pomis caput Auctumnus arvis extulit" (Epod. ii. 17). In one of Agostini's gems (No. 147) he is represented as quite a youth with fresh strong wings, a basket of fruit under one arm, and in the other hand a dead wild-duck or goose.

19. *Libitinae quaestus acerbae*] The goddess Libitina was one of the oldest Roman divinities. Plutarch (Quaest. Rom. 23) speaks of her service being as old as Numa, who identified her with Venus, in order to bring together the beginning and the end of human life, and he mentions an Ἀφροδίτη Ἐπιτυμβία at Delphi. She was also identified with Persephone. She presided over funerals and all things pertaining to the dead. There were kept in her temple all manner of things required at funerals, where the undertakers (hence called Libitinarii) might purchase or hire them. Also a register of funerals was kept in the temple, and when they were registered a fee was paid: hence Suetonius, in his life of Nero (c. 39) speaks of "pestilentia unius Auctumni, qua triginta funerum millia in rationem Libitinae venerunt;" one sickly autumn in which thirty thousand funerals were entered in the accounts of Libitina; and in Eusebius' Chron. mention is made of an epidemic in the time of Vespasian: "lues ingens Romae facta ita ut per multos dies in ephemeridem decem millia ferme mortuorum hominum referantur;" where the ephemeris seems to be the register in this temple. Horace twice uses the name of Libitina as equivalent to Mors. See C. iii. 30. 6: "magnaque pars mei Vitabit Libitinam;" and Epp. ii. 1. 49: "miraturque nihil nisi quod Libitina sacravit;" and Juvenal does the same (S. xii. 122): "nam si Libitinam evaserit aeger Delebit tabulas." [See Dion. Hal. Antiq. Rom. iv. 15, on the registration of births and deaths. The authority which Dionysius followed was the annalist L. Piso.]

20. *Matutine pater*] Janus was peculiarly a Latin divinity, and one of the oldest. As he presided over the opening year, so he did also over the beginning of every month and of every day (Macrobius, Sat. i. 9). Sacrifices were offered to him on the first of every month, as well as of his own (January), and prayer in the morning of every day. Hence he is called 'Matutinus pater;' and hence he is confounded with the Sun. 'Pater' was the title by which he was commonly addressed, and according to Gellius (v. 12) the two words were joined thus, 'Januspater.' See Epp. i. 16. 59, "Jane pater, clare, clare cum dixit, Apollo." He was worshipped before the other gods, which Ovid makes him explain on the ground that he was the medium through whom men got access to the others:—

"Mox ego: Cur, quamvis aliorum numina placem,
Jane, tibi primo tura merumque fero?
Ut per me possis aditum qui limina servo
Ad quoscunque velim prorsus habere deos." (Fast. i. 171.)

Compare Fasti, i. 63, &c. 'Jane' is put in the vocative case by a sort of attraction. (C. ii. 20. 6 n.) 'Audire,' in the sense of 'appellari' ἀκούειν, occurs again in Epp. i. 7. 37, and 16. 17, "Tu recte vivis si curas esse quod audis." "Subtilis veterum judex et callidus audis" (S. 7. 101). The word is not commonly used in this sense except with 'bene' or 'male.' (S. i. 4. 29 n.)

21. *Unde*] 'From whom' (C. i. 12. 17). ['Operum primos labores' are the labours begun at the commencement of the year, when it was the fashion for every man to begin to do something that belonged to his vocation, as Ovid says, Fasti, i. 169:

"Quisque suas artes ob idem delibat agendo,
Nec plus quam solitum testificatur opus:"

as Ritter well explains it; and he concludes, perhaps correctly, that Horace began this Satire on the first of January. But I do not accept his explanation of 'vitae labores,' which he takes to be the toils of war, at the commencement of which the Romans opened the gates of Janus; and he refers to 'vitae labores,' C. i. 7. 18, in confirmation of his explanation.]

Instituunt, sic dis placitum, tu carminis esto
Principium. Romae sponsorem me rapis. Eja,
Ne prior officio quisquam respondeat, urge.
Sive Aquilo radit terras seu bruma nivalem
Interiore diem gyro trahit, ire necesse est.
Postmodo, quod mi obsit clare certumque locuto,
Luctandum in turba et facienda injuria tardis.
"Quid vis, insane, et quas res agis?" improbus urget
Iratis precibus; "tu pulses omne quod obstat,
Ad Maecenatem memori si mente recurras?"
Hoc juvat et melli est; non mentiar. At simul atras
Ventum est Esquilias, aliena negotia centum
Per caput et circa saliunt latus. "Ante secundam
Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras."

23. *sponsorem me rapis*] 'Sponsor' was one who became security for another under the form of contract called 'verborum obligatio,' the contract taking place by question and answer, 'ex interrogatione et responsione.' One asked the other, "Dare spondes?" and he answered 'spondeo.' The principals were the 'stipulator,' he who asked the question; and the 'promissor,' he who answered. The sponsor was said 'intercedere,' and to him the same question was put, to which he returned the same answer (see Dict. Ant., arts. 'Intercessio,' 'Obligationes'). This explains 'respondeat' in v. 24, and "quod mi obsit clare certumque locuto," v. 27. He answers 'spondeo' in a clear distinct voice, and becomes liable, possibly to his great detriment. The words 'Eja, ne prior,' &c., may represent what is passing in Horace's own mind, as some suppose, but more probably he means them for the words of Janus, to whom he attributes the prompting of his zeal.

26. *Interiore diem gyro trahit*] Cicero renders a line of Aratus respecting the Cynosura, "Nam cursu interiore brevi convertitur orbe" (De N. D. ii. 41). The notion is that of the heavenly bodies moving round a centre in a series of orbits of which the diameters gradually diminish, and in the winter solstice traversing the innermost and shortest circle. ['Bruma' is the winter solstice.]

29. *improbus urget iratis precibus*] 'Improbus' means here 'hot tempered,' and 'precibus' curses, as in Epod. v. 86. [Doederlein writes 'Quid tibi vis insane, et quam rem agis improbus?' He is right in arguing that 'improbus' more properly applies to Horace.] 'Tu pulses' is an angry way of speaking, 'are you the man to knock down every thing in your way;' as in the next Satire (v. 40), "Tu, cum sis quod ego et fortassis nequior, ultro Insectere." There is sarcasm in 'memori,' as if he was not likely to forget his duty to the great man. He says he feels an inward pleasure at the testimony thus borne to his intimacy with Maecenas: so at least I understand the words 'hoc juvat,' &c. Orelli [and Ritter] say he is delighted to run back to Maecenas. I do not think that is the meaning. In v. 29 I have followed the reading of all the best MSS. Bentley and others have different readings. In a few MSS. 'tibi' has been inserted between 'quid' and 'vis' according to a common formula; and this has made it necessary to alter 'quas res' into 'quam rem,' which Bentley has done on his own authority; but three of Torrentius' had "quid tibi vis, quas res agis, insane?" 'Si recurras' means in the hopes of getting back, to see if you can get back. See S. 5. 87 n.

32. *atras—Esquilias*] See S. i. 8, Introduction. The former character of the place is expressed by 'atras,' gloomy. He says, as soon as he is near Maecenas' house he begins to remember a hundred different commissions entrusted to him by his acquaintance. They flit about him like a swarm of gnats, or any thing else that is teasing.

35. *Roscius orabat*] Roscius may be any body. It appears he had pressed Horace to appear next day, probably as his sponsor, at the Puteal Libonis. Acron on this passage calls it "locus Romae ad

"De re communi scribae magna atque nova te
Orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti."
"Imprimat his cura Maecenas signa tabellis."
Dixeris, "Experiar:" "Si vis, potes," addit et instat.
Septimus octavo propior jam fugerit annus
Ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum
In numero; dumtaxat ad hoc, quem tollere rheda
Vellet iter faciens et cui concredere nugas
Hoc genus: "Hora quota est? Thrax est Gallina Syro par?

quem veniebant foeneratores. Alii dicunt in quo tribunal solebat esse praetoris;" and Porphyrion on Epp. i. 19. 8, "Forum putealque Libonis Mandabo siccis," says, "Sedes praetoris fuit prope arcum Fabianum: dictum quia a Libone illic primum tribunal et subsellia collocata sint." The place or the neighbourhood was the resort of money-lenders (Ovid, Rem. Am. 561):—

"Qui Puteal Janumque timet celeresque Kalendas,
Torqueat hunc aeris mutua summa sui;"

and Cicero (pro Sest. 8) speaks of "puteal et foeneratorum greges." [' Puteal vocabatur locus in vicinia Fori, ubi erat columna etiam Maenia, apud quam debitores à creditoribus proscribebantur.' Schol. Bob. p. 295, ed. Orelli.] There are coins of Libo on the reverse of which is an altar crowned, with the inscription PUTEAL SCRIBON, which leads some to affirm that the 'puteal' was no more than an altar. [Agostini, Dialoghi, &c., p. 132. The inscription on the obverse is 'Libo Bon. Event.'] The request of Roscius that Horace would be there before the second hour, makes it appear as if his business was not with the praetor, who did not open his court till the third hour (S. i. 9. 35 n.).

36. *De re communi scribae*] The 'scribae' were classed in 'decuriae' and were a numerous body. Cicero (in Verr. ii. 3. 79, where see Long's note) calls them an 'ordo.' They formed a guild or company, and though they were employed in different branches of the public service, they had interests in common, and must have held meetings to discuss questions that concerned their body. As Horace had once belonged to them, and was now known to have influence, they wished him to attend their meeting on some particular occasion; so at least he puts it. [Doederlein contends that this passage shows that Horace still belonged to the body of 'scribae.']

38. *Imprimat his cura*] See Introduction. Suetonius (Octav. 50) says of Augustus, "In diplomatibus, libellisque et epistolis signandis initio sphinge usus est." He afterwards used a head of Alexander, and latterly a portrait of himself. The 'tabellae' of the text may have been a 'diploma,' so called from its consisting of two leaves, by which privileges of some sort were to be granted. 'Signum' expressed any work sculptured or engraved. Here it signifies a seal, which was usually set in the form of a ring. Gorlaeus' collection of engravings, which he calls Dactyliotheca, with the commentary of J. Gronovius, contains a great fund of information and amusement on this subject. After the conquest of Egypt the sphinx was a common symbol on seals, and Gorlaeus has one in his collection (p. ii. 190). Such a one is found in the notes of Burmann's edition of Suetonius (l. c.), with the inscription "CARISIUS. III VIR." T. Carisius was triumvir monetalis in the time of Augustus. The practice of kings delivering their rings to those whom they deputed to represent their own authority is of the highest antiquity. Pharaoh delivered his ring to Joseph, and Ahasuerus to Mordecai.

40. *Septimus octavo propior*] See Introduction.

42. *quem tollere rheda*] 'Rheda' is the name for a travelling-carriage. It appears to have gone upon four wheels, and to have been, sometimes at least, of capacious size, since Juvenal mentions a whole family travelling in one 'rheda' (S. iii. 10). The only other four-wheeled carriage we read of is the 'petorritum' mentioned above (S. i. 6. 104 n.). There were public 'rhedae' on the great roads for the benefit of travellers, and Horace and his friends performed part of their journey to Brundusium in these conveyances (S. i. 5. 86), and it appears from his language, 'hinc rapimur,' that they went pretty fast.

44. *Thrax est Gallina Syro par*]

Matutina parum cautos jam frigora mordent;"
Et quae rimosa bene deponuntur in aure.
Per totum hoc tempus subjectior in diem et horam
Invidiae noster. Ludos spectaverat una,
Luserat in Campo: Fortunae filius! omnes.
Frigidus a Rostris manat per compita rumor:
Quicunque obvius est me consulit: "O bone, nam te
Scire deos quoniam propius contingis oportet;
Numquid de Dacis audisti?" "Nil equidem." "Ut tu
Semper eris derisor!" "At omnes di exagitent me
Si quidquam." "Quid, militibus promissa Triquetra
Praedia Caesar an est Itala tellure daturus?"

Comm. Cruq. says "Thrax Gallina fuit secutor, Syrus autem retiarius, uterque gladiator." 'Thraces,' 'secutores,' and 'retiarii,' were three different kinds of gladiators. The first had their name from being armed like the Thracians with a short sword and round shield, from which they were sometimes called 'parmularii.' See Sueton. Vit. Domit. c. 10: "Patremfamilias, quod Thracem mirmilloni parem, munerario imparem dixerat, detractum e spectaculis in arenam canibus objecit, cum hoc titulo: Impie locutus parmularius." The MSS. vary between Thrax and Threx. Torrentius says the oldest MSS. have Threx. Orelli says Thrax is best supported. [Ritter has Threx.] Maecenas is supposed to ask Horace, among other trifling questions, whether he has seen the famous gladiators, and which is the better of the two.

45. *mordent*] 'Mordere' is said of both heat and cold. See Epp. i. 8. 5, "oleamque momorderit aestus." 'Rimosa' is intelligible enough. Comm. Cruq. compares it with 'patula' in Epp. i. 18. 70, "Nec retinent patulae commissa fideliter aures," and says the expression is from Terence (Eun. i. 2. 24):—

"Sin falsum audierim ac fictum, continuo palam 'st:
Plenus rimarum sum, hac atque illac perfluo."

48. *noster*] This is a familiar way of expressing 'myself.' Plautus has it in several places. See for one Epid. 1. 2. 52, "Novi ego nostros; mihi dolet, cum ego vapulo." The editions till Bentley all seem to have had a stop after 'invidiae,' joining 'noster' with 'spectaverat,' which leaves the first sentence too bare and elliptical. 'Spectaverat' and 'luserat' are the readings it appears of the best MSS. There is very little authority for 'spectaverit,' and only one MS. that Bentley can produce has 'luserit.' The subjunctive is more usual, as in S. i. 1. 45, but the indicative occurs below, S. 7. 68. 'Luserat' refers to ball-play. 'Fortunae filius' was a conventional phrase. Sophocles uses it (Oed. Tyr. 1080), ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτὸν παῖδα τῆς τύχης νέμων. ['Invidiae. Noster,' Ritter.]

50. *Frigidus a Rostris*] Suppose some bad news has been published in the Forum and got abroad in the streets. The 'rostra,' which Niebuhr (i. 406 n.) describes as "a stage of considerable length, with steps at each end of it, lying in the line between the temple of Castor and the Curia Hostilia," originally separated the comitium where the patricians met from the space where the plebeian assemblies were held, which was properly the Forum, though that name was popularly applied to the whole. C. Julius Caesar removed the 'rostra' to a corner of the Forum under the Mons Palatinus, and the building he erected was called after him. Here persons of all ranks met, and from this centre reports would naturally take their rise. The 'rostra' had its plural name from the beaks of vessels taken from the people of Antium (Liv. viii. 14), with which the stage was ornamented. As to the 'compita' see note on S. ii. 3. 25.

53. *Dacis*] See Introduction.

55. *Triquetra*] See Introduction. This is the ablative. 'Triquetra' signifies triangular, and is a name for the island of Sicily, called also Trinacria, from the three promontories. Caesar describes Britain also as "insula triquetra" (B. G. v. 13). Homer's Θρινακίη νῆσος (Odyss. xii. 127) is usually supposed to be the same word as Trinacria; [but it is plainly different.]

[56. *Praedia*] 'Praedium' may be either

Jurantem me scire nihil mirantur ut unum
Scilicet egregii mortalem altique silenti.
Perditur haec inter misero lux non sine votis:
O rus, quando ego te adspiciam?" quandoque licebit
Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis
Ducere sollicitae jucunda oblivia vitae?
O quando faba Pythagorae cognata simulque
Uncta satis pingui ponentur oluscula lardo?
O noctes coenaeque deum! quibus ipse meique
Ante Larem proprium vescor vernasque procaces
Pasco libatis dapibus. Prout cuique libido est
Siccat inaequales calices conviva, solutus
Legibus insanis, seu quis capit acria fortis

'urbanum' or 'rusticum,' either house and the land it stands on in a town, or land in the country. Hence we have two titles in the Digest, 8 Tit. 2 and 3, De Servitutibus Praediorum urbanorum, and De Serv. Praed. rusticorum.]

57. *unum scilicet—mortalem*] The Greeks use εἷς ἀνήρ in this way to express a superlative.

[59. *Perditur*] Lachmann, Lucret. ii. 829 proposes 'porrigitur,' another of his unlucky attempts to mend Horace. 'Perit' would be the common word.]

62. *Ducere*] 'To quaff the cup of oblivion.' See C. iii. 3. 34 n., and Aen. vi. 713:—

"—— Lethaei ad fluminis undam
Securos latices et longa oblivia potant;"

and Epod. xiv. 3.

63. *faba Pythagorae cognata*] The popular notion was that Pythagoras had taught his disciples to abstain from meat and beans, which class of vegetables he connected somehow or other with the human species in his doctrine of metempsychosis, though different reasons are assigned by different writers (Cic. de Div. i. 30; ii. 58. Plut. de Lib. Educ. c. 17. Diog. Laert. viii. § 24 and 34). Gellius (iv. 11) quotes Aristoxenus, who, in his work on the doctrines of Pythagoras, declared that above all vegetables that philosopher preferred the bean. Πυθαγόρας δὲ τῶν ὀσπρίων μάλιστα τὸν κύαμον ἐδοκίμασε· λίαν κινητικόν τε γὰρ εἶναι καὶ διαφορητικόν· διὸ καὶ μάλιστα κέχρηται αὐτῷ. Horace refers to the popular opinion that beans were forbidden to the disciples of Pythagoras, under the fanciful notion that in eating them they might be devouring their own flesh and blood. Hence the expression 'cognata,' and this is the allusion in Epp. i. 12. 21, "seu porrum et caepe trucidas." As to Horace's vegetable meals, see S. i. 6. 115.

65. *O noctes coenaeque deum*] Turnebus compares the frugal feasts laid out in the temples as described from his own observation by Dionys. Halic. (lib. ii. 23), ἐγὼ γοῦν ἐθεασάμην ἐν ἱεραῖς οἰκίαις δεῖπνα παρακείμενα θεοῖς, ἐν τραπέζαις ξυλίνοις ἀρχαϊκαῖς, ἐν κάνοις καὶ πινακίσκοις κεραμίοις, ἀλφίτων μάζας καὶ πόπανα καὶ ζέας καὶ καρπῶν τινῶν ἀπαρχάς, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα λίτα, καὶ εὐδάπανα, καὶ πάσης ἀπειροκαλίας ἀπηλλαγμένα. [But Horace means suppers prolonged to a late hour, suppers as happy as those of the gods.]

66. *Ante Larem proprium*] See Epod. ii. 66 n. 'Libatis dapibus' means that the master and his friends ('meique') dined lightly, and left the greater part of the dishes to his slaves. The master in this instance, as well as his slaves, dined in the 'atrium,' where the images of the Lares were placed. 'Libare' is to touch lightly. See Aen. v. 90, "inter pateras et levia pocula serpens Libavitque dapes;" and Ovid (Am. i. 4. 34):—

"Si tibi forte dabit quos praegustaverit ipse,
Rejice libatos illius ore cibos."

The distribution of the remains of the dinner to the slaves is mentioned by Seneca (Ep. 77): "Marcellinum admonuit non esse inhumanum quemadmodum coena peracta reliquiae circumstantibus dividuntur, sic peracta vita aliquid porrigi his qui totius vitae ministri fuissent."

[67. *Prout*] The complete formula is 'pro eo ut' (Cic. in Verr. ii. 3. 54; Ep. ad Div. iv. 5).]

69. *Legibus insanis*] See S. 2. 123 n.

Pocula seu modicis uvescit laetius. Ergo
Sermo oritur, non de villis domibusve alienis,
Nec male necne Lepos saltet; sed quod magis ad nos
Pertinet et nescire malum est agitamus: utrumne
Divitiis homines an sint virtute beati;
Quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumne, trahat nos;
Et quae sit natura boni summumque quid ejus.
Cervius haec inter vicinus garrit aniles
Ex re fabellas. Si quis nam laudat Arelli
Sollicitas ignarus opes, sic incipit: "Olim
Rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur
Accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum,
Asper et attentus quaesitis, ut tamen artum

Cicero, describing Verres' riotous living, says, "iste enim praetor severus ac diligens qui populi Romani legibus nunquam paruisset, illis legibus quae in poculis ponebantur diligenter obtemperabat" (Act. ii. 5. 11). One of the strictest laws of a banquet directed by a presiding symposiarch would have reference to the regulation of the quantity of wine to be drunk by each guest at each round. Horace's notion of liberty is to drink as much or as little as he pleased, which is expressed by 'inaequales calices.' ['Acria pocula;' 'acria' seems to mean 'strong,' and 'modicis' will be the opposite.]

70. *uvescit*] Lambinus introduced this reading from some of his MSS., which were confirmed by Cruquius, and since by many more. The old reading was 'humescit.' 'Uvescere' corresponds with Horace's word 'uvidus,' C. ii. 19. 18, "Tu separatis uvidus in jugis;" and iv. 5. 38, "Dicimus integro Sicci mane die, dicimus uvidi Cum sol Oceano subest."

72. *Nec male necne Lepos saltet*] Lepos was a 'mimus' who was so named according to the Scholiasts, and as the name itself imports, "quod jucunde et molliter saltaret et eloqueretur." The business of the 'mimi,' as of the 'mimae' (S. i. 2. 2 n.), was to recite poetry as well as to act parts in the farces that bore the same name (S. i. 10. 6 n.). The word 'saltare' was applied to all the pantomimic acting and the motion of the limbs in dumb show. See S. i. 5. 63, where Messius calls upon Sarmentus to act Polyphemus—"Pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat," where 'saltaret' is equivalent to 'movetur' in "Nunc Satyrum nunc pastorem Cyclopa movetur" (Epp. ii. 2. 125).

[73. *utrumne—an*] Comp. Epod. i. 7.]

75. *usus rectumne*] Cicero makes Laelius indignantly deny the doctrine that makes utility the foundation of friendship, and he says with much truth and delicacy, "non enim tam utilitas parta per amicum quam amici amor ipse delectat" (Lael. c. 14). There is more in the same strain in c. 8, where he makes virtue the basis of friendship. Ovid (ex Pont. ii. 3. 7) says mournfully enough:—

"Turpe quidem dictu sed (si modo vera fatemur)
Vulgus amicitias utilitate probat."

The other subject, 'natura boni summumque,' is discussed at large in Cicero's treatise 'de Finibus Bonorum et Malorum,' and was a common-place in Horace's day, as it has been in all ages. 'Summum' represents the Greek τέλος, 'the end proposed,' so frequent in Aristotle and the philosophers.

77. *Cervius*] This was an old neighbour of Horace, and that is all we know. Arellius was some rich man, careful about his money.

78. *Si quis nam*] Nearly all the old editions have 'nam si quis,' but the MSS. are mostly in favour of 'si quis nam,' which Bentley restored to the text, and most of the modern editors have it so. The 'nam' is awkwardly placed.

79. *Olim*] 'Once upon a time:' a common way of beginning a story that does not profess to be true.

82. *attentus*] This is a common word for what we should call 'close.' See Epp. i. 7. 91; ii. 1. 172. ['Attentus ut' is like 'mirus ut,' Epod. xvi. 31 n.; but the meaning of 'attentus' requires a qualifi-

Solveret hospitiis animum. Quid multa? neque ille
Sepositi ciceris nec longae invidit avenae,
Aridum et ore ferens acinum semesaque lardi
Frusta dedit, cupiens varia fastidia coena
Vincere tangentis male singula dente superbo;
Cum pater ipse domus palea porrectus in horna
Esset ador loliumque, dapis meliora relinquens.
Tandem urbanus ad hunc: 'Quid te juvat,' inquit, 'amice,
Praerupti nemoris patientem vivere dorso?
Vis tu homines urbemque feris praeponere silvis?
Carpe viam, mihi crede, comes; terrestria quando
Mortales animas vivunt sortita, neque ulla est
Aut magno aut parvo leti fuga: quo, bone, circa,
Dum licet in rebus jucundis vive beatus;
Vive memor quam sis aevi brevis.' Haec ubi dicta
Agrestem pepulere, domo levis exsilit; inde
Ambo propositum peragunt iter, urbis aventes
Moenia nocturni subrepere. Jamque tenebat
Nox medium caeli spatium cum ponit uterque
In locuplete domo vestigia, rubro ubi cocco
Tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos,

cation, which is effected by 'tamen.'] Comp. S. 7. 4, 'ut vitale putes.'

84. *nec longae invidit avenae*] This construction is Greek: φθονεῖν τινί τινος. The Latin construction is with the accusative and dative, as S. i. 6. 49: "honorem Jure mihi invideat quivis;" Epp. i. 14. 41: "Invidet usum Lignorum et pecoris tibi." Lambinus introduced the reading 'illi' from nearly all his MSS. Torrentius and Cruquius have 'illi.' The old editions have nearly all 'ille,' and Fea mentions a large number of MSS. with that reading. Quintilian quotes the passage as a graecism, with 'illi' (Inst. ix. 3). Bentley and the late editors adopt 'ille.' The 'avena' here is the cultivated oat, and 'longae' describes the grain. The wild oat Virgil distinguishes from this by the epithet 'sterilis' (G. i. 153), and couples it with the 'lolium,' or tare, with which the host on this occasion satisfied himself.

87. *male*] This goes with 'tangentis,' and is equivalent to 'vix.'

89. *Esset ador loliumque*] The 'ador' was that coarse kind of grain which was called ζειά by the Greeks, but the name was applied to grain in general, and in the form 'adorea' signified the supply of corn given to soldiers after a victory, and hence was used as synonymous with victory itself. (See C. iv. 4. 41 n.)

93. *mihi crede*] These words are parenthetical, as Ovid (Am. ii. 2. 9): "Si sapis o custos, odium, mihi crede, mereri Desine." The language that follows is very like that of Hercules in Euripides' Alcestis (799 sqq.).

βροτοῖς ἅπασι κατθανεῖν ὀφείλεται,
κοὐκ ἔστι θνητῶν ὅστις ἐξεπίσταται
τὴν αὔριον μέλλουσαν εἰ βιώσεται —
ταῦτ' οὖν ἀκούσας καὶ μαθὼν ἐμοῦ πάρα
εὔφραινε σαυτόν, πῖνε, τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν
βίον λογίζου σόν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς τύχης.

['Carpe viam:' come, begin the journey at once with me. Comp. C. i. 11. 8.]

98. *pepulere*] This is used absolutely in the sense of 'movere.'

100. *nocturni*] See C. i. 2. 45 n. ['Subrepere,' 'to arrive under the walls while it was night.' We are left to suppose that they would find their way into the town.]

103. *canderet vestis eburnos*] On the 'stragula vestis' see S. 3. 118 n. The sides of the couches were sometimes veneered with ivory. Fire is said 'can-

Multaque de magna superessent fercula coena,
Quae procul exstructis inerant hesterna canistris.
Ergo ubi purpurea porrectum in veste locavit
Agrestem, veluti succinctus cursitat hospes
Continuatque dapes nec non verniliter ipsis
Fungitur officiis, praelambens omne quod affert.
Ille cubans gaudet mutata sorte bonisque
Rebus agit laetum convivam, cum subito ingens
Valvarum strepitus lectis excussit utrumque.
Currere per totum pavidi conclave, magisque
Exanimes trepidare simul domus alta Molossis
Personuit canibus. Tum rusticus: 'Haud mihi vita
Est opus hac,' ait, 'et valeas; me silva cavusque
Tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur ervo.'"

dere,' and the flaming drapery of the couch is described by the same word, which is not applied in this sense elsewhere. 'Fercula' was the name for the different courses, of which the 'coena' usually consisted of three, called 'prima,' 'secunda,' 'tertia coena.' The word, like 'feretrum,' contains the root 'fer' of 'fero,' and so its first meaning may have been the tray or dish on which the viands were brought. It seems here to mean the viands themselves; 'many courses were left' would mean nothing. 'Procul' signifies 'hard by,' as in Epp. i. 7. 32. The remains of the evening's 'coena' had been collected and put into baskets and left in the 'triclinium' till the morning, and the purple coverings were still exposed waiting till the servants should cover them (S. 4. 84 n.).

107. *veluti succinctus*] 'Like one tucked up' as the slaves when on duty. (S. i. 5. 5 n.) The duties of the 'structor' are those the host is here represented as performing. It was his province to arrange the dishes and see that they were properly served up. He runs about, puts one course after another on the table ('continuatque dapes'), and tastes the dishes to see if they are properly seasoned. 'Praegustatores' were regularly employed only at the tables of the emperors. Halotus, a eunuch, is mentioned as serving the emperor Claudius in this capacity, and as having been, according to some reports, the agent of his death. (Sueton. Claud. 44; Tac. Ann. xii. 66.) Lipsius on the latter place says that the practice was begun by Augustus, and the title 'praegustator, a potione,' occurs in inscriptions. The custom was imitated from Eastern courts. (See Xenoph. Cyrop. i. 3. 9.)

[111. *agit laetum convivam*] 'Plays the merry guest.' The Romans applied the word to express acting a part. But the mouse was really enjoying himself.]

112. *Valvarum strepitus*] The servants coming in early to clean the room interrupt the banqueters and rouse the watchdogs, whose barking terrifies them still more. The distinction between 'valvae' and 'fores,' that the latter opened outwards, 'foras,' and the others inwards, has been disproved by Becker (Gall. Sc. ii. Ex. 1). There was a dog, or more than one, kept in most houses, in the 'cella ostiarii,' the porter's chamber at the side of the 'ostium.' At the entrance of the house at Pompeii, which has received the name of the Tragic Poet's House, there was discovered worked in mosaic on the pavement a large dog, black and white, with a red collar, with fierce aspect, and as if ready to spring upon the person who entered. Beneath it are the words "Cave Canem." Such dogs were occasionally painted on the wall, as Petronius relates. 'Conclave' is the general term for any chamber or suite of chambers under one lock or bolt. As to Molossis see Epod. vi. 5.

SATIRE VII.

The substance of this Satire Horace puts into the mouth of his slave Davus, giving him liberty to express himself as he pleases on the day of the Saturnalia, when much licence was granted to slaves in particular. Davus takes advantage of the permission given him to abuse his master, and to taunt the rich with a slavery (to their passions and to the world) harder and more stupid than his own. He also taunts Horace with his instability and weakness of purpose, which part of the Satire appears to me to be the most natural and amusing (see note on v. 23). The rest contains a great deal that is disagreeable and much that is common-place. It may perhaps represent the habit of talking trash under the name of philosophy, which those who pretended to be of the Stoic school had established, and the humour would be more perceptible to a Roman of the day than it is now. The commentators speak highly of the wit of this Satire, but most of them make little distinction, and praise all alike.

There is no trace of a date in the Satire, but some think it probable that as S. 3 was written at one Saturnalia, and this makes mention of the same festival, and touches like the other upon Stoic doctrines, it was perhaps written a year after the above. I do not see any force in this, nor does it appear necessary to suppose the Satire was written at or near the Saturnalia. That way of introducing the subject might have suggested itself at any time of the year.

ARGUMENT.

I have been long a listener, my master, and though I wish to say a few words, I know my position, and am afraid.

Is that Davus?

Even so, Davus your indifferent good slave.

Well, it's the Saturnalia: you may speak.

There are some men who are consistent in vice; others who are always hovering between right and wrong. There's Priscus, a man who changes every hour from the fop to the plain man, from the stately to the humble, from the rake to the philosopher, the very type of mutability. Volanerius the gamester, when he could no longer hold the dice-box for the gout, hired a boy to do it for him. But he in his consistency was better off than the other man in his inconsistency.

What does all this refer to, you rascal?

To you.

What do you mean, scoundrel?

Why you profess to praise the good old times, but wouldn't go back to them if you might. In the town you pine for the country, in the country you cry up the town. If you are not invited out, you pretend you are glad to stay at home; if an invitation comes, off you fly and leave your poor guests in the lurch; gluttons they are no doubt, but are you less so yourself?

Suppose I should prove that you are sillier even than I your slave? Don't be angry, and I will tell you what I have picked up at the philosopher's.

This man goes after his neighbour's wife, I after a common woman: which of us deserves most to be hanged? I incur no disgrace and no danger. You are obliged to put on all sorts of disguises, trembling with a mixture of lust and fear. Why you might as well go hire yourself for a gladiator as submit to be tucked into a box to escape an angry husband. You are much worse than the woman you seduce, and deserve a heavier punishment. If you get out of the scrape, of course you'll take care not to get into it again. Not a bit. You will seek the first opportunity

to renew your terrors and your punishment. Do you call yourself my master, you whom no emancipation could free from bondage? I am your vicarius if you please, or your fellow-slave. You are but a puppet, and your passions the strings that work it.

Who then is free? He who has command over himself, who can bid defiance to his lusts, and look down upon honours, who is complete in himself and proof against the rubs of the world and of fortune. Do you recognize yourself here? Why your mistress cheats you, dismisses, recalls you, and you cannot get your neck out of the yoke; and yet you cry, I am free! Then you let your senses be run away with by a fine picture; and while poor Davus is abused if he stops for a moment to look at a daub in the streets, you are a connoisseur forsooth. I am good for nothing if I am tempted with a cake piping hot. Are you more master of your appetite? Why am I worse than you? Your food will soon turn sour on your stomach, and your legs refuse to carry you. Which is worst, the slave who steals a scraper and gives it for a bunch of grapes, or the master who sells his lands to feed his belly? And then you can't live in yourself, but are always running away from care like a slave from his lord; but he follows you, go where you will.

Give me a stone.

What for? are you mad?

Be off with you, or I'll send you to work in the fields forthwith.

"Jamdudum ausculto et cupiens tibi dicere servus
Pauca reformido." "Davusne?" "Ita, Davus, amicum
Mancipium domino et frugi quod sit satis, hoc est,
Ut vitale putes." "Age, libertate Decembri,
Quando ita majores voluerunt, utere; narra."
"Pars hominum vitiis gaudet constanter et urget
Propositum; pars multa natat, modo recta capessens,
Interdum pravis obnoxia. Saepe notatus
Cum tribus annellis, modo laeva Priscus inani,

1. *Jamdudum ausculto*] We may suppose Horace has been talking to a friend upon subjects that have attracted his slave's attention, and give rise to the points he argues. Or he may have been giving Davus some good advice, and he offers him a homily in return, recommending him, as Acron says, to practise what he preaches.

3. *Mancipium*] This word, which properly signifies the act of taking possession, 'manu capiendo,' is applied here to the 'res mancipi,' the object of 'mancipium,' which in this instance is a slave. It is so used in Epp. i. 6. 39, "Mancipiis locuples eget aeris Cappadocum rex." Respecting the act of mancipation and the 'res mancipi,' see Smith's Dict. Ant., arts. "Mancipium and Dominium." As to 'frugi,' see S. 5. 77 n. ['Frugi quod sit satis:' 'honest enough.']

4. *Ut vitale putes*] 'That you need not think him too good to live' (S. 6. 82). As to the Saturnalia, see S. 3. 5 n. The month of December was dedicated to Saturnus. Horace speaks of the licence of that festival being a custom handed down from their ancestors.

6. *Pars hominum*] Davus avails himself without preface of his master's permission, and begins to moralize on the instability of some men, who never know their own minds. This character he applies to his master in v. 23 sqq.

9. *Cum tribus annellis*] This is mentioned as a large number. In later times the Romans wore a great profusion of rings on both hands. At this time they were only worn on the left. Gellius (x. 10), quoting as his authority Apion's work on Egyptian Antiquities, is the earliest writer who propagated the vulgar error that there was a nerve communicating between the fourth finger of the left hand

Vixit inaequalis, clavum ut mutaret in horas,
Aedibus ex magnis subito se conderet, unde
Mundior exiret vix libertinus honeste;
Jam moechus Romae, jam mallet doctus Athenis
Vivere, Vertumnis, quotquot sunt, natus iniquis.
Scurra Volanerius, postquam illi justa cheragra
Contudit articulos, qui pro se tolleret atque
Mitteret in phimum talos, mercede diurna
Conductum pavit; quanto constantior isdem
In vitiis, tanto levius miser ac prior illo,
Qui jam contento, jam laxo fune laborat."
"Non dices hodie, quorsum haec tam putida tendant,

and the heart, and that therefore rings were worn on that finger in particular, which absurdity (still commonly believed) Sir Thomas Browne has very learnedly disposed of (Vulg. Errors, iv. 4). Gellius says the ancient Greeks wore their rings on the same finger. The reason for their being worn on the left hand is sufficiently clear, particularly when they began to be set with stones and made of gold. They were more likely to be injured and to be in the way on the right hand.

Priscus would go abroad sometimes with the 'latus clavus;' at others he would appear with the 'angustus clavus.' He was rich enough to live in a fine house; but would from caprice go and take an obscure lodging, such as a poor man might be ashamed of. Comm. Cruq. who had 'doctor' for 'doctus,' says Priscus taught rhetoric at Athens. 'Doctor' appears in many MSS. I see no occasion with Bentley and others for supposing Priscus to have been in the habit of going backwards and forwards to Athens. He put on first one character and then another: now a man about town, and now talking of going to Athens as a philosopher. He was just such an unstable person as Tigellius is described to be in S. i. 3. 18: "Nil fuit unquam Sic impar sibi." He was "every thing by turns and nothing long." [inaequalis—ut: Epod. xvi. 31. n.]

14. *Vertumnis, quotquot sunt, natus iniquis*] Vertumnus was the god who represented change. Priscus was born when Vertumnus was angry (S. 3. 8 n., "Iratis natus paries dis atque poëtis"), and Horace strengthens it by saying all the Vertumni; as if every image of the god were a separate divinity, and all were angry when this fickle man was born.

15. *Scurra Volanerius*] He had the gout, which Horace says he richly deserved, and was so given to gambling (C. iii. 24. 58 n.), that when he could not handle the dice-box himself, he hired a boy to do it for him. 'Phimus' was the Greek word for what the Romans called 'fritillus.' From the shape it was also called 'turricula' or 'pyrgus' (πύργος), and that word appears in the text of the Scholiasts and in many of the old editions for 'phimum.' As to 'talos,' see S. 3. 171 n. They were sometimes thrown with the hand. ['Cheragra' the reading of a few MSS. Ritter observes that 'cheragra' has the first short, and 'chiragra' has the first long. He refers to Bentley, who only says that 'chiragra' ought to have the first long, which is true, if the Romans intended to represent χειράγρα. Persius (S. v. 58) has 'lapidosa chiragra fregerit articulos.']

19. *levius miser ac prior illo*] 'Levius miser,' 'less miserable,' is an unusual expression. The MSS. and editions vary between 'illo' and 'ille.' Bentley and many others before and after him have 'ille.' 'Illo' gives the simpler construction. 'Prior illo' means superior to that man who is always changing his character, one moment appearing strict, another loose, in his principles and conduct. The superiority of the man who is consistent in vice lies in his indifference to virtue, and the quietness of his conscience arising from that cause. In that sense he is better off, and less miserable than the other. Some MSS. have 'acrior illo.'

21. *Non dices hodie*] 'Hodie' is equivalent to 'statim,' 'this moment.' Doering interprets 'this day of the Saturnalia,' which destroys the force of the word altogether. 'Furcifer' is explained by Donatus on Terence (Andr. iii. 5. 12: "Tibi ut

Furcifer?" "Ad te, inquam." "Quo pacto, pessime?" "Laudas
Fortunam et mores antiquae plebis, et idem
Si quis ad illa deus subito te agat usque recuses,
Aut quia non sentis quod clamas rectius esse,
Aut quia non firmus rectum defendis, et haeres
Nequicquam coeno cupiens evellere plantam.
Romae rus optas, absentem rusticus urbem
Tollis ad astra levis. Si nusquam es forte vocatus
Ad coenam laudas securum olus ac, velut usquam
Vinctus eas, ita te felicem dicis amasque
Quod nusquam tibi sit potandum. Jusserit ad se
Maecenas serum sub lumina prima venire
Convivam: 'Nemon oleum fert ocius? Ecquis
Audit?' cum magno blateras clamore fugisque.
Mulvius et scurrae tibi non referenda precati
Discedunt. Etenim fateor me, dixerit ille,

ego credam, furcifer?") as a slave who for some slight offence was obliged to go about with a 'furca' round his neck, a sort of collar shaped like a V, in which the hands also were inserted. The master begins to see that Dāvus is aiming a stroke at him, and is growing angry.

23. *antiquae plebis*] 'Plebs' has not its distinctive meaning in this place. (C. iii. 14. 1 n.) Horace is no doubt touching his own infirmity here. He was fond of praising the simplicity of the olden time, but he was not the man to extricate himself from the degenerate habits of his own day ('nequicquam coeno cupiens evellere plantam,' which is taken from the Greek proverb ἐκτὸς πηλοῦ πόδα ἔχειν). He had been but lately perhaps writing the praises of a country life and sighing for his farm (in the last Satire); but when there we may believe he felt dull enough, and missed the society and elegancies of the city. Whatever his ordinary fare may have been, he had no objection to the tables of the rich, and was proud to be invited to the Esquiliae. It is this good-tempered raillery of himself that makes some of Horace's writings so agreeable, and the man himself appear so amiable. There is much humour in this part of the Satire. He is supposed to be congratulating himself upon being suffered to dine quietly at home when he gets an unexpected invitation from Maecenas to a late dinner. He immediately shouts for his lantern, scolds the servants if they keep him waiting a moment, and runs off as fast as he can, leaving in the lurch some persons to whom he had promised a dinner, and who go away disappointed and muttering abuse. [Ritter and others also suppose that 'nemon oleum' refer to the lantern. But Horace may mean oil for his hair, as Lambinus interpreted it.]

[24. *usque*] Doederlein connects 'usque' with 'ad illa' as in S. i. 2. 26, 'inguen ad obscoenum subductis usque.']

[30. *velut usquam*] 'As if you went any where on compulsion (vinctus).'—'Amasque quod:' 'and are well content that you are not required to drink any where.']

33. *sub lumina prima*] 'Immediately after the lighting of the lamps.' (Epod. ii. 44 n.) The ordinary dinner-hour was earlier (C. i. 1. 20 n.), but Maecenas' occupations protracted his 'solidus dies,' at the end of which he might be glad to get a cheerful companion like Horace to dine with him. 'Blaterare' is to bawl, or more commonly to babble and talk nonsense. 'Mulvius' may be any body, one of the numerous tribe of parasites. 'Non referenda precati,' uttering curses which the servants heard but must not repeat. See last Satire, v. 30, "iratis precibus." Estré observes (p. 441): "Habuit parasitos quoque suos Horatius. Quid mirum? Pascebat Diogenes mures: (Diog. Laert. lib. vi. c. 40). Collocandos autem censemus infra servos."

37. *dixerit ille*] Mulvius may be supposed to mutter this, as Horace goes off and leaves him without his expected din-

Duci ventre levem, nasum nidore supinor,
Imbecillus, iners, si quid vis, adde popino.
Tu, cum sis quod ego et fortassis nequior, ultro
Insectere velut melior verbisque decoris
Obvolvas vitium? Quid, si me stultior ipso
Quingentis empto drachmis deprenderis? Aufer
Me vultu terrere; manum stomachumque teneto,
Dum quae Crispini docuit me janitor edo.
Te conjux aliena capit, meretricula Davum.
Peccat uter nostrum cruce dignius? Acris ubi me
Natura intendit, sub clara nuda lucerna
Quaecunque excepit turgentis verbera caudae,
Clunibus aut agitavit equum lasciva supinum,
Dimittit neque famosum neque sollicitum ne
Ditior aut formae melioris meiat eodem.
Tu cum projectis insignibus, annulo equestri
Romanoque habitu, prodis ex judice Dama
Turpis, odoratum caput obscurante lacerna,
Non es quod simulas? Metuens induceris atque

ner. 'Nasum nidore supinor,' 'I snuff up my nose at the smell of a good dinner.' 'Nidor' means 'nidor culinae,' as in Juv. v. 162: "Captum te nidore suae putat ille culinae;" and Martial, i. 93. 9: "Pasceris et nigrae solo nidore culinae." 'Popino' is an idle dissolute fellow, a frequenter of 'popinae,' cook-shops. (S. 4. 62 n.) Suetonius (de Illust. Gram. c. 15) says that Lenaeus, a teacher at Rome and a freedman of Pompeius Magnus, used to revile Sallust the historian, and called him "lastaurum et lurconem et nebulonem popinonemque." 'Tu—ultro insectere,' are you the man to come forward and attack? that is, to be the first to do it. See S. 6. 30, 'tu pulses;' and C. iv. 4. 51 n.

42. *Quid, si me*] Davus goes on in his own person. Five hundred drachmae, reckoning the drachma and the denarius as nearly the same value (about 8½*d.*), which was the case about this time, amounts to 17*l.* 15*s.* of our money, and this was a small price, only given for inferior slaves. The price varied very widely according to the beauty of the slaves (of either sex), which enhanced their value more than any thing else, or according to their education, or skill in handicrafts, &c. 'Aufer me terrere,' literally 'away with that frightening me.' [See S. ii. 3. 236.] Davus sees his master frowning and lifting his hand to strike him. [Ritter observes, that the best MSS. have 'dragmis' in this passage.]

45. *Crispini docuit me janitor*] See S. i. 1. 120 n. Davus professes to have got at second hand from the slave of Crispinus the arguments he is going to propound. They are put generally, and he uses his own name; but the pronoun 'te' means any one. The 'janitor,' who was also called 'ostiarius,' kept the door of the house. He had a room on each side of the 'ostium,' which was a space between the outer and inner door.

47. *cruce dignius*] See S. i. 3. 82.

53. *annulo equestri*] See above, v. 9 n. The person is supposed to be an 'eques,' and one of the 'judices selecti' (S. i. 4. 123 n.), and to have put off his toga and thrown over him by way of disguise a loose cloak, 'lacerna,' which garment had sometimes a hood, 'cucullus,' to go over the head, and that is supposed to be the case here. Martial (xiv. 132): "Si possem, totas cuperem misisse lacernas," by which he means a 'lacerna' with the hood complete. The 'lacerna' was usually worn over the 'toga,' but here that garment ('Romanus habitus') is laid aside. The man's hair is scented with perfumed oil, like Varus' in Epod. v. 59. See Epp. i. 14. 32 n.

Altercante libidinibus tremis ossa pavore.
Quid refert uri, virgis ferroque necari
Auctoratus eas, an turpi clausus in arca,
Quo te demisit peccati conscia herilis,
Contractum genibus tangas caput? Estne marito
Matronae peccantis in ambo justa potestas?
In corruptorem vel justior. Illa tamen se
Non habitu mutatve loco, peccatve superne.

59. *Auctoratus eas*] Though gladiators were for the most part slaves or criminals, freemen sometimes sold their services in this capacity, and they were called 'auctorati,' and the price they received 'auctoramentum.' So Suetonius says that Tiberius exhibited gladiatorial shows to the memory of Augustus, and Drusus his grandfather, and to increase the number he hired several who had received their discharge, "rudiariis quoque quibusdam revocatis auctoramento centenum millium" (Tib. c. vii.). Such persons bound themselves by a very stringent bond to the 'lanista' who hired them. The words of this bond are given in a passage of Petronius (c. 117): "In verba Eumolpi sacramentum juravimus uri, vinciri, verberari, ferroque necari, et quicquid aliud Eumolpus jussisset; tanquam legitimi gladiatores domino corpora animasque religiosissime addicimus." The same words Seneca quotes (Ep. 37): "Promisisti virum bonum; sacramento obligatus es.—Eadem honestissimi hujus et illius turpissimi auctoramenti verba sunt uri, vinciri, ferroque necari;" and this explains Juvenal's "Scripturus leges et regia verba lanistae" (S. xi. 8). The word is said to be derived from 'auctor,' in the sense of 'venditor,' from the person selling his services, that being a particular sense of 'auctor' as opposed to 'emtor.' There is evidently a connexion between the two words, but it is not easy to see what it is; for 'auctor' is only applied to the seller as warranting the title. —From the above passages it is clear that 'uri' is absolute; it does not go with 'virgis' as some take it. [Some editors prefer 'uri virgis ferroque necari.' The infinitives depend on 'auctoratus.' It is 'Quid refert utrum eas auctoratus uri &c. an.']

60. *conscia*] See S. i. 2. 130, and Juvenal (iii. 49): "Quis nunc diligitur nisi conscius?" 'Conscius' means an accomplice. The man asks what difference it makes whether a freeman goes and lets himself to a 'lanista' to be beaten and tortured at his will, or runs the risk, in furtherance of his amours, of being shut up head and heels together in a dirty old chest by his mistress's slave-girl, to keep out of the way of her husband. [Comp. Juvenal, vi. 44.]

[61. *Estne*] This must be translated 'has not?']

— *Estne marito*] What were the provisions of the laws respecting adultery repealed by the Julia lex, passed A.U.C. 736 or thereabouts (C. iv. 5. 21), is not known. That they affected the wife's 'dos' we have seen in S. i. 2. 131. Gellius (x. 23) quotes a speech of the elder Cato, "De Dote," by which it appears that the husband had then power to put his wife to death if he caught her in the act of adultery; and if so he must have had that power at the time Horace wrote, for the law had not been altered. The words of Cato, who died B.C. 149, are these: "Vir quum divortium fecit mulieri judex pro censore est. Imperium quod videtur habet. Si quid perverse tetreque factum est a muliere, multatur: Si vinum bibit, si cum alieno viro probri quid fecit, condemnatur.—In adulterio uxorem tuam si deprehendisses, sine judicio impune necares. Illa te si adulterares digito non auderet contingere; neque jus est." This Davus would call hard measure against women: "Ecastor lege dura vivunt mulieres" (Plautus, Mercat. iv. 6. 1). The partiality which Davus' words imply was corrected by the above law of Augustus, which gave the husband power to kill the adulterer in certain cases, but not to kill his wife. It is clear from this Satire and the second of the first book that the injured husband might do pretty much as he pleased, or was able, to revenge himself on the adulterer, without fear of the law.

64. *Non habitu mutatve loco*] Davus says the woman may be bad, but she is not so bad as the man: she does not steal out of her own house to his in disguise, and is always afraid of his coming, mistrusting his promises of secrecy and fearing detection; while the man, with his

Cum te formidet mulier neque credat amanti,
Ibis sub furcam prudens dominoque furenti
Committes rem omnem et vitam et cum corpore famam.
Evasti, credo metues doctusque cavebis:
Quaeres quando iterum paveas iterumque perire
Possis, o toties servus! Quae belua ruptis,
Cum semel effugit, reddit se prava catenis?
Non sum moechus, ais. Neque ego hercule fur ubi vasa
Praetereo sapiens argentea: tolle periclum,
Jam vaga prosiliet frenis natura remotis.
Tune mihi dominus, rerum imperiis hominumque
Tot tantisque minor, quem ter vindicta quaterque
Imposita haud unquam misera formidine privet?
Adde super dictis quod non levius valeat: nam
Sive vicarius est qui servo paret, uti mos

eyes open, puts his head in the pillory, and risks the fury of the woman's husband and loss of fame, life, and every thing. In 'peccatve superne' there is an obscene meaning. As to 'furca,' see above, v. 22 n. 'Dominus' is a husband here as 'domina' is a wife elsewhere. See C. ii. 12. 13 n.

68. *Evasti*] See S. i. 1. 45 n.; ii. 6. 48 n. On the contracted form, see C. i. 36. 8 n. S. i. 5. 79 n.; 9. 73 n.

71. *prava*] 'Foolish.' 'Pravus' signifies that which is crooked, distorted, awry, and is applied both to folly and vice. S. i. 4. 79, "hoc studio pravus facis," that is, 'malicious;' ii. 2. 55, "Si te alio pravum detorseris," where it means out of the straight course.

76. *minor*] ἥσσων, a slave to.

— *quem ter vindicta quaterque*] 'Vindicta' here signifies the 'festuca' or rod laid on the shoulder of a slave, when the slave's freedom was given to him by the 'Manumissio per Vindictam' before the praetor, or perhaps also other competent magistrate. 'Vindicta' properly signifies the 'res vindicata,' and is derived 'a vindicando.' See Dict. Ant., art. 'Manumissio,' and 'Vindicatio.' Davus says that manumission repeated over and over again (though that involves an absurdity) could not deliver his master, as he called himself, from the bondage he was under to the world.

78. *Adde super dictis*] 'Dictis' is governed by 'adde,' and 'super' is used absolutely. Orelli makes 'super' govern 'dictis,' as in S. 6. 3 it governs 'his.'

79. *vicarius*] Cicero (in Verr. ii. 3. 38), speaking of one Diognetus as a slave of the lowest sort, says, "Vicarium nullum habet, nihil omnino peculii." The 'peculium' was that property which a slave might accumulate, and which conventionally was held by him independent of his master, and among the rest he might have a 'vicarius,' a slave to do his duty or help him in it. He was held to be 'quasi dominus' in relation to his 'vicarius' (see Mr. Long's note on Cic. in Verr. ii. 1. 36). In later times it appears that a slave might have several 'vicarii,' but at this time more than one was unusual (Becker, Gall. Sc. i. n. 5). What Davus says is, whether you choose to call the slave's slave his 'vicarius,' or substitute, as your custom does, or his fellow-slave (as strictly speaking he is, for except by permission a slave can hold no property independent of his master), what is my relation to you? I am your slave; you are the slave of your passions, which pull you about as the strings pull a puppet (which the Greeks called νευρόσπαστον). The ancients carried their mechanical skill in the construction of automaton figures as far as and perhaps farther than it has been carried since. A celebrated instance is that of Claudius' sham-fight in the Lacus Fucinus, during which a figure of Triton in silver rose up from the lake and blew a blast upon a trumpet (Sueton. Claudius, c. 21). Artists in this line were common among the Greeks and were called νευροσπάσται, αὐτοματουργοί. It appears from Herodotus (ii. 48) that ἀγάλματα νευρό-

Vester ait, seu conservus; tibi quid sum ego? Nempe
Tu mihi qui imperitas alii servis miser atque
Duceris ut nervis alienis mobile lignum.
Quisnam igitur liber? Sapiens sibi qui imperiosus,
Quem neque pauperies neque mors neque vincula terrent,
Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
Fortis, et in se ipso totus teres atque rotundus,
Externi ne quid valeat per leve morari,
In quem manca ruit semper fortuna. Potesne
Ex his ut proprium quid noscere? Quinque talenta

σπαστα, as he calls them, were in use among the Egyptians. Plato (De Legg. lib. i. p. 644) speaks of man's passions as Davus does: τόδε δὲ ἴσμεν, ὅτι ταῦτα τὰ πάθη ἐν ἡμῖν οἷον νεῦρα ἢ μήρινθοί τινες ἐνοῦσαι σπῶσί τε ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀλλήλαις ἀνθέλκουσιν ἐνάντιαι οὖσαι ἐπ' ἐναντίας πράξεις. Persius has imitated this passage like many others (S. v. 129):

"—— Sed si intus et in jecore aegro
Nascuntur domini, qui tu impunitior exis
Atque hic, quem ad strigiles scutica et metus egit herilis?"

83. *sibi qui imperiosus*] 'He who has control over himself.' Before Horace no writer uses this word with a case after it. Pliny uses the genitive, Seneca the dative, after 'imperiosus' in the places quoted by Forcellini.

85. *Responsare cupidinibus*] 'Responso' is repeated in v. 103 (where however see note), and Epp. i. 1. 68. "Fortunae responsare superbae." It seems to mean, to reply to on equal terms, and so to be a match for. The construction of the adjective and infinitive is common in the Odes, but not in the Satires or Epistles. See C. i. 1. 16 n.

86. *in se ipso totus teres atque rotundus*] 'In himself entirely smooth and round.' 'In se ipso totus' is explained by a similar passage in Cicero (Paradox. ii.): "Non potest non beatissimus esse qui est totus aptus ex sese, quique in se uno sua ponit omnia." [This passage also proves that the line should be pointed 'totus teres atque rotundus,' 'completely smooth and round,' as Doederlein properly says. He correctly remarks also that the Romans do not use three adjectives thus, 'totus, teres atque rotundus.' He compares S. ii. 3. 309, 'ab imo ad summum totus moduli bipedalis.' Ritter, who has the wrong pointing, has also the absurd explanation that 'teres' means round like a cylinder.] 'Mancus' means lame in the hand, as 'claudus' does in the foot. Ausonius has imitated Horace (Idyll. xvi.), and his words illustrate these:—

"Vir bonus et sapiens, qualem vix reperit unum
Millibus e multis hominum consultus Apollo,
Judex ipse sui totum se explorat ad unguem:
Quid proceres vanique ferat quid opinio vulgi
Securus, mundi instar habens teres atque rotundus
Externae ne quid labis per levia sidat."

Here 'rotundus' is explained by the likeness of the heavens, which Plato (Tim. p. 33) says the Deity σφαιροειδὲς ἐτορνεύσατο, as being most after his own image. A parallelogram was also an illustration of the ancients for a perfect man, taken from that saying of Simonides in the fragment quoted by Plato in his Protagoras (p. 339), and thus restored by Hermann:—

ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀλαθέως γενέσθαι χαλεπόν,
χερσίν τε καὶ ποσὶ καὶ νόῳ
τετράγωνον, ἄνευ ψόγου τετυγμένον.

Comp. Arist. Rhet. iii. 11. Eth. Nicom. i. 11, τετράγωνος. 'Teres:' C. i. 1. 28 n.

89. *Quinque talenta*] The Attic drachma of this period, which is here meant, was worth about the same as the Roman denarius, nearly 8½*d.* (see above, v. 43 n.). The mina was equal to 100 drachmae, and a talent to 60 minae. It was worth therefore about 212*l.*, and five talents 1060*l.* Davus reckons in the currency of Greece. The caprice of the man's mistress is described as before, S. 3. 260 sqq. His own bondage is very well described by Cicero (Paradox. v. 2): "An ille mihi liber cui mulier imperat, cui leges imponit, praescribit, jubet,

Poscit te mulier, vexat foribusque repulsum
Perfundit gelida, rursus vocat; eripe turpi
Colla jugo; Liber, liber sum, dic age. Non quis;
Urget enim dominus mentem non lenis et acres
Subjectat lasso stimulos versatque negantem.
Vel cum Pausiaca torpes, insane, tabella,
Qui peccas minus atque ego, cum Fulvi Rutubaeque
Aut Pacideiani contento poplite miror
Proelia rubrica picta aut carbone, velut si
Re vera pugnent, feriant, vitentque moventes
Arma viri? Nequam et cessator Davus; at ipse
Subtilis veterum judex et callidus audis.
Nil ego si ducor libo fumante: tibi ingens
Virtus atque animus coenis responsat opimis.

vetat quod videtur? qui nihil imperanti negare potest, nihil recusare audet? Poscit, dandum est; vocat, veniendum; ejicit, abeundum; minatur, extimescendum. Ego vero istum non modo servum, sed nequissimum servum, etiam si in amplissima familia natus sit, appellandum puto."

92. *Non quis*] This is the second person of 'queo.'

92. *Pausiaca torpes, insane, tabella*] Pausias was a native of Sicyon, one of the most celebrated schools of art, where there was a large collection of his pictures. Many were sold by the Sicyonian government to pay their debts, and most of them found their way to Rome. A very large one, painted with great boldness and skill, and representing a sacrifice, was transported to Rome by Scaurus when he was aedile, and at the time Horace wrote was kept in the porticus of Cn. Pompeius. The pictures of Pausias however were chiefly small, 'tabellae,' and among the most celebrated was the portrait of his mistress Glycera as a flower girl, *Στεφανήπλοκος* (Plin. N. H. lib. xxxv. c. 11, sect. 40), "parvas pingebat tabellas maximeque pueros;' but Pausias was also celebrated for his encaustic paintings, in which Pliny says he had no equal. He lived about the middle of the fourth century, B.C. 'Torpes' is a like expression to that in S. i. 4. 28, "Stupet Albius aere;" and 6. 17, "Qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus."

96. *Fulvi Rutubaeque aut Pacideiani*] These are all names of gladiators, as we may gather from the context. Pliny tells us it was the practice, when shows of gladiators were exhibited, for the exhibitor to set forth a picture of the games, to inform the public, such as we see now of conjurors, and the like; and these are the pictures Davus alludes to. They were done no doubt roughly, as he describes. "Pingi autem gladiatoria munera atque in publico exponi coepta a C. Terentio Lucano" (Plin. xxxv. c. 7, § 43). Cicero mentions a gladiator named Pacideianus, and he quotes the following lines of Lucilius:—

"Non spurcus homo sed doctus et acer
Cum Pacideiano hic componitur, optimus longe
Post homines natos [gladiator qui fuit unus]."

(De Opt. Gen. Orat. c. vi. See also Tusc. Disp. iv. 21, and Ep. ad. Qu. Fr. iii. 4.) Horace may have taken the name for any gladiator in consequence of the celebrity of this man. [Ritter says: "'pacidiani' unus Blandinius." 'Placideiani' or 'Placidiani' is the true reading.] Some of the old editions have 'placide Jani.' Fea refers to an inscription in Gruter's collection (p. 301), in which the name Placidianus occurs, and he adopts that orthography. 'Contento poplite' represents the attitude of the gladiators. The Scholiasts raise a doubt upon the point, thinking the words may apply to the spectator stretching himself on tip-toe to get a nearer view. [But there is nothing of this tip-toe in the words. 'Contento poplite' can only apply to the spectator, who stands staring at the pictures long enough to tire his hams.]

101. *callidus audis*] See S. 6. 20 n., and 3. 23: "Callidus huic signo ponebam millia centum."

103. *coenis responsat opimis*] It is usual to put a note of interrogation after

Obsequium ventris mihi perniciosius est cur?
Tergo plector enim. Qui tu impunitior illa
Quae parvo sumi nequeunt obsonia captas?
Nempe inamarescunt epulae sine fine petitae,
Illusique pedes vitiosum ferre recusant
Corpus. An hic peccat, sub noctem qui puer uvam
Furtiva mutat strigili? qui praedia vendit
Nil servile gulae parens habet? Adde, quod idem
Non horam tecum esse potes, non otia recte

'opimis,' and to take 'responsat' in the same sense as above (v. 85). I prefer taking it in the sense of 'corresponds to,' as 'responsura' in S. 8. 66. What Davus says I think amounts to this: 'I am good for nothing, because I am attracted by a cake just hot from the oven; you forsooth are virtuous and noble because you feast upon good things.' So the same opposition appears in these lines as in the two before. 'Libum' was a coarse sort of cake made of pounded cheese, eggs, and flour, all mixed together and baked (Cato, R. R. 75, Forcell.). There was another sort used in sacrifice (Epp. i. 10. 10 n.). The 'liba' Davus means were such as the good old woman at Bovillae made for the poor. See Ovid, Fast. iii. 667 sqq.:—

"Orta suburbanis quaedam fuit Anna Bovillis,
Pauper sed mundae sedulilatis anus.
Illa levi mitra canos redimita capillos
Fingebat tremula rustica liba manu.
Atque ita per populum fumantia mane solebat
Dividere; haec populo copia grata fuit."

[105. *plector enim*] 'I suffer in my back, that's the reason.' Davus has a whipping. 'Enim' is sometimes translated 'for,' but this translation will only suit some sentences. Caesar, B. G. v. 7: 'Ille enim revocatus resistere . . . coepit:' 'he began to resist, as might be expected, as a matter of course.' See Cicero, Verr. ii. 1. 9.]

— *Qui tu impunitior*] Persius has copied this way of speaking. See above v. 79 n.

[108. *Illusique pedes*] 'Literally, 'your feet mocked are unable to bear your diseased body.' The man has the gout in his feet. I do not suppose with Doederlein that 'illusi' has any reference to the incapacity of the feet to bear the paunch, and the derision of the spectators being excited by such a sight. The feet are mocked or impaired in their office by the excesses of the body. See 'illudere' S. ii. 8. 62.]

110. *Furtiva mutat strigili*] As to the construction with 'muto' see C. i. 17. 2. The 'strigil,' which the Greeks called στλεγγίς, was a scraper of bone or metal, of a curved form and with a sharp edge, with which the skin was scraped after bathing, or exercise in the gymnasium. See Becker's Gallus, 'Exc. on the Baths,' and Dict. Ant. on the same subject, for an account of these instruments. ['Sub noctem:' see Epod. ii. 44.]

112. *Non horam tecum esse potes*] Acron interprets this "non es tecum: i. e. non es sanus," which does not appear to be the meaning. To a man who has no resources in himself, or is afraid of his own conscience or his own thoughts, and resorts to amusements or other means of distractiou to divert his mind, these words apply. 'Tecum habita,' 'inhabit your own breast, make that your home' (Pers. S. iv. 52). Seneca (de Tranq. An. ii. 2) says: "aliud ex alio iter suscipitur et spectacula spectaculis mutantur, ut ait Lucretius: 'hoc se quisque modo semper fugit.' Sed quid prodest si non effugit? Sequitur se ipse et urget gravissimus comes." The quotation from Lucretius is taken from the third book, v. 1068. The whole passage will illustrate this of Horace. It is quoted on C. ii. 16. 19, which and other places of Horace there mentioned, may be compared with this. The difference between 'fugitivus' and 'erro' is explained by Ulpian (Dig. 21. 1. 17, § 14): "Erronem ita definit Labeo, pusillum fugitivum esse, et ex diverso fugitivum magnum erronem esse; sed proprie erronem sic definimus qui non quidem fugit sed frequenter sine causa vagatur, et temporibus in res nugatorias consumptis serius domum redit." That is, a 'fugitivus' is a slave who runs away outright; an 'erro' was an idle fellow who skulked out of the way to escape work or to amuse himself. There was the same distinction in the army between 'desertor' and 'emansor.' A 'fugitivus' was branded

Ponere, teque ipsum vitas, fugitivus et erro,
Jam vino quaerens, jam somno fallere curam:
Frustra; nam comes atra premit sequiturque fugacem."
"Unde mihi lapidem?"—"Quorsum est opus?"—"Unde sagittas?"
"Aut insanit homo aut versus facit." "Ocius hinc te
Ni rapis, accedes opera agro nona Sabino."

on the forehead, and hence he was termed 'literatus,' 'notatus,' 'inscriptus,' 'stigmosus,' 'stigmatias;' 'stigma' being the word to express the mark thus given. See above, S. 3. 281 n., and 5. 15 n.

116. *Unde mihi lapidem*] See above, S. 5. 102 n. Horace is supposed to grow angry beyond endurance at this home-thrust of his slave, and calls out for a stone, arrows, any thing to throw at his head. The man is bewildered with fear, and thinks his master has gone mad, unless, which was as good, he was making verses. He is, or affects to be, unconscious of the licence he has given himself, and the force of the truths he has been telling.

118. *accedes opera agro nona Sabino*] 'I will send you away to work with the other slaves (of whom therefore he appears to have had eight) at my farm.' It was a common punishment for a slave to be turned out of the 'familia urbana' into the 'familia rustica,' and set to work in the fields with chains on his legs. In Terence (Phorm. ii. 1. 19), Geta looks forward to being punished in this manner:—

"Molendum est in pistrino, vapulandum, habendae compedes,
Opus ruri faciundum."

And Grumio in Plautus (Mostell. i. 1. 15) says to his fellow-slave,—

"Sane credo, Tranio,
Quod te in pistrinum scis actutum tradier,
Cis hercle paucas tempestates, Tranio,
Augebis ruri numero genus ferratile;"

where 'genus ferratile' means the men with fetters, who are called in the same play (ii. i. 9) "ferritribaces viri."

SATIRE VIII.

This Satire represents a dinner given by a rich vulgar man to Maecenas and five of his friends. There is not so much to distinguish it in the way of humour as the subject admitted of. Few things present more scope for facetious satire than the airs of rich men, whose wealth is their one passport into what is called good society. This is a very slight sketch, and some of the force even of this is perhaps lost through our ignorance of little points of etiquette and culinary refinements observed by the Romans of that day.

The host's name is Nasidienus Rufus. Lambinus supposes Q. Salvidienus Rufus to be meant, a man of obscure origin whom Augustus advanced to equestrian rank for services rendered against Sex. Pompeius, and who was afterwards consul designatus. He put an end to himself in A.U.C. 714, which was long before this Satire was written, and the theory would not be worth mentioning if Heindorf and Buttmann had not supported it. Spohn (Jahn's Horace, Ed. ii. p. 271) supposes Q. Nasidius, one of the commanders under M. Antonius and mentioned by Dio Cassius (50. c. 13), to be the host. But as we cannot arrive at any real knowledge on the subject, and as the essence of the Satire consists in the obscurity of the person, it is useless to speculate about him.

Instead of telling the story himself, though it is probable from the tone of the Satire that he writes from a scene he had witnessed, Horace puts it into the mouth of his friend Fundanius, the comic writer mentioned in S. i. 10. 42 n.

It is impossible to conjecture with any probability the date of the Satire, though it may be assumed that it was written after Horace's intimacy with Maecenas had begun.

"Ut Nasidieni juvit te coena beati?
Nam mihi quaerenti convivam dictus here illic
De medio potare die." "Sic ut mihi nunquam

1. *Nasidieni*] See Introduction. The third and fourth syllables coalesce as in v. 75. 'Beati' means wealthy and favoured of fortune. See C. i. 4. 14 n.

2. *here*] "'Here' nunc E litera terminamus, at veterum comicorum adhuc libris invenio 'heri ad me venit:' quod idem in epistolis Augusti quas sua manu scripsit aut emendavit deprehenditur" (Quint. i. 7). 'Heri' is a dative form, 'here' an ablative; so we have 'mani' and 'mane' in the morning, 'vesperi' and 'vespere' in the evening. The termination in 'i' is the older of the two, and, from the above remark of Quintilian compared with this passage of Horace, it would seem as if the usage of the word was in a state of transition at this time. (See Key's L. G. 954.)

3. *De medio potare die*] Nasidienus dined early to make the most of his feast. But 'medio die' need not be understood literally. The 'prandium' was usually taken at noon. The dinner-hour was later.

In vita fuerit melius." "Da, si grave non est,
Quae prima iratum ventrem placaverit esca."
"In primis Lucanus aper; leni fuit Austro
Captus, ut aiebat coenae pater; acria circum
Rapula, lactucae, radices, qualia lassum
Pervellunt stomachum, siser, allec, faecula Coa.
His ubi sublatis puer alte cinctus acernam

(C. i. 1. 20 n.) Busy men, as in S. 7. 33, sat down by candle-light. 'De medio die' is like 'de nocte' in Epp. i. 2. 32, 'media de luce,' Epp. i. 14. 34. Professor Key thinks that in this use of 'de' the notion of a part of time is contained, and that it may therefore be best rendered by our preposition 'by' or 'in the course of' (L. G. 1326, *h*). 'De medio die' means 'after mid-day,' but in some cases it must note proximity to mid-day, or it would have no meaning. [See S. ii. 3. 238 n.]

4. *fuerit melius*] See S. 6. 4 n.

— *Da, si grave non est*] I like this reading better than 'dic,' though no MS. authority was produced for it till Fea discovered it in a few of his, which he calls "optimae notae." Pottier, editing from the Parisian MSS., has 'da,' and gives no various reading whatever. Several editions of the sixteenth century have 'da,' but the earlier have 'dic.' Comm. Cruq. says: "dic, ait Horatius," from which it is justly inferred that he had another reading, and that 'dic' is his gloss upon it. There is sufficient authority therefore for 'da,' though there is much more for the other. Bentley says 'da' is only the interpolation of "pexus nescio quis magistellus," who found it in Virgil (Ecl. i. 19), "sed tamen iste Deus qui sit da, Tityre, nobis," and therefore thought Horace must have used the same word. He is very angry with the 'ignotus homuncio,' but as the MSS. have come to his assistance the word may be received, and it is I think a good one. Terence uses it: "Nunc quam ob rem has partes didicerim paucis dabo" (Heaut. Prol. 10). From the meaning of this word, 'to put,' this application of it is easily derived. [Ritter has 'dic.']

5. *iratum ventrem placaverit*] Compare S. 2. 18: "Latrantem stomachum." Both passages put together suggest the idea of a sop thrown to an angry dog to keep him quiet. Perhaps that notion, or something of the sort, suggested this line. 'Placaverit' is a more suitable word than the reading 'pacaverit.' It applies better to 'iratum.'

6. *Lucanus aper*] See S. 3. 234; 4. 42 n. No mention is made of a 'promulsis' (S. i. 3. 6 n.), and the things of which it was usually in a great measure composed were sent up in the same dish with the boar, which was generally served whole, and was the chief dish, 'caput coenae.' Turnips, lettuces, radishes, parsnips, with pickles and sauces of various descriptions (S. 4. 73 n.), generally formed part of the 'gustus' or 'promulsis' which preceded the 'fercula' or courses of which the regular 'coena' consisted. The boar was killed, the host (called 'coenae pater' with a sort of mock respect) informed his guests, when the south wind was not at its worst, meaning, I suppose, that when this wind ('scirocco') was blowing hard the meat would soon spoil, if he had any meaning at all.

10. *His ubi sublatis*] The narrator is inclined to make a short business of the viands, but he is brought back to them afterwards. The meat being removed (and though he only mentions one course here, we may gather from what comes presently that there was no lack of dishes, and therefore probably there were the usual courses), a slave, with his clothes well tucked up, 'succinctus' (S. 6. 107 n.), came and wiped the table with a handsome purple towel, and another gathered up whatever had fallen or had been thrown on the floor, which at the same time he strewed with saw-dust, perhaps scented (S. ii. 4. 81). The ancients, eating with their fingers and without plates, threw away the bones and other parts of their food that they did not eat: such were "the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table" which Lazarus was glad to pick up and eat. 'Gausape, -is' (other forms of which are 'gausapa,' 'gausape, -es,' 'gausapum') was a woollen cloth of foreign manufacture. The table was of maple wood, which was not the most costly (S. 2. 4 n.), but not shabby as Orelli says. I understand such tables are favourites in good Italian houses still.

Gausape purpureo mensam pertersit, et alter
Sublegit quodcunque jaceret inutile quodque
Posset coenantes offendere, ut Attica virgo
Cum sacris Cereris procedit fuscus Hydaspes
Caecuba vina ferens, Alcon Chium maris expers.
Hic herus: Albanum, Maecenas, sive Falernum
Te magis appositis delectat, habemus utrumque."
"Divitias miseras! Sed quis coenantibus una,

When the litter is cleared away and the table wiped, two slaves, one from the East and named after his native river, the other a Greek, walk in with two 'amphorae,' one of Caecuban, the other of Chian wine. They are represented as entering in a solemn and stately manner, like the *κανηφόροι* who carried the baskets in procession at the festival of Ceres. (S. i. 3. 11 n.) On the Caecuban and other Italian wines here named, see C. i. 9. 7 n. Pliny (xxiii. 1) says that Caecuban wine was not grown in his day, and that the Setian, which was highly valued by Augustus, was very rare. There are some good wines made in the Levant now, such as those of Thera (Santorin) and Tenedos.

15. *Chium maris expers*] Strange as it is, salt water was mixed with the sweet wines imported from the Greek isles. In the treatises de Re Rust. of Columella (xii. 21. 37) and of Cato (xxiv. 105) directions are given as to the proportion that was advisable of salt water to wine. Columella directs that the water be boiled down to about a third part, and that a 'sextarius' of water be added to an 'amphora' of wine, which is about the proportion of a pint to six gallons. Some, he says, add even two or three 'sextarii,' and he would like to do the same if it could be done without betraying a saline taste. Cato has given receipts for cooking (as it is called) native wines so as to imitate the Greek, and salt water forms an ingredient. He says, speaking of one of these compounds: "non erit deterius quam Coum." It is said that the practice arose out of the circumstance of a slave, who had stolen some of his master's wine, filling up the deficiency with sea-water, which was thought to have improved the flavour. An accident is said to have led to a similar improvement in the manufacture of a certain kind of beer at Newhaven, on the Sussex coast, which goes by the name of Tipper ale. Horace perhaps refers to this practice, and means that the wine had not been prepared, and was of inferior quality. Other critics suppose that this pretended Chian had in fact never crossed the seas, but had been concocted at home; but this, I think, is doubtful. Orelli and most of the commentators adopt the first opinion after the Scholiasts. Persius (vi. 39 n.):

"—— postquam sapere urbi
Cum pipere et palmis venit nostrum hoc maris expers,"

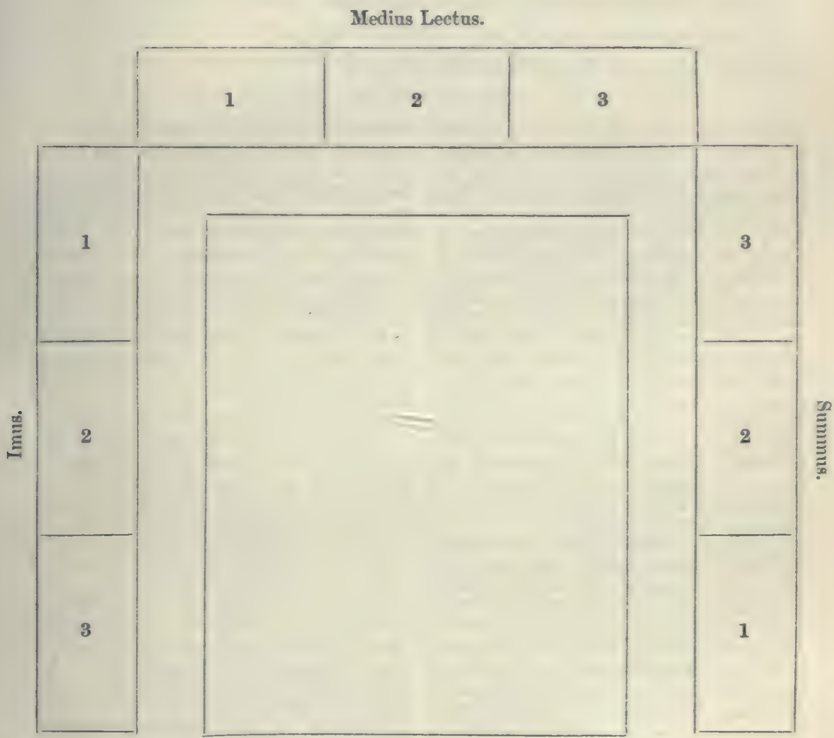
where 'sapere maris expers' perhaps means a learning without salt, that is, without wit. [Doederlein takes 'maris expers' to mean 'ein Castrat;' and he understands 'maris expers' in Persius in a like sense, 'this unmanned or unmanly philosophy.' It is possible that his interpretation of Persius may be right; but he will not easily convince us that he has understood Horace.] In Plautus (Curcul. i. 1. 76) Phaedromus says: "Ei est nomen lenae Multibiba atque Merobiba." To which Palinurus answers: "Quasi tu lagenam dicas ubi vinum solet Chium esse," as if Chian wine was always 'merum,' 'unmixed,' which may help to explain Horace's meaning.

18. *Divitias miseras*] This exclamation is drawn from Horace by his friend's description, in which he who knew Nasidienus would see more to call for such language than lies on the surface. There has been nothing said hitherto to call forth particular remark; but the impression perhaps conveyed by what Fundanius has said was that of vulgar ostentation without taste on the part of the host. [I am inclined to accept Doederlein's interpretation of 'Divitias miseras;' that wealth brings trouble, because it is accompanied with great display and consequent anxiety to the possessor. He compares 'misera ambitio,' S. i. 6. 129, and 'misero cupidine,' Epp. i. 1. 33.]

Fundani, pulchre fuerit tibi, nosse laboro."
"Summus ego et prope me Viscus Thurinus et infra

19. *pulchre fuerit*] See above, v. 4, "Nunquam In vita fuerit melius." As to 'Fundanius,' see Introduction.

20. *Summus ego*] The company consisted, as was usual, of nine persons, who reclined on three couches. These were arranged so as to form three sides of a square with the table in the middle, the fourth end being open, thus:—



The 'medius lectus' was that at the top, the 'imus' was to the right, and the 'summus' to the left. On each couch were three persons. On the 'summus' Fundanius says he himself, Viscus, and Varius reclined. On the 'medius lectus' were Maecenas and the two uninvited friends he brought with him, Servilius Balatro and Vibidius. On the middle seat of the 'imus lectus' lay Nasidienus, above him Nomentanus, who acted as nomenclator (properly the duty of a slave, Epp. i. 6. 50 n.), and below him Porcius, another of his parasites. The place of honour (ὃν ὑπατικὸν προσαγορεύουσιν, Plut. Quaest. Conviv. i. 3) was the corner seat of the 'medius lectus,' and next to that, on the first seat of the 'imus,' was usually the place of the host. But it appears that Nasidienus resigned that place to Nomentanus, probably because he supposed him better able to entertain his guests than himself. The host usually reserved the 'imus lectus' for himself and his family, as Plutarch tells us in the above place. If they were not present,

Si memini Varius; cum Servilio Balatrone
Vibidius, quas Maecenas adduxerat umbras.
Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra
Ridiculus totas semel obsorbere placentas;
Nomentanus ad hoc, qui si quid forte lateret
Indice monstraret digito: nam cetera turba,
Nos, inquam, coenamus aves, conchylia, pisces,
Longe dissimilem noto celantia succum;
Ut vel continuo patuit, cum passeris atque
Ingustata mihi porrexerat ilia rhombi.

their places were usually occupied by dependents of the host (parasites), who filled up the table, and helped to flatter the host and entertain the company. This explains Epp. i. 18. 10, "imi Derisor lecti." Sometimes these places were occupied by 'umbrae,' brought by the invited guests. See Becker's Gall. exc. 'Triclinium.' By 'summus ego' Fundanius means that he occupied the farthest seat on the 'summus lectus.' The slaves in helping the wine began from this point, and went round till they came to the 'imus,' or third place in the 'imus lectus.' See Plautus (Asin. v. 2. 41), "Da, puere, ab summo. Age tu interibi ab infimo da savium." These words Demaenetus addresses to his wife, who, as above stated, would, according to custom, be where he says, 'ab infimo,' 'ima.'

— *Viscus Thurinus*] See S. i. 9. 22 n.; 10. 83 n. He appears to have been a native of Thurii, in Lucania, which was made a Latin colony A.U.C. 559 (Livy, xxxv. 9), and received the name of Copiae. But the old name, given it at the foundation by the Athenians (B.C. 443), continued to be used as well as the new. [As Viscus is named, Thurinus, Orelli and others suppose that he is not one of the Visci mentioned in S. i. 10. 83.] As to Varius, see S. i. 5. 40 n. Nothing is known of Servilius Balatro (as to whose cognomen, see S. 2. 2 n.) or Vibidius. The second syllable of Servilius on coins is long; the third therefore coalesces with the last. Maecenas had taken them with him as 'umbrae,' which means persons taken by guests without special invitation from the host. (Epp. i. 5. 28 n.) The MSS. and editions vary between 'quos' and 'quas.' Orelli prefers 'quas.' 'Super ipsum' means on the seat above the host (see last note). As to Nomentanus, see S. i. 1. 102. Porcius, Comm. Cruq. says, was a 'publicanus,' which is not worth much. Porcius seems to be occupied chiefly in filling his own belly, while the host and his other parasite are looking after the guests and doing the honours of the table. 'Placentae' were cakes, often sweetened with honey. [Ritter has 'simul absorbere.' There is authority both for 'simul' and 'semel.' Doederlein thinks that 'simul' expresses something beyond the bounds of probability; but the man swallowed several cakes, one at a time, as Ritter says.]

25. *Nomentanus ad hoc, qui*] 'Nomentanus was there for this purpose that he might —.' His business was that of nomenclator, to direct the attention of the guests to any dainties they might have overlooked, and to explain to them the mystery of each dish; for, as Fundanius says, the commonest viands were so dressed up with sauces, that they could hardly be recognized, or new sorts of dishes were put on the table, such as the viscera of different fish, turbot and plaice for instance. 'Passer' is described by Pliny (N. H. ix. 20) as a flat fish, and is generally supposed to be the plaice. 'Indice digito' is the forefinger: the middle finger was called 'famosus.' Persius calls it 'infamis' (S. ii. 33), and Martial 'impudicus' (vi. 70. 5). This name is given to it as the finger of scorn. The third finger was called 'medicus' or 'medicinalis,' for the same reason probably that it had the name 'annularis,' its supposed anatomical connexion with the heart. (See S. 7. 9.) By 'cetera turba' Fundanius means the uninitiated, Maecenas and his party. 'Ut vel continuo patuit' means that the nature and importance of Nomentanus' functions were shown on that occasion, when he handed Fundanius a dainty he had never tasted before, and yet these gentlemen knew what good living was.

Post hoc me docuit melimela rubere minorem
Ad lunam delecta. Quid hoc intersit ab ipso
Audieris melius. Tum Vibidius Balatroni:
Nos nisi damnose bibimus moriemur inulti:
Et calices poscit majores. Vertere pallor
Tum parochi faciem nil sic metuentis ut acres
Potores, vel quod male dicunt liberius vel
Fervida quod subtile exsurdant vina palatum.
Invertunt Allifanis vinaria tota
Vibidius Balatroque secutis omnibus; imi
Convivae lecti nihilum nocuere lagenis.
Affertur squillas inter muraena natantes

31. *melimela*] These were a sweet sort of rosy apple which, we learn from Varro (R. R. i. 59) were once called 'mustea,' and afterwards 'melimela.' The derivation of the name sufficiently marks their flavour, and Martial mentions them as vying with the produce of the hive: "Dulcibus aut certant quae melimela favis" (i. 44). [Heindorf supposes that the apples were served up in the middle of the dinner, whereas Nomentanus talked of these apples during dinner, having nothing better to say.]

34. *Nos nisi damnose bibimus*] See Terence (Heaut. v. 4. 9):—

"*Ch.* At ego si me metuis mores cave in te esse istos sentiam.
Cl. Quos? *Ch.* Si scire vis ego dicam: gerro, iners, fraus, helluo, Ganeo, damnosus."

Vibidius means that if this stupid dinner is to be the death of them, they had better have their revenge first, and drink ruinously of the host's wine: if they do not they will die unavenged. 'Moriemur inulti' is borrowed from the Epic style. See Aen. ii. 670; iv. 659.

35. *Vertere pallor tum parochi faciem*] Fundanius gives two reasons why the host turned pale when he heard his guests call for larger cups: because when men have drunk well they give a loose rein to their tongues, and because wine spoils the palate by destroying the delicacy of its taste. As to 'parochi,' see S. i. 5. 46. The host is so called as the man "qui praebet aquam" (S. i. 4. 88).

39. *Invertunt Allifanis vinaria tota*] Allifae was a town of Samnium, the capture of which by C. Petilius in the second Samnite War, A.U.C. 429, is related by Livy (viii. 25). The Romans did not retain it long this time, for fifteen years afterwards it was captured again by C. Marcius Rutilius (Liv. ix. 38). Comm. Cruq. says that there a large sort of cup was made of earthenware. This the context implies. 'Vinaria' is properly an adjective, and agrees with 'vasa' understood. It means ere the 'lagena' or 'amphora,' which differed in shape but not in use. Both were vessels either of clay, or sometimes latterly of glass, in which the wine was kept. Their contents were usually poured into a 'crater' for the purpose of being mixed with water. These persons helped themselves from the 'lagena,' and all followed their example, except the master and his two parasites (see above, v. 20). There was no symposiarch, no 'magister bibendi,' and the guests drank as they pleased.

42. *squillas inter muraena natantes*] As to 'squillas,' see S. ii. 4. 58. 'Muraena' was a lamprey, and accounted a great delicacy by the Romans, who appear to have sometimes kept them tame. They were brought chiefly from the coast of Sicily. See Martial (xiii. 80):—

"Quae natat in Siculo grandis muraena profundo
Non valet exustam mergere sole cutem."

Macrobius (Sat. ii. 11) and Pliny (ix. 55) relate, the one of L. Crassus and the other of Hortensius the orator, that they each kept a pet 'muraena,' and each shed tears when his favourite died. See Mart. (x. 30. 22):—

"Natat ad magistrum delicata muraena.
Nomenculator mugilem citat notum,
Et adesse jussi prodeunt senes mulli."

In patina porrecta. Sub hoc herus: 'Haec gravida,' inquit,
'Capta est, deterior post partum carne futura.
His mixtum jus est: oleo quod prima Venafri
Pressit cella; garo de succis piscis Hiberi;
Vino quinquenni, verum citra mare nato,
Dum coquitur—cocto Chium sic convenit, ut non
Hoc magis ullum aliud;—pipere albo, non sine aceto,
Quod Methymnaeam vitio mutaverit uvam.
Erucas virides, inulas ego primus amaras
Monstravi incoquere, inlutos Curtillus echinos,
Ut melius muria quod testa marina remittat.'
Interea suspensa graves aulaea ruinas
In patinam fecere, trahentia pulveris atri
Quantum non Aquilo Campanis excitat agris.
Nos majus veriti postquam nihil esse pericli
Sensimus erigimur. Rufus posito capite, ut si

The prawns were swimming in sauce, the composition of which the host goes on to describe himself, as a matter of too much consequence to be left to the explanation of his nomenclator. The materials were Venafran olive oil (C. ii. 6. 16 n.), 'garum' (a sauce made of the entrails and blood of fish, and here made from the scomber, perhaps the mackerel, caught in greatest abundance off the coast of Spain. See Pliny (xxxi. 8), "Garum ex scombro pisce laudatissimum in Carthaginis Spartariae cetariis;" and Martial (xiii. 102):—

"Exspirantis adhuc scombri de sanguine primo
Accipe faecosum, munera cara, garum,"

some Italian wine added while it was making, and some Chian when it was made; white pepper (S. 4. 74 n.) and vinegar made from Lesbian wine (C. i. 17. 21). Of the other ingredients Nasidienus boasts of having invented two himself; one was the 'eruca,' which we call the rocket, a vegetable of the genus brassica, and the 'inula campana,' 'elecampane,' the 'inula helenium' (ἑλένιον) of Linnaeus, a plant that grows in meadows and damp ground. It is used medicinally as a bitter. The last ingredient was the 'echinus,' a prickly shell-fish, thrown in without being washed, for the benefit of its saline qualities: for which addition to the sauce he gives credit to one Curtillus. The superiority of the 'echinus' to 'muria' (S. ii. 4. 65 n.) is here said to consist in the fact of the former coming fresh from the sea, and furnishing a more perfect brine.

[43. *Sub hoc*] 'Upon this,' when the lamprey appeared. See Epod. ii. 44 n.]

[50. The line 'Quod Methymnaeam' &c. is an example of careless writing. Horace simply means vinegar made by allowing wine of Methymna to become acid.]

54. *aulaea*] See C. iii. 29. 15 n. The host's tiresome dissertation was brought to a sudden close by the falling of the tapestry, which brought down among the dishes an immense cloud of dust. The guests fancy the house is coming down, but when they find the extent of the damage they recover themselves ('erigimur'). Rufus (Nasidienus) was so disturbed by this untoward accident that he put down his head and began to shed tears. Nomentanus comforts him with an apostrophe to Fortune, complaining of her caprices, the solemn hypocrisy of which makes Fundanius laugh so immoderately that he is obliged to stuff his napkin into his mouth to check himself. Balatro, who has a sneer always ready (μυκτηρίζων, see S. i. 6. 5), begins a long sympathetic and flattering speech, with which Nasidienus is highly pleased and comforted under his misfortune. A brilliant thought suddenly strikes him, and he calls for his shoes and goes out, on which the guests begin to titter and to whisper to one another, not wishing to give offence, or to speak out before the parasites and the slaves. (54—78.)

Filius immaturus obisset, flere. Quis esset
Finis ni sapiens sic Nomentanus amicum
Tolleret: 'Heu, Fortuna, quis est crudelior in nos
Te deus? Ut semper gaudes illudere rebus
Humanis!' Varius mappa compescere risum
Vix poterat. Balatro suspendens omnia naso,
'Haec est conditio vivendi,' aiebat, 'eoque
Responsura tuo nunquam est par fama labori.
Tene ut ego accipiar laute torquerier omni
Sollicitudine districtum, ne panis adustus,
Ne male conditum jus apponatur, ut omnes
Praecincti recte pueri comptique ministrent!
Adde hos praeterea casus, aulaea ruant si
Ut modo; si patinam pede lapsus frangat agaso.
Sed convivatoris uti ducis ingenium res
Adversae nudare solent, celare secundae.'
Nasidienus ad haec: 'Tibi di quaecunque preceris
Commoda dent! Ita vir bonus es convivaque comis;'
Et soleas poscit. Tum in lecto quoque videres
Stridere secreta divisos aure susurros."
"Nullos his mallem ludos spectasse; sed illa
Redde age quae deinceps risisti." "Vibidius dum
Quaerit de pueris num sit quoque fracta lagena,
Quod sibi poscenti non dantur pocula, dumque

[64. *suspendens—naso*] See S. i. 6. 5.]

72. *agaso*] This was a groom or mule-driver, or otherwise connected with the stables. Balatro means a sneer at the establishment, the out-door slaves being called in to wait at table and swell the number of attendants. [Ritter ridicules Heindorf and Orelli, who follows Heindorf, for supposing that Horace is speaking of a groom of Nasidienus. The clause 'si patinam . . . agaso' he says 'in thesi positum est, non de ministris Nasidieni dictum, qui satis cauti incedebant, v. 13.' Heindorf also supposes that the bread was burnt ('panis adustus'), but there is nothing about burnt bread in the Satire; on the contrary every thing at the dinner was good. So we cannot conclude that Nasidienus had an 'agaso' to wait; but still it is not clear why Balatro supposes the case of an 'agaso.' Krüger suggests that 'agaso' may mean here 'a clumsy waiter.' If the kitchen was some distance from the dining-room, the dishes would be carried there by slaves, who might not wait at table, and who might sometimes break a dish which they were carrying.]

77. *Et soleas poscit*] See S. i. 3. 127. The sandals were taken off before they sat down to dinner, for which therefore "soleas demere, deponere" (Mart. iii. 50. 3) were common expressions, as 'soleas poscere' was for getting up. The Greeks had the same custom and the same way of expressing themselves. See Aristoph. (Vesp. 103), *εὐθὺς δ' ἀπὸ δορπηστοῦ κέκραγεν ἐμβάδας*. In Plautus' play Truculentus (ii. 4. 12 sqq.), Dinarchus, when he finds his mistress cannot sup with him, exclaims, "Cedo soleas mihi! Properate, auferte mensam," though he had not sat down to table at all; and immediately afterwards, when she has pacified him, he exclaims, "Ah, adspersisti aquam: Jam rediit animus. Deme soleas. Cedo, bibam." In the next line an attempt seems to have been made to convey the notion of whispering by the sound of the *s* repeated.

Ridetur fictis rerum Balatrone secundo,
Nasidiene, redis mutatae frontis, ut arte
Emendaturus fortunam; deinde secuti
Mazonomo pueri magno discerpta ferentes
Membra gruis sparsi sale multo, non sine farre;
Pinguibus et ficis pastum jecur anseris albae
Et leporum avolsos, ut multo suavius, armos,
Quam si cum lumbis quis edit; tum pectore adusto
Vidimus et merulas poni et sine clune palumbes,
Suaves res, si non causas narraret earum et
Naturas dominus; quem nos sic fugimus ulti
Ut nihil omnino gustaremus, velut illis
Canidia afflasset pejor serpentibus Afris."

83. *Ridetur fictis rerum*] They pretend to be laughing at something else when Nasidienus comes in. As to 'fictis rerum,' see C. iv. 12. 19 n.; and 4. 76. 'Balatrone secundo,' Orelli says, is a metaphor from a favourable wind, as if it meant that Balatro helped the joke. This is not very satisfactory. Acron interprets it "ex tristi hilari facto," which belongs more to 'mutatae frontis.' Comm. Cruq. I think is nearer the meaning when he renders it "hypocritam agente, subsequente, subserviente; pocula etiam poscens secundabat omnia jocis suis." He played δευτεραγωνίστης who supported the principal actor, but was not so prominent. (Epp. i. 18. 14.) Balatro was a wit and sarcastic. He supplied jokes and the others laughed. 'Mazonomus' was a large round dish, properly one from which bread (μάζα) was distributed. Cranes became a fashionable dish with the Romans, but not till after this time, when storks were preferred (S. 2. 50 n.). The liver of a white goose fattened on figs, the legs of a hare served up separately, as being (according to the host), better flavoured when dressed without the loins, blackbirds burnt in roasting, and wood-pigeons with the hinder parts, which were most sought after, removed, these composed the last 'ferculum' brought in as special delicacies to make up for the late catastrophe. But the officiousness of the host destroyed the relish of his dishes, and the guests had their revenge by tasting nothing he put before them, and presently taking their leave.

[90. *pectore adusto*] Doederlein following Schol. Cruq. contends that 'adusto' means 'well roasted,' 'browned.']

[— *edit*] Ritter supposes that this is the indicative and not the subjunctive as in Ep. iii. 3: but his reasons for this opinion are not satisfactory.]

95. *Canidia afflasset*] Here is this woman again, the last time we meet with her. See Ep. iii. 8 n.; v. and xvii., Introduction, and S. i. 8, Introduction.

Q. HORATII FLACCI

EPISTOLARUM

LIBER PRIMUS.

EPISTLE I.

Some time after Horace had published his three books of Odes, and had, as it appears, laid aside that sort of writing, it seems that Maecenas, and probably his other friends, begged him to return to it. That is the obvious meaning of the remonstrance with which the Epistle opens. He expresses an earnest wish to retire into privacy, to abandon poetry, and to devote himself to the study of philosophy. He disclaims all connexion with sects, and professes in all humility, but not without some irony, to follow his own crude notions as a mere beginner; his hope and purpose, he says, is to carry virtue into active practice, as that which "Aeque pauperibus prodest, locupletibus aeque;" he recommends it as the panacea of life, as the only true wisdom; he looks upon the world as a shuffling scene of inconsistency, and men's judgments as shallow and vulgar; he even charges his patron himself with the prevailing levity.

We may infer from all this that Horace, who knew the world pretty well, and whose life had not been free from many vexations, arising out of the jealousies his popularity and his writings had occasioned, would have been glad to retire to his books and his reflections, not, as some have said, to the study of philosophical systems, for all of which I believe he had a contempt in his heart, as he cannot help showing even in his short summary at the end of this Epistle; the climax of his sermon on virtue is an irresistible joke at the expense of the Stoics, the most rigid though not the most practical advocates of virtue. Whatever views Horace had in respect to goodness and happiness were his own: and we can believe that one who had such perceptions of the follies and vices of the world was sincere in wishing to get away from it; that he was tired of a reputation which brought him into trouble; and that he was weary of writing verses to express a passion he never heartily felt and was still less likely to feel in his forty-fifth year. He did return to Ode writing, as we know, and wrote some of his best verses (but not his best love verses) long after he had pleaded his exemption with Maecenas. When this Epistle was written is not to be traced by any incidental allusions, and we can only suppose it was some time after the publication of the odes, which was not earlier than A.U.C. 730. The year 734 is assumed with some probability by Franke.

ARGUMENT.

Maecenas, more honoured than all the world, I have received my discharge: seek not to call me back; my years and my inclinations are not what they were. Let me hang up my arms and retire. A warning voice within bids me loose the aged steed lest he stumble at the end of his course. Verse I lay aside, and turn all my thoughts to philosophy and virtue, and am laying up stores of these.

(v. 13.) I belong, if you ask me, to no school, and own no master, but am borne along wherever the breeze may set: now all activity and virtue with the Stoics, now insensibly falling into the laxity of Aristippus. The days are weary till I shall have learnt to act out what neither rich nor poor, young nor old, can neglect with impunity. Meantime I can only take the little knowledge I have for my guide and comfort. If we cannot reach perfection, we may advance towards it. There are charms in philosophy for every disease. Ambition, envy, passion, sloth, intemperance, lust,—all that is most savage may be tamed if it turn a willing ear to instruction. The first step in virtue and wisdom is to abandon vice and folly. For instance, you who are hastening to be rich, and flying from the disgrace of poverty, will you not learn from the wise to despise those things you love so foolishly? Would the boxer who fights in the streets despise the Olympic crown which should be offered him without a blow?

(v. 52.) Believe me virtue is above the worth of gold, though the whole Forum may say otherwise, and old and young may learn the lesson, crying, 'Money first and then virtue.' Be able, good, eloquent, honest, as you will, let your property fall short but by a little of the equestrian and you are nobody. Never mind; the children will call you King if you do well. Let this be your stronghold, a conscience void of offence. Which is best, Roscius' law or the boys', which the good old soldiers Curius and Camillus approved? Which is your best adviser, he who bids you get money how you can, that you may sit a little nearer the stage, or he who stands ever at your elbow and bids and teaches you to defy the caprices of Fortune?

(v. 70.) And if I be asked why I hold not the opinions of the world I mix with, my answer is that which the fox made to the lion: because I see all the footmarks turned towards your den and none the other way. Whom or what am I to follow? One man is getting rich by one foul way and another by another, and no one is consistent even with himself. A man takes a fancy to build on the coast at Baiae: the next day he is off inland to Teanum. If he is married, he wishes himself a bachelor; if not, he wishes he was. And even the poor man, he must change his lodgings and his furniture, and hire himself a boat to ape the rich man's yacht.

(v. 94.) And you too, my friend, you laugh at me if the barber has cut my hair awry, or if my vest is shabby while my tunic is fine: but graver inconsistencies you care not for. In respect of these you think I am but as mad as my neighbours and want no guardian, and this though you are my protector and are vexed with me for the smallest neglect of my body, and though I look to you and hang upon you like a child.

(v. 106.) In short, to go back. The wise man is only inferior to great Jove,—rich, free, respected, handsome, and a king of kings; but above all sound except when his stomach is out of order.

PRIMA dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena,
Spectatum satis et donatum jam rude quaeris,
Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo.
Non eadem est aetas, non mens. Veianius armis
Herculis ad postem fixis latet abditus agro,

1. *Prima dicte mihi*] This is an affectionate way of speaking. It has no particular reference to any thing Horace had written. It is like Virgil's address to Pollio (Ec. viii. 11): "A te principium, tibi desinet;" or Nestor's to Agamemnon (Il. ix. 96):—

Ἀτρείδη κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον,
Ἐν σοὶ μὲν λήξω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι.

Theocritus also opens his panegyric on Ptolemaeus Philadelphus in the same way:

ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε, Μοῖσαι,
ἀθανάτων τὸν ἄριστον ἐπὴν ᾄδωμεν ἀοιδαῖς·
ἀνδρῶν δ' αὖ Πτολεμαῖος ἐνὶ πρώτοισι λεγέσθω
καὶ πύματος καὶ μέσσος, ὃ γὰρ προφερέστατος ἀνδρῶν. (Idyll. xvii.)

[The last line of Theocritus explains 'summa.']

2. *Spectatum satis et donatum jam rude*] When gladiators received their discharge they were presented by the 'lanista' or the 'editor spectaculorum,' who owned or hired them, with a 'rudis,' which was a blunt wooden instrument, some say a sword, others a cudgel. There are two gems representing as it appears 'rudiarii,' in Agostini's collection, in each of which the man carries a short round weapon like a policeman's truncheon. The name may have belonged to any weapon used in the 'praelusio' or sham fight that generally preceded the real battle with sharp swords. Suetonius says of Caligula (c. 32): "Mirmillonem e ludo rudibus secum batuentem et sponte prostratum confodit ferrea sica;" and again (c. 54): "Batuebat pugnatoriis armis." There were therefore different sorts of weapons used in this way, and 'rudis' may have been the name for any of them. The gladiators thus discharged were called 'rudiarii,' and if they were freemen 'exauctorati.' (S. ii. 7. 59 n.) 'Spectatum' is a technical term. Tickets with the letters SP upon them were given to gladiators who had distinguished themselves. 'Ludus' means the place where the training took place and the gladiators were kept (A. P. 32 n.). ['Includere quaeris:' see S. i. 9. 8.]

4. *Veianius armis Herculis ad postem*] Veianius was a rudiarius,' and when he was discharged he hung up his weapons in the temple of Hercules just as the man is made to hang up the arms of love in the temple of Venus when they had ceased to profit him, in C. iii. 26. 3:—

"Nunc arma defunctumque bello
Barbiton hic paries habebit:"

or as the slave hung up his chain to the Lares (S. i. 5. 65 n., "Donasset jamne catenam Ex voto laribus"), to whom also boys dedicated their 'bulla' when they assumed the 'toga virilis' ("Bullaque succinctis Laribus donata pependit," Pers. v. 31), and generally, as Turnebus remarks, those who gave up any trade or calling dedicated the instruments with which they had followed it to the gods and to that god in particular under whose patronage they had placed themselves. Hercules would naturally be chosen by a gladiator, or by a soldier, as in an epigram in the Anthologia (Brunck, vol. i. p. 254). Similar actions are frequently represented in those epigrams, as of a fisherman dedicating his nets to the nymphs (vol. ii. p. 494), a huntsman his nets and quiver to Mercury (vol. i. p. 223), &c. So the shepherd hangs up his flute on a tree to Pan (Tibullus ii. 5. 29):—

"Pendebatque vagi pastoris in arbore votum,
Garrula silvestri fistula sacra deo."

All the Scholiasts tell us that Veianius hung up his weapons in the temple of Hercules Fundanus, and it appears that Hercules was worshipped particularly by the inhabitants of Fundi in Latium (S. i. 5. 34). Orelli refers to an inscription in his own collection, No. 1539; and Obbarius on this passage quotes Vopiscus (Florianus, c. 4) as making mention of the temple of Hercules Fundanus. He had at least one temple at Rome (S. ii. 6. 12 n.), and also at Tibur, which was called after him. Veiania was the name of an Italian family. Varro (R. R. iii. 16. 10) mentions two brothers of that name from the Faliscus ager.

Ne populum extrema toties exoret arena.
Est mihi purgatam crebro qui personet aurem:
Solve senescentem maturé sanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus et ilia ducat.
Nunc itaque et versus et cetera ludicra pono,
Quid verum atque decens curo et rogo et omnis in hoc sum;
Condo et compono quae mox depromere possim.
Ac ne forte roges quo me duce, quo lare tuter,
Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri
Quo me cunque rapit tempestas deferor hospes.
Nunc agilis fio et mersor civilibus undis,

6. *Ne populum extrema*] The arena was separated from the seats, which went round the building, by a wall called the 'podium,' near which a gladiator would station himself to appeal to the compassion of the people, at whose request it usually was that he got his freedom and the 'rudis.' We learn from Juvenal that the persons of highest condition sat by the 'podium,' and to their influence the appeal would be more immediately made. He says (S. ii. 145):—

"Et Capitolinis generosior et Marcellis
Et Catulis Paulique minoribus et Fabiis et
Omnibus ad podium spectantibus."

Lipsius (de Amphith. c. xi.) supposes that there was between the 'podium' and lowest seat a level space, in which the principal personages sat, the curule officers in their own chairs. Veianius, Horace says, retired into the country to escape the temptation to engage himself again, and to place himself in the position he had so often occupied of a suppliant for the people's favour.

7. *Est mihi purgatam*] He has a voice within him, he says, the office of which is to whisper in his attentive ear the precept that follows, the idea of which is taken from Ennius, who takes it from the Circus. His words in Cicero de Senect. (c. 5) are,—

"Sicut fortis equus spatio qui saepe supremo
Vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectu' quiescit."

The reverse of 'purgatam aurem,' which was a conventional expression, is found in the next Epistle (v. 53), "auriculas collecta sorde dolentes." [See S. i. 4. 8, note.]

9. *ilia ducat*] 'Ilia trahere' or 'ducere' are ordinary expressions for panting: they mean to contract the flanks, as is done in the act of recovering the breath. The reverse is 'ilia tendere.' See Virg. Georg. iii. 506, "imaque longo Ilia singultu tendunt." 'Ilia ducere' is here to become broken winded. [Doederlein explains 'ilia ducere' as equivalent to 'ex ilibus spiritum ducere.']

10. *et versus et cetera ludicra pono*] He did not keep his word, for he wrote much of the fourth Book of Odes and the Carmen Saeculare after this. He says of himself (Epp. ii. 1. 111):—

"Ipse ego qui nullos me affirmo scribere versus
Invenior Parthis mendacior."

'Ludicra' means the follies of light poetry, jokes, amours, as he says (Epp. ii. 2. 55):—

"Singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes,
Eripuere jocos, venerem, convivia, ludum;
Tendunt extorquere poëmata."

[Comp. Epp. ii. 2. 144—'Omnis in hoc sum:' 'totus in illis,' S. i. 9. 2.]

13. *quo lare tuter*] This is equivalent to 'qua in domo,' respecting which see C. i. 29. 14 n.; and as to 'jurare in verba' see note on Epod. xv. 4, "in verba jurabas mea." The metaphor is taken from the oath of the gladiator ('auctoramentum') (S. ii. 7. 59). Horace says he follows no school and knows no master, but like a traveller always changing his abode, he follows the breeze that carries him hither and thither, just as his temper happens to be or his judgment chances to be influenced; "tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine," as St. Paul says, using the same sort of language.

16. *Nunc agilis fio*] That is, he agrees with the Stoics, with whom "the end of life

Virtutis verae custos rigidusque satelles;
Nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor,
Et mihi res non me rebus subjungere conor.
Ut nox longa quibus mentitur amica, diesque
Longa videtur opus debentibus, ut piger annus

lay in its most active development," and whose "doctrine necessarily set itself in direct opposition to all such modes of view as made good to consist, not in activity, but in calm enjoyment. They regarded the pleasure that is sought to be derived from an abandonment of active duties as a hindrance of life and an evil" (Ritter, Anc. Phil. vol. iii. p. 563, Engl. Trans.). The virtue of the Stoics was essentially a Roman virtue (C. S. 58 n.), and lay in action; and with them the perfection of virtue was the perfection of happiness, utility, wealth, power (see below, v. 106 n.): "Zeno igitur nullo modo is erat qui ut Theophrastus nervos virtutis inciderit, sed contra qui omnia quae ad beatam vitam pertinerent in una virtute poneret, nec quidquam aliud numeraret in bonis" (Cic. Ac. Poster. 10). [Compare the Emperor Antoninus' reflections, Lib. v. 1.]

18. *Nunc in Aristippi*] After holding for a time to the rigid school of virtue and the Stoics, he insensibly went over to the lax doctrines of the Cyrenaics, whose founder was Aristippus of Cyrene, one of Socrates' least worthy disciples. He held that every man should control circumstances and not be controlled by them. Hence he did not hesitate to expose himself to the greatest temptations, and when he was blamed for keeping company with Lais, the courtezan, his reply was, ἔχω Λαΐδα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχομαι (compare Diog. Laert. ii. 66, 68, 75). An instance of his indifference in another way is given above (S. ii. 3. 100). Another story of the same sort is given by Cicero (de Invent. ii. 58), that he threw his money into the sea. But his object then was to save his life. In Epp. 17. 23 we have—

"Omnis Aristippum decuit color et status et res,
Tentantem majora, fere praesentibus aequum."

Plutarch says he was able ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ζύγου πρὸς τὰ βελτίονα τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐξαναφέρειν καὶ ἀνακουφίζεσθαι αὑτόν (De Tranq. An. 8); and Diog. (ii. 66), ἦν δὲ ἱκανὸς ἁρμόσασθαι καὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ προσώπῳ, καὶ πᾶσαν περίστασιν ἁρμονίως ὑποκρίνασθαι. Though there was much affectation and at the same time a want of practical strictness in these views, they in theory recognized self-control, or temperance and contentment, as the basis of happiness. But while Aristippus inculcated self-reliance and contentment, requiring all care for the future to be dismissed, and the thoughts and desires to be confined to the present moment, he brought in the notion that present pleasure was the only happiness, and this doctrine is associated with the Cyrenaic school. Comm. Cruq. explains "Et mihi res," &c., clearly, saying, "Rebus utor ita ut eis imperem non autem ut eis serviam, ut avarus." But Aristippus departed from his own theory when he departed from the rule of his teacher and took money from his pupils. He was the first of the Socratics that did so, and Xenophon is supposed to refer to him, when he says that some of Socrates' disciples got for nothing a little of his wisdom and sold it at a high price to others (Mem. i. 2, § 60). Those that took money from their disciples Socrates said sold themselves into slavery, and he must therefore have held this opinion of Aristippus (Ib. § 6). His dialogue with Socrates (Xen. Mem. ii. 1) throws light upon his opinions as here stated by Horace. The word 'subjungere' is plainly taken from putting the neck of beasts of burden under the yoke.

20. *diesque longa*] Here Bentley reads 'Lenta,' "quo scilicet Horatium ipsum emendet," as Baxter says. The change of word weakens the force of the verse.

21. *ut piger annus pupillis*] Every boy who had lost his father was under a 'tutor' or guardian in respect of his property, while the care of his person belonged to his mother, or, in the case of her death, to his nearest relation, provided he was not a 'pupillus' himself. This lasted till the age of puberty (fourteen). The boy was a 'pupillus,' not in relation to his mother, but to his tutor, who might be appointed by the mother if she had by the father's will 'tutoris optionem,' and if that 'optio' was 'plena' she might change the tutor as often as she pleased; if it was 'angusta,' the number of times she was

Pupillis quos dura premit custodia matrum;
Sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora, quae spem
Consiliumque morantur agendi naviter id quod
Aeque pauperibus prodest, locupletibus aeque,
Aeque neglectum pueris senibusque nocebit.
Restat ut his ego me ipse regam solerque elementis.
Non possis oculo quantum contendere Lynceus,
Non tamen idcirco contemnas lippus inungi;
Nec quia desperes invicti membra Glyconis,

allowed to change was limited by the will. In the former case her guardianship might be 'dura,' oppressive and mischievous, as of course it might be in many other ways if she were an unnatural mother; but Horace means that it was irksome to boys, because they wished to be their own masters. 'Tutores' were only chosen by the mother if she was expressly authorized by the will: they were often named by the testator himself, or he authorized some one else to appoint. If a man died intestate, the nearest 'agnatus,' male relative, or several if there were several in the same degree, became 'tutores' to his children; and if he had none, or if they were disqualified, the Praetor urbanus found 'tutores' (see Dict. Ant. art. 'Tutor'). Thus 'tutela' and 'custodia' were different things.

25. *locupletibus aeque*] 'Aeque' is repeated though not wanted, just as 'inter' is repeated in S. i. 7. 11 n. and elsewhere. Ven. 1483 has 'locupletibus: atque aeque neglectum;' and some other editions have the same. But it does not get rid of the repetition, and is a vile reading. Tacitus (Agric. c. 15) has "aeque discordiam praepositorum aeque concordiam subjectis exitiosam," where some have proposed to read 'atque' in the second clause. Ovid has—

"Et pariter Phoebes, pariter maris ira recessit" (Met. xii. 36);

and again:—

"Cantantis pariter, pariter data pensa trahentis
Fallitur ancillae decipiturque labor."
(Trist. iv. 1. 13.)

The Greek writers used *ὁμοίως* in the same way, as Xenophon (Hieron. x. 5), *τοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐργάταις καὶ κτήνεσιν οὗτοι ἂν εἰκότως καὶ θάρσος καὶ ἀσφάλειαν δύναιντο μάλιστα παρέχειν, ὁμοίως μὲν τοῖς σοῖς ἰδίοις, ὁμοίως δὲ τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν.* See also Plato (Symp. p. 386), *ὅθεν δὴ ξυμβαίνει αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἂν τύχωσι τοῦτο πράττειν ὁμοίως μὲν ἀγαθὸν, ὁμοίως δὲ τοὐναντίον.*

27. *Restat ut his*] Horace says he is impatient till he shall have reached the perfection of active virtue and wisdom. But meanwhile all he can do is to regulate and comfort his mind with such elementary knowledge of truth as he possesses; for if he cannot reach perfection, he may make some steps towards it. 'His' means what he has at his command. The keen sight of Lynceus, who, as the silly story goes, could from Lilybaeum count the number of vessels in a fleet coming out of the harbour of Carthage (Val. Max. i. 4. 8), is proverbial. The reading of nearly every MS. is 'oculo quantum contendere.' Lambinus, on the authority of one, edited 'oculos.' Bentley, acknowledging that 'oculo' will do very well as to construction, follows Lambinus for an odd reason:—"Pluralis hic numerus arridet magis quia noster utrumque oculum collyrio inungere solebat ut Serm. i. 5. 30:—

'Hic oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippus
Illinere.'

Nollet ergo singulari ambigue uti." ['Non possis:' 'if you cannot;' one of the hypothetical forms.]

30. *invicti membra Glyconis*] Acron says this person was "athleta quidam fortissimus;" and in the Anthologia (Brunck. Anal. vol. ii. p. 126; Ep. 68) there is an Epigram of Antipater of Thessalonica on one Glyco, an athlete of Pergamum, whom he calls *ὁ παμμάχων κεραυνός, ὁ πλατὺς πόδας, ὁ πάντα νικῶν, κ.τ.λ.* Lessing (Op. vol. viii. p. 526) has made this Glyco to be a contemporary of Horace, and the person here alluded to. The Farnese Hercules is the work of Glycon, the sculptor of Athens, and some have supposed Horace to refer to this statue, which they imagine

Nodosa corpus nolis prohibere cheragra.
Est quadam prodire tenus si non datur ultra.
Fervet avaritia miseroque cupidine pectus,
Sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem
Possis et magnam morbi deponere partem.
Laudis amore tumes, sunt certa piacula quae te
Ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.
Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator,
Nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit,
Si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem.
Virtus est vitium fugere et sapientia prima

may have been known as the Hercules Glyconis, as we call it for distinction the Farnese Hercules, and that Horace called it briefly the Glycon (Spence, Polym. p. 115). This conjecture is not without ingenuity, for it would hardly be possible to conceive a more prodigious representation of muscular strength and power of limb than this statue shows, and Horace was probably familiar with it. But the above epigram confirming the Scholiasts' statements sets the matter at rest. Comm. Cruq. mentions 'Milonis' as a various reading, and one of the Vatican MSS. has that name. Dacier quotes a saying of Epictetus (Diss. i. c. 2), which is much to the purpose here: *οὐδὲ γὰρ Μίλων ἔσομαι, καὶ ὅμως οὐκ ἀμελῶ τοῦ σώματος, οὐδὲ Κροῖσος, καὶ ὅμως οὐκ ἀμελῶ τῆς κτήσεως, κ.τ.λ.*

31. *Nodosa—prohibere cheragra*] The gout in the hand is called 'nodosa' from its twisting the joints of the fingers (S. ii. 7. 15). The construction of 'prohibere' with the accusative of the person and ablative of the thing is repeated with 'arcere' in Epp. i. 8. 10.

32. *Est quadam prodire tenus*] Horace is probably indulging a little irony at the expense of the philosophers in the implied comparison of their perceptions and powers with those of Lynceus and Glycon, and in the humble tone he takes towards them. 'Tenus,' as a general rule, takes the ablative of the singular, and is so used in the compound words 'hactenus,' 'eatenus,' &c. The form 'quadamtenus' is used occasionally by Pliny, as Bentley has shown, and the feminine gender appears in all the combinations of 'tenus' with pronouns. All the early editions had 'quoddam' or 'quodam' till Lambinus introduced 'quadam' on his own conjecture. Cruquius afterwards found it in his oldest Blandinian MS. and adopted it. The two oldest of Pottier's Parisian MSS. have 'quadam,' and that was the first reading of Orelli's St. Gallen. In all other MSS. the reading has been 'quoddam' or 'quodam.' Fea is certainly wrong in reading 'quoddam.' ['Fervet . . . pectus:' 'if your bosom,' &c. The indicative is often thus used hypothetically.]

34. *Sunt verba et voces*] Compare Euripides (Hippol. 478):—

εἰσὶν δ' ἐπῳδαὶ καὶ λόγοι θελκτήριοι·
φανήσεταί τι τῆσδε φάρμακον νόσου.

The charms Horace means are the precepts of the wise derived from books (37). He also calls them 'piacula' (36), which is equivalent to 'medicamenta,' because disease being attributed to the wrath of the gods, that which should remove their wrath ('piaculum') was the means of removing disease. 'Ter' is used by way of keeping up the religious notion (that number being common in all religious ceremonies, C. i. 28. 36 n.): 'pure' is used in the same connexion. The book must be read with a pure mind, as the body must be washed before sacrifice or libation can be offered. By 'libello' I understand Horace to mean any book that instructs the mind in virtue. Obbarius says, "Sine dubio intelligendus est libellus expiationum vel ritus vel ipsas formulas continens," books of charms said to be written by Orpheus, Musaeus, and others, which beggars and impostors carried about for sale. Orelli supports this notion [and Ritter, and Krüger]; but I do not find that 'libellus' is any where specifically applied to a book of charms, or that such books existed. ['Amator:' 'aliud est amatorem esse, aliud amantem,' Cicero, Tusc. iv. 12. Horace alludes to what Cicero (Tusc. iv. 11) names 'mulierositas.' Krüger.]

41. *Virtus est vitium fugere*] If you cannot all at once attain perfection, you

Stultitia caruisse. Vides quae maxima credis
Esse mala, exiguum censum turpemque repulsam,
Quanto devites animi capitisque labore.
Impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos,
Per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes:
Ne cures ea quae stulte miraris et optas
Discere et audire et meliori credere non vis?
Quis circum pagos et circum compita pugnax
Magna coronari contemnat Olympia, cui spes,
Cui sit conditio dulcis sine pulvere palmae?
Vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum.
"O cives, cives, quaerenda pecunia primum est;
Virtus post nummos." Haec Janus summus ab imo

may at least begin to learn, and the first step towards virtue is to put away vice. What follows is an illustration of this. As to 'repulsa,' see C. iii. 2. 17. He who would secure an election must have a command of money.

44. *capitisque labore*] 'Caput' is here put for the whole body. We do not use it so, but for the seat of intelligence, which the Romans placed in the heart, not in the brain. On 'per saxa, per ignes,' see C. iv. 14. 24; S. ii. 3. 56.

47. *Ne cures ea*] 'In order that you may cease to care for those things which you now so foolishly admire and long for, will you not learn and listen, and trust the experience of a better man than yourself?'

49. *Quis circum pagos*] Suetonius says of Augustus (c. 45) that he was very fond of observing boxers, "et maxime Latinos: non legitimos atque ordinarios modo sed et catervarios oppidanos inter angustias vicorum pugnantes temere ac sine arte." These latter are what Horace alludes to: boxers who went about the streets and the country villages and fought for the amusement of the inhabitants and for what they could pick up. Horace does not merely mean what took place at the Paganalia and Compitalia, but frequently. 'Coronari Olympia' is a Greek way of speaking. Horace says, what boxer who goes about the country towns exhibiting would despise the Olympic prizes if he had a hope, still more a promise, that he should be crowned without a struggle? By this he means, men strive after happiness in the shape of riches, &c.; but if they will learn wisdom, that shall give them all they can desire without trouble or pain. The world may judge otherwise, and make wealth the standard of worth; but the world is not to be listened to, it is foolish and inconsistent. 'Sine pulvere' is like the Greek ἀκονιτί.

54. *Janus summus ab imo*] See S. ii. 3. 18. Most modern editions have 'prodocet,' which appears in good MSS., but was first edited by Lambinus. The word does not occur elsewhere. The Greeks used προδιδάσκειν, as Demos. p. 1231. 26; Soph. Aj. 163; Trach. 681, and elsewhere. It signifies 'to warn,' 'to teach beforehand.' Lambinus, Doering, Fea, and others, explain 'prodocet' by ἐκδιδάσκει, i. e. 'publice, palam docet.' [Ritter, who has 'prodocet,' explains it thus: 'palam docet, sine rubore tamquam rem bonam docet.'] Ven. 1483 has 'praedocet,' and many old editions and some MSS. have the same. The editio princeps has 'perdocet,' and so had some of Cruquius' MSS., and all the editions of the sixteenth century. It is defended by Torrentius and H. Stephens (Diat. pp. 45, 127), in whose time it was the vulgar reading. I think it is the true one. 'Perdocet' means it persists in teaching, it enforces. Horace says that as gold is more precious than silver, virtue is more precious than gold; whereas from one end of the Forum to the other (not only by the money-lenders, as Orelli says) the opposite doctrine is insisted upon, and old and young go there to learn it, as boys going to school, and repeat it as school-boys repeat their tasks dictated to them by the master. Verse 56 is repeated from S. i. 6. 74. Cunningham, Sanadon, and others omit this verse, but no MSS. omit it, and this is not the only instance in which Horace repeats himself.

Perdocet, haec recinunt juvenes dictata senesque,
Laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.
Est animus tibi, sunt mores et lingua fidesque;
Sed quadringentis sex septem milia desunt,
Plebs eris. At pueri ludentes, "Rex eris," aiunt,
"Si recte facies." Hic murus aëneus esto,
Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.
Roscia, dic sodes, melior lex an puerorum est
Nenia, quae regnum recte facientibus offert,
Et maribus Curiis et decantata Camillis?
Isne tibi melius suadet qui rem facias, rem,
Si possis recte, si non quocunque modo rem,

It heightens the force of the picture by representing the sort of lesson men of all ages are spending their lives on learning, the casting up of accounts, as Gesner remarks. As to 'dictata' see S. i. 10. 75 n. Plato (Rep. iii. p. 407, Steph.) quotes a verse of Phocylides (Bergk. Poet. Lyr. Gr. p. 340), bidding men first seek the means of subsistence and then practise virtue when they have got them: *δίζησθαι βιοτήν, ἀρετὴν δ' ὅταν ῇ βίος ἀσκεῖν*; which shows that 'virtus post nummos' is a very old rule as it is a very modern one.

58. *Sed quadringentis sex septem*] 'Suppose you lack six or seven thousand out of 400,000 sesterces, which make an equestrian property, whatever your genius, character, eloquence, and uprightness may be, you are put down for one of the common sort, and will not be allowed, under Otho's law (the Roscia Lex, B.C. 67), to sit in the front rows' (Epod. iv. 15 n.). Juvenal (v. 132) puts the opposite case, and says:—

"Quadringenta tibi si quis Deus aut similis diis
Aut melior fatis donaret homuncio, quantus
Ex nihilo fies."

'Plebs' is not used in its regular sense, but contemptuously, 'a common fellow.' The equestrian order now consisted of all citizens who had the above fortune and were not senators: for when a man became a senator he ceased to be an 'eques.' [The best MSS. place v. 58 before v. 57, Ritter, who also has 'est lingua fidesque.']

59. *At pueri ludentes, Rex eris, aiunt*] See note on C. i. 36. 8. Plato makes Socrates say (Theaet. i. 146, Steph.): *τίς ἂν ἡμῶν πρῶτος εἴποι; ὁ δὲ ἁμαρτών, καὶ ὃς ἂν ἀεὶ ἁμαρτάνῃ, καθεδεῖται, ὥσπερ φασὶν οἱ παῖδες οἱ σφαιρίζοντες, ὄνος· ὃς δ' ἂν περιγένηται ἀναμάρτητος, βασιλεύσει ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπιτάξει ὅτι ἂν βούληται ἀποκρίνεσθαι.* On which there is a long Scholiast's note: *τῶν οὖν παιζόντων ταῦτα* (i.e. *τὴν σφαῖραν*) *τοὺς μὲν νικῶντας βασιλεῖς ἐκάλουν, καὶ ὅτι ἂν προσέτασσον τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπήκουον, τοὺς δ' ἡττωμένους ὄνους.* They who threw or caught the ball best were called kings; while they who were beaten were called asses. Some such game must have been in use among the Roman boys, and their king-making had become a proverb. The world may despise you, he says, because you are poor, but according to the boys' rule which makes the best man king, you shall be a king if you do well. As to 'murus aëneus' see C. iii. 3. 65 n. For the different senses in which Horace uses 'nenia' see Epod. xvii. 29 n. Here it signifies a sort of song of triumph.

64. *Et maribus Curiis et decantata Camillis*] On this plural see S. i. 7. 8. The persons referred to are M'. Curius Dentatus, the conqueror of Pyrrhus, and M. Furius Camillus, the man who saved Rome from the Gauls. Curius' contempt for money is related by Cicero (de Senect. c. 16) in terms which account for Horace's selecting him for an illustration here: "Curio ad focum sedenti magnum auri pondus Samnites cum attulissent, repudiati sunt; non enim aurum habere praeclarum sibi videri dixit, sed iis qui haberent aurum imperare." The boys' strain was ever in the mouths of these noble soldiers, giving honour to none but the worthy. 'Mares' is used in this sense in A. P. 402: "Tyrtaeusque mares animos in Martia bella Versibus exacuit." We use 'masculine' in the same way. ['Suadet' serves twice in this verse—'tibi suadet,' and 'qui suadet rem facias.']

Ut propius spectes lacrimosa poëmata Pupi,
An qui Fortunae te responsare superbae
Liberum et erectum praesens hortatur et aptat?
Quodsi me populus Romanus forte roget, cur
Non ut porticibus sic judiciis fruar isdem,
Nec sequar aut fugiam quae diligit ipse vel odit,
Olim quod vulpes aegroto cauta leoni
Respondit referam: Quia me vestigia terrent
Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.
Belua multorum es capitum. Nam quid sequar aut quem?

67. *lacrimosa poëmata Pupi*] Of this person Comm. Cruq. writes "Puppius tragediographus ita movit affectus spectantium ut eos flere compelleret: inde distichon fecit:—

Flebunt amici et bene noti mortem meam,
Nam populus in me vivo lacrimavit satis."

We know nothing more of him than this. 'Lacrimosa' is used ironically. As to 'responsare' see S. ii. 7. 85. 'Praesens' means stands by you and urges you on, and teaches you to meet the insults of fortune with an independent heart and erect bearing. The editio princeps and nearly all the old editions have 'optat' for 'aptat,' which is the reading of the existing MSS. with few exceptions. Cruquius first adopted 'aptat,' as far as I can discover. 'Optat' has no meaning here. 'Aptat' is explained by "pectus praeceptis format amicis" (Epp. ii. 1. 128), which province belongs, Horace says, to the poet. ['Hortatur' is very seldom used with an infinitive by prose writers.]

71. *Non ut porticibus sic judiciis*] As to 'porticus' see S. i. 4. 134. He has said that the world are not fit guides, and he proves this by the inconsistencies of men, both rich and poor. If people ask him why he mixes with them in the ordinary way of society, in the promenades, &c., but does not form his judgment of things as they do, he answers them as the fox answered the lion in the fable; and the meaning of the answer here is that he found that of all those who joined the world and made money their chief pursuit, none had survived or recovered their right judgment. Socrates uses this same fable of Aesop in his conversation with Alcibiades, to illustrate the wealth of Lacedaemon, into which gold had flowed from all quarters for many generations, and from whence none had come forth (Alcibiades, i. 123, Steph.). Lucilius (ap. Nonium, verb. Spectare) refers to this fable. The following lines have been preserved entire:—

"Quid sibi vult, quare fit ut introversus et ad te
Spectent atque ferant vestigia se omnia prorsus?"

76. *Belua multorum es capitum*] 'The avarice of the world is like the hydra with many heads; if you check it in one form it springs up in another; whom then or what is one to take for one's guide?' Bentley, without any authority, substitutes 'est' for 'es.' On the use of 'nam' in this verse see S. ii. 3. 41 n. As to 'conducere' see C. ii. 18. 17 n. On the subject of will-hunting see S. ii. 5, and compare with 'quos in vivaria mittant' v. 44 of that Satire: "Plures adnabunt thunni et cetaria crescent." There the 'captator' appears as a catcher of fish; here as a hunter of game. 'Vivaria' are preserves. ['Viduas,' unmarried women. See C. iv. 5. 30.] 'Excipere' is the word used for catching the wild boar in C. iii. 12. 10. 'Occulto fenore' means interest which was greater than the law allowed (S. i. 2. 14 n.), and therefore privately agreed upon. Of all the classes of money-seekers in Rome Horace fixes as the most prominent upon three, the 'publicani,' those who ingratiate themselves with old people in the hope of becoming their heirs, and extortionate usurers. 'Publica' may be equivalent to 'vectigalia' (Cic. in Verr. ii. 3. 71, Long's note), or it may refer to public buildings and works as some suppose, quoting Juvenal (S. iii. 31):—

"Quis facile est aedem conducere, flumina, portus,
Siccandam eluviem, portandum ad busta cadaver."

Perhaps the latter suits the context best.

Pars hominum gestit conducere publica, sunt qui
Crustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras,
Excipiantque senes quos in vivaria mittant;
Multis occulto crescit res fenore. Verum
Esto aliis alios rèbus studiisque teneri,
Idem eadem possunt horam durare probantes?
Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis praelucet amoenis,
Si dixit dives, lacus et mare sentit amorem
Festinantis heri; cui si vitiosa libido
Fecerit auspicium, "Cras ferramenta Teanum
Tolletis, fabri." Lectus genialis in aula est,
Nil ait esse prius, melius nil caelibe vita;

80. *Verum esto aliis alios*] But allow different men their different tastes, yet even this is of no use; for the same men when they become rich are capricious, and are always changing their minds. If the rich man has set his heart upon building a house at Baiae, he does not brook a moment's delay: the waters of the Lacus Lucrinus on one side, and the sea on the other, are disturbed with the eager preparations with which the rich man begins to satisfy his desire. The allusion is the same as in C. ii. 18. 19 sqq., and iii. 1. 33 sqq., 24. 3 n. Baiae was for several generations a favourite resort of the wealthy Romans. C. Julius Caesar had a house there, and also Cn. Pompeius. Martial, writing long after Horace, says (xi. 80):—

"Ut mille laudem, Flacce, versibus Baias,
Laudabo digne non satis tamen Baias."

The warm springs were a great attraction. Horace alludes to them in Epp. i. 15, where he says the physician has forbidden his going to Baiae. The Lucrinus Lacus, which was an arm of the sea, has been filled up by the rising of the volcanic hill called Monte Nuovo in the middle of the sixteenth century. ['Prospectabatque (insula Capreae) pulcherrimum sinum antequam Vesuvius mons ardescens faciem loci verteret.' Tacit. Ann. iv. 67, quoted by Ritter.] Teanum (now Teano) was a town belonging to the Sidicini, an ancient people of Campania. It was situated on the Via Latina, and about thirty miles from Baiae. Some very ancient coins with Oscan characters on them have been found on the site of this town. The whim for the coast having vanished, and a desire to live inland in a country town having seized upon the man of money, he sends off the workmen with their tools to Teanum at a day's notice. 'Vitiosa libido' means a corrupt, capricious will, which is said 'facere auspicium,' to stand in the place of birds and other omens usually consulted before new enterprises were undertaken.

87. *Lectus genialis in aula est*] 'Aula' means the 'atrium;' and 'lectus genialis,' also called 'adversus,' because it was opposite the door, was the marriage-bed, which was dedicated to the genii of the bride and bridegroom. If the man married a second time the bed was changed. Propertius (iv. 11. 85):—

"Seu tamen adversum mutarit janua lectum,
Sederit et nostro cauta noverca toro,
Conjugium, pueri, laudate et ferte paternum."

Gellius (xvi. 9) quotes from the compitalia of Laberius:—

"Nunc tu lentus es: nunc tu susque deque fers,
Materfamilias tua in lecto adverso sedet."

Virgil's line (Aen. vi. 603), "Lucent genialibus altis Aurea fulcra toris," which is usually quoted in this place, does not refer to the marriage-bed, but to banquets in honour of the genii, such as the Romans celebrated on their birthdays and at other times. (C. iii. 17. 14.) The bed was a symbol of domestic love and peace, and was placed where it was for a good omen. Juvenal says (S. vi. 21): "Antiquum et vetus est—sacri genium contemnere lecti," to describe the profligacy of mankind from the age of gold downwards. Lucan describes it as "gradibus acclivis eburnis" (Phars. ii. 356). Respecting the genii, see Epp. i. 7. 94; ii. 2. 187. ['Bene esse maritis:' See C. iii. 16. 43 n.]

Si non est, jurat bene solis esse maritis.
Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?
Quid pauper? Ride: mutat coenacula, lectos,
Balnea, tonsores, conducto navigio aeque
Nauseat ac locuples quem ducit priva triremis.
Si curatus inaequali tonsore capillos

90. *Protea*] See S. ii. 3. 71.

91. *Quid pauper? Ride*] "'Viden ut mutat,' Bentleius, ex conjectura inepta," Fea says, and so I think any one will say, who reads Bentley's note. The only variation in the MSS. is 'rides' for 'ride.' That appears to have been the reading of one of the Scholiasts (Comm. Cruq.), who says: "fingit Maecenatem ridere quasi praesentem." But very few MSS. have 'rides,' and those inferior.

— *coenacula*] All the rooms above the ground floor were called 'coenacula.' So Festus says: "Coenacula dicuntur ad quae scalis ascenditur." While the rich lived in their own houses, poorer persons (and it must be remembered that 'paupertas' is comparative poverty, not want) took 'flats' as they are called in Scotland, or single rooms in the upper story of houses which went by the name of 'insulae,' the inhabitants of which were called 'coenacularii.' In such a room Vitellius lodged his wife and children, according to Suetonius (c. 7), when he was sent by Galba as a legatus into Germania Inferior; and Martial lived up three pair of stairs (i. 118): "Scalis habito tribus sed altis." Other distinguished literary men lived in garrets then as they have since. Suetonius tells us of Orbilius a celebrated grammarian, that he was so lodged: "namque jam persenex pauperem se et habitare sub tegulis quodam scripto fatetur" (de Illust. Gram. c. 9); and Valerius Cato, we learn from the same treatise (c. 10), passed the latter years of a long life in the same sort of abode. Suetonius quotes some bitter lines of Furius Bibaculus (S. i. 10, Exc.), in which he describes Cato as one—

"Quem tres cauliculi et selibra farris,
Racemi duo tegula sub una,
Ad summam prope nutriant senectam."

It seems to have been usual for annual tenants to change their lodgings on the Kalends of July. Martial describes the flitting of a poor family with all their property, which he enumerates in an amusing way. The Epigram (xii. 32) begins—

"O Juliarum dedecus Kalendarum
Vidi, Vacerra, sarcinas tuas, vidi."

(See Beck. Gall. p. 6 n. Eng. Trans.) Horace speaks of persons changing from caprice and aping the ways of the rich.

92. *conducto navigio*] 'Navigium' expresses the vulgar craft which the poor man hires in imitation of the private yacht of the rich man, as smartly built and well found as a trireme. He hires his boat, which he cannot afford to do, and goes through the horrors of sea-sickness, that he may have the honour of serving as a foil to the elegance of his wealthy neighbour. Orelli thinks it very probable Horace is here drawing a picture of himself, as in S. ii. 7 (note on v. 23), and he commends the sagacity of Cruquius, who first suggested that notion. I see no merit in it at all. ['Aeque:' S. ii. 3. 47; 'priva:' S. ii. 5. 10.]

94. *Si curatus inaequali tonsore*] He taxes Maecenas with the prevailing inconsistency. A very few MSS., including one of Cruquius', have 'curtatus,' which that editor, Lambinus, Torrentius, and others, have edited. But 'comas' or 'capillos curare' was a common expression. Domitian wrote a book 'de cura capillorum,' according to Suetonius (c. 18), which he addressed to a friend who was bald like himself. Orelli's strange explanation of 'inequali tonsore' being an ablative absolute has been mentioned on C. i. 6. 2. [Krüger has made the same mistake, and refers to Juvenal, i. 13, 'assiduo ruptae lectore columnae,' as an example of the same construction, the ablative absolute; which it certainly is not.] 'Subucula' was a second tunic worn under the 'intusium,' which was the upper tunic. 'Pexae' signifies a cloth on which the nap was not closely shorn and was still fresh ("pexusque togaque recenti," Pers. S. i. 15). The upper tunic therefore would be new while the under one was old and shabby. The 'subucula' had sleeves, which the 'intusium' had not. Any difference therefore in the cloth would be very perceptible. Out of doors the toga would conceal both, but in-doors the toga was not worn. 'Intusium' is from 'induo.' 'Subucula,' Varro says (Ling. Lat. iv. 30), is derived from 'subtus.' Martial has this

Occurri, rides; si forte subucula pexae
Trita subest tunicae vel si toga dissidet impar,
Rides: quid, mea cum pugnat sententia secum,
Quod petiit spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit,
Aestuat et vitae disconvenit ordine toto,
Diruit, aedificat, mutat quadrata rotundis?
Insanire putas sollemnia me neque rides,
Nec medici credis nec curatoris egere
A praetore dati, rerum tutela mearum
Cum sis et prave sectum stomacheris ob unguem
De te pendentis, te respicientis amici.
Ad summam: sapiens uno minor est Jove, dives,

keen epigram (ii. 58) on one who wore fine clothes he had not paid for:—

"Pexatus pulcre rides mea, Zoile, trita:
Sunt haec trita quidem, Zoile, sed mea sunt."

'Disconvenit' is a word only found in Horace. It occurs again Epp. 14. 18.

100. *mutat quadrata rotundis*] Orelli says this looks like a proverbial expression for one who did not know his own mind. It may be so, or it may have reference to alterations Horace was making on his estate, in which case the whole would be only a joke against himself, or truth in jest, which Maecenas would understand. He appears to have begun building as soon as he entered on his new property, if there is any meaning in the scolding he has from Damasippus (S. ii. 3. 307). ['Insanire solemnia:' 'that I am mad in the usual way.' See S. ii. 3. 63.]

102. *nec curatoris egere*] See S. ii. 3. 217 n. In the next line no one would suppose Horace meant 'tutela' literally, though Orelli says that many persons take it so; yet the word is suggested by the context. 'Tutela' was the guardianship of a 'tutor,' the protector of an orphan's property till he came to the age of puberty. 'Curatela' was the office of 'curator,' who had the same relation to the orphan in a modified form (Dict. Ant. 'Curator') till he was twenty-five (see above, v. 22 n.). It was also that of the protector of insane persons. Though 'tutela' therefore is not the precise word to keep up the previous notion, it has more force here than 'praesidium,' by which Orelli explains it. Horace means that Maecenas looks after him anxiously as if he was his 'tutor,' and he looks up to him as if he was his 'pupillus,' but that his guardian had better look to his greater faults and correct those than be put out by trifling defects, such as negligence of dress, and so forth. He writes to Maecenas out of the familiarity of frequent intercourse, and such intimacy gives rise to ideas and language which none but the friends themselves can fully enter into. Compare "O et praesidium et dulce decus meum" (C. i. 1. 2).

105. *respicientis*] For this Heinsius conjectured and Bentley has adopted 'suspicientis,' which has no authority, and is not wanted. Caesar (B. C. i. 1) says, "Sin Caesarem respiciant atque ejus gratiam sequantur ut superioribus fecerint temporibus," &c. It is much stronger than our term 'respect,' which is derived from it.

106. *Ad summam*] This is an ordinary formula, 'to come to the point,' 'to conclude.' The pursuit of virtue and wisdom is the point from which he started, and having digressed a little he returns suddenly, and concludes with a definition of the sage, which is a repetition of S. i. 3. 124 sqq.:

"—— dives qui sapiens est,
Et sutor bonus et solus formosus et est rex."

Here it is added that he is the only freeman, and inferior to Jove alone; and this Acron says is only in consequence of his mortality. He is a king because he governs his passions; he is free through an indifference which it is the business of his life to cultivate; he is rich because he wants nothing; he is beautiful because virtue is beautiful; he is equal to Jove because he rises above the world, and also because he is above all human law,—a doctrine which the later Stoics held as

Liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum;
Praecipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est.

rising naturally out of the perfection of his reason and the purity of his motives. The attempt to apply these notions to man as he is, led necessarily to practical inconsistencies involving the wildest immoralities. But the Stoics meant well, and would have effected a reign of virtue, if they could have had their wishes. Horace says, with an intentional bathos, the Stoic above all his other attributes is of course 'sanus,' except when his digestion is disturbed and the phlegm troublesome; 'sanus' bearing a double application to the body (from the pains of which no exemption was claimed for the Stoic sage, though he did not allow them to affect his will) and to the mind, the sanity of which no one could lay claim to except the sage himself (S. ii. 3. 44 n.). As to 'pituita,' see S. ii. 2. 73 n.

EPISTLE II.

Something has been said about M. Lollius, the consul, who was defeated by the Sigambri, in the Introduction to C. iv. 9, which ode was addressed to him probably on the occasion of his defeat, some time after the writing of this Epistle to his eldest son, as the person here addressed is generally supposed to be. The eighteenth Epistle is written to the same person. There we learn that Lollius was with Augustus in the Cantabrian expedition, A.U.C. 729, and that he had a brother, to whom some suppose the eighteenth Epistle was written. It is plain that the person here addressed was young, and if he had been with the army, he was now practising for the Forum. Horace addresses him as 'puer,' and speaks of his declaiming as if he were still with the rhetorical teacher; but these teachers attended young men at home after they had left school and taught them the higher principles of oratory. 'Puer' is a word that might be used familiarly towards a young man long past 'pueritia,' and, as Franke observes, it is not likely that these grave views of life would be addressed to a boy who had not yet taken the 'toga virilis.' I think there is much probability in the date Franke supposes, A.U.C. 731, which would be a year after Lollius' return from Spain while he might yet be quite young: though when Franke supports his opinion by the reference in v. 53 to gout and fomentations, he only weakens his argument (see note). Why Lollius is called Maximus in the first verse no one has yet satisfactorily shown. That he was the elder of two brothers, supposing that to have been the case, would be a bad reason for calling him Maximus. He would rather be called Major. But this is the opinion of some editors, and of Orelli among them. That he had the cognomen Maximus is the explanation of others. [Krüger affirms, on the authority of Gruter 638. 2, that Maximus is a cognomen of the Gens Lollia; and he compares 'Maxime Lolli' with 'Crispe Sallusti,' C. ii. 2. 3, 'Hirpine Quinti,' C. ii. 11. 2.] But there is no trace of such a cognomen in this family: the only cognomen they are known to have borne during the republic is Palicanus, and the father of this youth does not appear to have had any. Young Lollius could not have done any thing to gain himself such a title; and on the whole I am inclined to think the word is only a familiar half jocular way of addressing his young friend that Horace uses, as in the other Epistle he addresses him as 'liberrime Lolli.' I see no other way of explaining the word, which Estré gives up as unintelligible. [Ritter has discovered the secret. The Lollius whom Horace addresses is M. Lollius, consul A.U.C. 733, and this Epistle was written in his consulship.]

Horace has been refreshing himself with the cool breezes of Praeneste, and reading Homer over again, and has been more than ever impressed, as it would seem, with the wisdom of his poems and the moral and political lessons they convey. This he makes the foundation of a letter of advice, such as a young man just starting in life might

find useful. What appears to have struck him most on his last perusal of the Iliad was the reckless selfishness of the leaders and their indifference to the sufferings their petty squabbles occasioned; while the Odyssey he judges to have been written with the intention of representing a picture of patient and wise endurance in the person of Ulysses, as an example to all ages. Horace considers the value of the Homeric poems to lie in the living pictures they present to the mind; that they taught wisdom by examples. He says nothing of the poetry and the artistic character of these compositions, in which their real merit consists. As a piece of criticism therefore Horace's remarks are worth nothing. They are akin to the allegorical interpretation of Homer which treated his works as an inexhaustible fountain of wisdom, and overlaid the critical with a fanciful view. That a sensible man might get some good lessons from the Iliad and Odyssey is saying no more than may be said of any works in which character is drawn in so many various shapes. But that the predominating impression on the mind of a man like Horace, with good taste and sense, after a continuous perusal of Homer, should be that which is here given is not easily accounted for. Horace had his head full of his new study of philosophy, and saw more of practical wisdom in these poems than in the writings of the philosophers and sophists. In v. 4 he seems to imply that Chrysippus and Crantor, and such like philosophers, who thought they got wisdom from Homer by refining upon him, did not know what they were about. Their teacher was plain and intelligible: the fountain was clear, but they made the stream muddy, and the best thing a young man could do was to read Homer straight through and judge for himself. This is the best interpretation I can put upon Horace's observations, which at the best are not of much value, as bearing on the merits of Homer.

ARGUMENT.

While you are declaiming at Rome, Lollius, I am reading Homer at Praeneste, a teacher above Chrysippus and Crantor themselves. For consider, in that Iliad of his how he sets before us the passions of princes and people: Antenor's sage counsel; the selfish obstinacy of Paris; Nestor mediating between angry kings, one inflamed with love and both with anger. The princes err, the people suffer. There is one scene of treasons, stratagems, crime, lust, passion, in the Grecian camp or within the walls of Troy. Then again he has given us a bright example of wisdom in Ulysses, driven over the earth and sea, gathering experience as he went, surrounded with the waves of suffering but rising above them all, and shunning the charms of the Siren and the sweet poisons of Circe. Why, we are but cyphers, born only to eat and drink, like the suitors of Penelope or the people of Alcinous, who slept and danced and drove away care with the sound of the wanton lute.

Does the robber rise at midnight to kill, and do you not wake up to guard yourself from evil? Nay then, if you will not practise running while you are well, you shall do so with the dropsy in your skin: if you rise not early, and give your mind to study and to virtue, you shall lie awake under the tortures of envy or lust. Why are you in such haste to remove a grain of dust from your eye, but defer the curing of your mind's disease? Begin and you have half done; be bold to be wise; begin. He who puts off the day of reformation is like the clown that waits till the stream runs dry.

But men are for money and ease, and for laying field to field. Let him that has enough not wish for more. Riches will not take fever from the veins or grief from the heart. The owner should be sound in body and mind if he would enjoy what he has got; but he who is always anxious gets no more good from his riches than the blind from a picture, the gouty from a fomentation, or the deaf from the sounds of a lyre; for if the vessel is foul, whatever you pour into it turns sour. Heed not

pleasure; it is dearly bought with pain. The covetous never has enough, therefore set bounds to your desires.

Envy ever pines over others' success, a greater torment than ever tyrant invented. Anger too, if it be not under control, will urge you to do that you will wish undone: it is a brief madness: it must be either servant or master: put a bit or a chain upon it. The horse is trained to his rider's will; the hound is taught to hunt; even so drink in instruction, my young friend, and give yourself up to the wise. The cask keeps its odour long. Think not however that I can wait for you if you lag behind, or keep up with you if you are too vigorous and push on before.

TROJANI belli scriptorem, maxime Lolli,
Dum tu declamas Romae Praeneste relegi;

1. *maxime Lolli*] See Introduction.

2. *Dum tu declamas Romae*] Horace writes to Lollius as to one familiar with Homer's poems. He says of himself, referring to his early education at Rome (Epp. ii. 2. 41):

"Romae nutriri mihi contigit atque doceri
Iratus Graiis quantum nocuisset Achilles."

After the Romans had begun to expand the course of their sons' education (S. i. 6. 77 n.), Homer was one of the first authors a boy studied. Pliny (Epp. ii. 14) has "Sic in foro pueros a centumviralibus causis auspicari ut ab Homero in scholis." Quintilian approved the practice: "Optime institutum est ut ab Homero atque Virgilio lectio inciperet, quanquam ad intelligendas eorum virtutes firmiore judicio opus esset" (Inst. i. 8). Boys attended the schools of the rhetorical masters before they put on the 'toga virilis,' and there they learnt to declaim upon subjects given them from history, of which a bitter description is given by Juvenal (vii. 150; see also x. 166):

"I, demens, et saevas curre per Alpes
Ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias."

This practice was not introduced till the later years of the republic. In A.U.C. 662 the censors Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus and L. Licinius Crassus issued this edict: "Renuntiatum est nobis esse homines qui novum genus disciplinae instituerunt: ad quos juventus in ludos conveniat: eos sibi nomen imposuisse Latinos Rhetoras: ibi homines adolescentulos totos dies desidere. Majores nostri quae liberos suos discere, et quos in ludos itare vellent, instituerunt. Haec nova quae praeter consuetudinem ac morem majorum fiunt, neque placent, neque recta videntur. Quapropter et iis qui eos ludos habent, et iis qui eo venire consueverunt, videtur faciendum ut ostendamus nostram sententiam, nobis non placere" (Sueton. de Rhet. c. 1). The practice of declaiming with an instructor did not cease when boys left school. They had teachers at home. Lollius no doubt had one. (See Introduction.)

— *Praeneste relegi*] Praeneste (Palestrina) was in Latium, about twenty-three miles due east of Rome, on the edge of the Apennines. It was a cool retreat, to which Horace appears sometimes to have gone in summer, even when he had a place of his own elsewhere. See C. iii. 4. 21 sqq.:

"—— vester in arduos
Tollor Sabinos, seu mihi frigidum
Praeneste seu Tibur supinum
Seu liquidae placuere Baiae."

It suffered greatly from the cruelty of Sulla for sheltering the younger Marius, but afterwards recovered itself and became a place of fashionable resort for the sake of the climate, which Strabo notices (v. p. 365). Juvenal calls it "gelida Praeneste" (iii. 190), and couples it with Tibur and other places as a retreat from the disturbances of Rome, and he speaks of one Centronius, who built villas

"—— modo curvo
Littore Caietae, summa nunc Tiburis arce,
Nunc Praenestinis in montibus, alta parabat
Culmina villarum, Graecis longeque petitis
Marmoribus, vincens Fortunae atque Herculis aedem." (xiv. 86 sqq.)

There must therefore have been some fine houses there, for the temple of Fortune at Praeneste was a handsome building; and Sulla, by way of making up to the inhabitants for his barbarity, beautified this

Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Planius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.
Cur ita crediderim nisi quid te detinet audi.
Fabula qua Paridis propter narratur amorem
Graecia Barbariae lento collisa duello
Stultorum regum et populorum continet aestus.
Antenor censet belli praecidere causam.
Quid Paris? Ut salvus regnet vivatque beatus
Cogi posse negat. Nestor componere lites
Inter Peliden festinat et inter Atriden;
Hunc amor, ira quidem communiter urit utrumque.
Quidquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi.
Seditione, dolis, scelere atque libidine et ira
Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.
Rursus quid virtus et quid sapientia possit
Utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulixen,
Qui domitor Trojae multorum providus urbes

temple very much. He placed in it the first mosaic pavement known in Italy. Propertius (ii. 32. 3), remonstrating with Cynthia says:

"Nam quid Praenestis dubias, o Cynthia, sortes,
Quid petis Aeaei moenia Telegoni?
Curve te in Herculeum deportant esseda Tibur?
Appia cur toties te via ducit anum?"

4. *Chrysippo et Crantore*] As to Chrysippus the Stoic, see S. i. 3. 125 n. Both he and Crantor were born at the Cilician town Soli. Crantor studied philosophy in the Academia under Xenocrates and with Polemo. His writings, according to Diog. Laert. (iv. 24), amounted εἰς μυριάδας στιχῶν τρεῖς, 30,000 lines. Cicero ranks him among the first of the Platonists (Tusc. Disp. iii. 6. 12), and speaks with particular commendation of a short treatise of his, 'de Luctu.' The earliest editions have 'planius ac melius;' and Acron, in his commentary, has 'manifestius et melius;' Porphyrion 'melius et aptius,' which I take to be 'apertius.' If so, both these Scholiasts confirm the reading 'planius.' The Blandinian MSS. had 'plenius;' so have most of the Parisian, but the oldest of all has 'planius,' and three others. The St. Gallen and Berne have the latter, and five of Fea's Vaticans; with many others quoted by Lambinus, Torrentius, Cruquius, and Bentley, who restored 'planius' after it had been banished more than a century. I find 'plenius' in the Venetian edition of 1549. I think 'planius' suits the context better. Chrysippus is said by Diog. Laert. (vii. 180) to have written more than 705 volumes: so that 'plenius' would be rather out of place, though Obbarius, who retains it, supposes Horace to mean that there was more instruction in Homer than in all the volumes of Chrysippus put together; but he also means it is more clearly conveyed. (See Introduction.) ['Detinet:' Ritter follows the codices Blandinii, which have 'distinet.']

7. *Barbariae*] That is, Phrygia. ['Barbaria' is a general name for all countries not Greek.] (See Epod. ix. 6.) 'Aestus' is a metaphor from the ebbing and flowing of the tide, and represents the passions and variableness of the princes and people.

9. *Antenor censet*] At a meeting of the Trojan chiefs after the combat of Hector and Ajax, Antenor proposes to restore Helen to the Greeks, which Paris flatly refuses, ἀντικρὺ δ' ἀπόφημι, γυναῖκα μὲν οὐκ ἀποδώσω (Il. vii. 362 sqq.).

12. *Inter Peliden—inter Atriden*] See S. i. 7. 11 n.

13. *Hunc amor*] From its position 'hunc' seems to belong to 'Atriden.' The allusion is to Nestor's attempt to mediate between Agamemnon and Achilles, when the former angrily consents to restore Chryseis, whom he loved above Clytemnestra his wife (Il. i. 113 sqq.).

19. *domitor Trojae*] The epithet πτολί-

Et mores hominum inspexit, latumque per aequor,
Dum sibi dum sociis reditum parat, aspera multa
Pertulit adversis rerum immersabilis undis.
Sirenum voces et Circae pocula nosti;
Quae si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset,
Sub domina meretrice fuisset turpis et excors,
Vixisset canis immundus vel amica luto sus.
Nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere nati,
Sponsi Penelopae, nebulones, Alcinoique
In cute curanda plus aequo operata juventus,
Cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies et
Ad strepitum citharae cessatum ducere curam.
Ut jugulent homines surgunt de nocte latrones:

πορθος is frequently applied to Ulysses by Homer. Cicero accounts for it in a letter to Plancus (x. 13), in which he urges him to follow up the victory of D. Brutus at Mutina, and to crush M. Antonius: "Qui enim M. Antonium oppresserit is bellum confecerit. Itaque Homerus non Ajacem nec Achillem (which is an oversight) sed Ulixem appellavit *πτολίπορθον*." The first three verses of the Odyssey are almost translated in these lines. 'Immersabilis' is like *ἀβάπτιστος* in Pindar (Pyth. ii. 80), *ἀβάπτιστός εἰμι, φελλὸς ὣς ὑπὲρ ἕρκος, ἅλμας*. Compare C. iv. 4. 65: "Merses profundo, pulchrior evenit."

23. *Sirenum voces*] Ulysses by the direction of Circe eluded the charming voice of the Sirens (Odyssey xii. 165 sqq.); and Circe poisoned his companions and changed them into swine (Od. x. 230). The Sirens were as proverbial with the ancients as with us. Martial calls them (iii. 64),—

"Sirenas hilarem navigantium poenam,
Blandasque mortes, gaudiumque crudele,
Quas nemo quondam deserebat auditas."

27. *Nos numerus sumus*] This expression is not uncommon in the Greek tragedians. In Aristophanes (Nub. 1201) Strepsiades breaks out thus:

εὖ γ', ὦ κακοδαίμονες, τί κάθησθ' ἀβέλτεροι,
ἡμέτερα κέρδη τῶν σοφῶν, ὄντες λίθοι,
ἀριθμός, πρόβατ', ἄλλως ἀμφορῆς νενησμένοι;

It means a mere undistinguished heap, and 'fruges consumere nati' is an adaptation of Homer's *οἳ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσι* (Il. vi. 142). 'Nos' means the common sort of men, among whom Horace places himself, and all but the sage, who is like Ulysses, while the rest are no better than his wife's suitors, gluttons, wine-drinkers, and lazy; or the subjects of Alcinous, king of Phaeacia, the host of Ulysses, to whom he relates his adventures (Odyss. ix. sqq.). The king describes his people thus:—

αἰεὶ δ' ἡμῖν δαίς τε φίλη, κίθαρίς τε, χόροι τε,
εἵματά τ' ἐξημοιβά, λοετρά τε θερμά, καὶ εὐναί. (Odyss. viii. 248.)

The Phaeacians were proverbial for good living. See Epp. i. 15. 24: "Pinguis ut inde domum possim Phaeaxque reverti." Comm. Cruq. and some editors take Alcinoi for the plural number. It is better to take it as the genitive singular. On 'cute curanda,' see S. ii. 5. 38 n.

31. *cessatum ducere curam*] 'Ducere,' as a verb of motion, takes the accusative of this verbal substantive to denote the object, just as 'venio' and 'mitto' do. "This accusative of the verbal in 'tu' is often called the supine active, and the ablative of the same the supine passive; but there is nothing passive in the latter, and therefore the distinction is inappropriate" (Key's L. G. 1299, note). 'Factu' is 'in the doing,' as 'factum' is 'to the doing;' so neither is passive. The Blandinian MSS. had "cessatum ducere somnum," which means nothing at all; but out of it Bentley has conjectured and adopted into his text "cessantem ducere somnum." In the next line he reads 'hominem' for 'homines,' the reading of all previous editions, and "Manuscriptorum pars longe major," according to Fea.

[32. *de nocte*] S. ii. 8. 3.]

Ut te ipsum serves non expergisceris? Atqui
Si noles sanus, curres hydropicus; et ni
Posces ante diem librum cum lumine, si non
Intendes animum studiis et rebus honestis,
Invidia vel amore vigil torquebere. Nam cur
Quae laedunt oculos festinas demere, si quid
Est animum, differs curandi tempus in annum?
Dimidium facti qui coepit habet; sapere aude;
Incipe. Qui recte vivendi prorogat horam
Rusticus exspectat dum defluat amnis; at ille
Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum.
Quaeritur argentum puerisque beata creandis
Uxor, et incultae pacantur vomere silvae:
Quod satis est cui contingit nihil amplius optet.
Non domus et fundus, non aeris acervus et auri
Aegroto domini deduxit corpore febres,
Non animo curas. Valeat possessor oportet
Si comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti.
Qui cupit aut metuit juvat illum sic domus et res
Ut lippum pictae tabulae, fomenta podagram,

34. *Si noles sanus, curres hydropicus*] The MSS. vary here between 'nolis' and 'noles,' 'curres' and 'cures.' The future seems to be required, since it appears in the two following instances, 'ni posces' and 'si non intendes.' On 'curres' Porphyrion says, "quia hydropici jubentur a medicis currere; ita enim morbus eorum solet extenuari labore." Celsus' rule for the dropsical patient is: "Multum ambulandum, currendum aliquid est" (iii. 21. 35). 'Cures' appears in Ven. 1483, and nearly all the oldest editions, with most of the Parisian MSS., and several of the Roman.

38. *Quae laedunt oculos*] Some MSS. and most modern editions since Bentley have 'oculum.' Orelli [and Ritter] prefer that reading.

39. *in annum*] So he says below (Epp. 11. 23), "Neu dulcia differ in annum." It is the habit of procrastinators to put off the work of to-day till to-morrow, of this week till next week, of this year till next year. 'In annum' is till next year. 'Dimidium facti qui coepit habet' is an adaptation of the Greek saying ἀρχὴ δέ τοι ἥμισυ παντός, attributed variously to Hesiod and Pythagoras.

44. *Quaeritur argentum*] This is advanced as a reason why men put off the day of reformation, that they are anxious to make themselves comfortable and rich.

46. *Quod satis est cui contingit*] Horace may have remembered Lucilius' lines:—

"Nam si quod satis est homini satis esse potessit,
Hoc sat erit: nunc cum hoc non est, qui credimu' porro
Divitias ullas animum mi explere potesse?"

47. *Non domus et fundus*] See S. ii. 5. 108 n. 'Deduxit' is used like the Greek aorist. Some MSS. have 'deducit.'

52. *fomenta podagram*] As to 'fomenta' in a derived sense, see Epod. xi. 17 n. Comm. Cruq., on Epp. 15. 3, says that Augustus was cured of his complaint by Antonius Musa through cold water bathing, hot applications having been previously tried by another physician without effect. Suetonius (c. 81) speaks of Musa having cured Augustus by 'frigida fomenta' from an illness he contracted after the Cantabrian expedition, and Pliny twice refers to the circumstance (xxv. 7; xxix. 1). Franke supposes Horace to allude to the unsuccessful hot fomentations which he concludes must have been generally used before, but went out of fashion ever afterwards; and hence he derives a very

Auriculas citharae collecta sorde dolentes.
Sincerum est nisi vas quodcunque infundis acescit.
Sperne voluptates, nocet empta dolore voluptas.
Semper avarus eget: certum voto pete finem.
Invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis;
Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni
Majus tormentum. Qui non moderabitur irae
Infectum volet esse dolor quod suaserit et mens,
Dum poenas odio per vim festinat inulto.
Ira furor brevis est: animum rege, qui nisi paret
Imperat; hunc frenis, hunc tu compesce catena.
Fingit equum tenera docilem cervice magister
Ire viam qua monstret eques; venaticus, ex quo
Tempore cervinam pellem latravit in aula,
Militat in silvis catulus. Nunc adbibe puro
Pectore verba, puer, nunc te melioribus offer.

precarious support for his argument that A.U.C. 731 is the date of this Epistle. However all this may be, Horace means to say fomentations go a small way towards curing the gout. Perhaps he means they aggravate the pain. Whether such is the fact I do not know. A good deal has been said about Horace's meaning, but I see no particular difficulty. Bentley chooses to read 'podagrum,' from 'podager,' a word used by Ennius (Epp. 19. 5 n.). ['Podagrum' is in some MSS.]

55. *Sperne voluptates*] The pursuit of sensual pleasure is connected with the pursuit of money, which is wanted for it. The pursuit of money leads to envy, and envy to wrath, so that all these pithy sayings hang together.

58. *Invidia Siculi*] Horace probably alludes to the bull of Phalaris, which, according to Cicero, P. Scipio recovered from Carthage and restored to the Agrigentini: "ille nobilis taurus quem crudelissimus omnium tyrannorum Phalaris habuisse dicitur, quo vivos supplicii causa demittere homines et subjicere flammam solebat" (in Verr. ii. 4. 33. See also De Off. ii. 7). But the tyrants of Sicily were proverbial.

60. *et mens*] 'Mens' signifies passion, *μένος*. [C. i. 16. 22, 'compesce mentem.'] 'Exmens' (formed like 'exspes,' 'excors,' and other words) is suggested by H. Stephens (Diatr. p. 118), and 'amens' is proposed by Muretus, who said he found it in one of the Vatican MSS. which Fea does not notice.

61. *poenas—festinat*] 'Hurries after its revenge.' So Horace uses 'properare' in C. iii. 24. 62, "pecuniam Heredi properet;" and in the next Epistle (v. 28). It is like the Greek *σπεύδειν*, which takes an accusative.

63. *hunc tu compesce*] In general precepts emphasis may be given by the pronoun 'tu,' as in C. i. 9. 16.

64. *Fingit equum*] Here he goes back to v. 40, "sapere aude; Incipe." For to be wise he must learn, and put himself in the hands of those who can teach him. [Here Ritter supposes that Horace had in mind the youth of Lollius who, as he says, was now about five-and-twenty and consul, A.U.C. 733. Five years before, he was in the Cantabrian wars (A.U.C. 728—730). Ritter fixes the year of Lollius' death in A.U.C. 755. Ritter, as already observed, supposes that Horace is writing to the man who was consul in A.U.C. 733, and not to his son, of whose existence there is no evidence. Some writers have given M. Lollius a pair of sons with no other proof of the fact than 'Maxime Lolli,' v. 1.]

65. *venaticus, ex quo*] 'Catulus' is awkwardly placed at the end of the sentence. The practice of training dogs by means of stuffed animals was, I suppose, common. 'Latro' governs an accusative here and in Epod. v. 58. On 'militat,' see S. ii. 2. 10 n.

[68. *melioribus*] 'Present yourself to those who are wiser,' that is, to be taught. Comp. Ep. i. 1. 48.]

Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu. Quodsi cessas aut strenuus anteis,
Nec tardum opperior nec praecedentibus insto.

70. *Quodsi cessas aut strenuus anteis*] He cannot wait for the dilatory, or trouble himself to keep up with those who are in a great hurry to get on. He will go his own way in the pursuit of wisdom, "quasi dicat, meo modulo incedam" (Ascens.). At the same time he hints that young persons may move too fast, and mistake their own powers and attainments. The conclusion is abrupt, as Horace's conclusions often are.

EPISTLE III.

A.U.C. 734.

In A.U.C. 734 an embassy came from Armenia to Rome, expressing the dissatisfaction of the people with their king Artaxias, and praying that Augustus would place upon the throne that king's younger brother Tigranes, who was then living at Rome. Augustus assented, and sent his stepson Tiberius Claudius Nero with Tigranes to dethrone Artaxias. (Dion. 54, c. 7, 9.) Tiberius did this, and with his own hand crowned Tigranes. (Suetonius, Tib. c. 9.) This summary proceeding was made the most of at Rome, though there appears to have been little resistance. There was a medal struck on the occasion, with the inscription "Armenia capta." Horace speaks (Ep. 12. 26) of the Armenian having fallen by the valour of Tiberius; and Velleius says Armenia was reduced to the power of the Romans. It had been so virtually since the submission of Tigranes' grandfather to Cn. Pompeius. [Velleius (ii. 94) says that Tiberius placed Artavasdes on the throne. See the notes in Burmann's ed.]

Tiberius appears to have had a number of young men with him, such as Titius, Celsus, and Munatius, mentioned in this Epistle, and Julius Florus, to whom it is addressed. What little can be said about the first three will be found in the notes. Of Florus Porphyrion says, "Fuit satirarum scriptor cujus sunt electae ex Ennio, Lucilio, Varrone." From this Epistle (v. 23) we infer that he was practising to become an orator or a jurisconsultus, and that he wrote verses of the softer sort; and in the second Epistle of the second book (v. 59) we have the same information.

"Carmine tu gaudes, hic delectatur iambis;
Ille Bioneis sermonibus et sale nigro."

He may have written Satires, but it would seem from the last quotation that he had not written any when Horace sent him that Epistle. If the Scholiast is to be trusted (and it is not likely he invented what he says), Florus published a selection from the old writers mentioned by Porphyrion. Quintilian (Inst. Orat. x. 3) tells an anecdote of one Julius Florus, who was uncle to an intimate friend of his, Julius Secundus, and whom he calls "in eloquentia Galliarum (quoniam ibi demum exercuit eam) princeps." This may be the person Horace addresses, and if so he carried out successfully the pursuit of which Horace here supposes him to be beginning the practice. He is also supposed by Weichert to be the person mentioned by Tacitus (Ann. iii. 40, 42) as the leader of an insurrection of the Treviri, which is very improbable. How he got the gentile name Julius is uncertain. The cognomen Florus belonged to the Aquillia gens; and there was a L. Aquillius Florus, one of the 'triumviri monetales' at this time, several of whose coins are extant. Some of them are given in the Dict. Biog. It is supposed he received the 'civitas' from C. Julius Caesar and took his name. But we know nothing about this. Horace had a great regard for him, as appears not only

from this but the other Epistle, in which he makes his excuses to him for not having sent him any poetry.

Florus was evidently a young man at this time, and all the persons named were young. One of them (Celsus) was secretary to Tiberius. Whether the others had any definite occupation, or were merely travelling to enlarge their experience and see the world, is not stated. Horace assumes that they are not wasting their time, but pursuing their studies and practising their pens. He inquires after his young friends in a way that shows his interest in them, offers them such advice and encouragement as he thinks they need, and especially begs Florus to be reconciled to Munatius, with whom he had for some reason quarrelled. This was probably Horace's chief design in writing this Epistle.

Juli Flore, quibus terrarum militet oris
Claudius Augusti privignus scire laboro.
Thracane vos Hebrusque nivali compede vinctus,
An freta vicinas inter currentia turres,
An pingues Asiae campi collesque morantur?
Quid studiosa cohors operum struit? Hoc quoque curo.

3. *Thracane vos Hebrusque*] The first of these is the Latin form of the Greek Θρῄκη. It has been observed before that Horace generally uses the Latin terminations in the Satires and Epistles, and the Greek in the Odes. The Hebrus he elsewhere calls "hiemi sodalem" (C. i. 25. 19).

4. *vicinas inter currentia turres*] The Scholiast Porphyrion says these were the towers or castles of Hero and Leander, at Sestos and Abydos. The former stood on the European shore of the Hellespont, and the modern name is Akbachi. The strait takes a bend to the north-east between the two towns, and Abydos stood directly south of Sestos, at the distance of thirty stadia. There is a village named Avido, which is supposed to stand on the site of Abydos, though others identify the site of the village of Nagara with that of Abydos (see Creuzer's note on Herod. v. 117). The story of Leander swimming by night repeatedly, till he lost his life in a storm, from Abydos to visit Hero the priestess of Venus at Sestos is well known from Ovid's two Epistles (Heroid. 18, 19) and Virgil (Georg. iii. 258 sqq.). Lord Byron and a companion in the year 1810, in the month of May, swam from the European shore to the Asiatic, "entering a considerable way above the European, and landing below the Asiatic fort." "The rapidity of the current is such that no boat can row directly across." They swam the distance, one in an hour and five minutes, and the other in an hour and ten minutes, and calculated that they had swum upwards of four English miles, "though the actual breadth is barely one." "The water was extremely cold, from the melting of the mountain snows." According to this account, which I have given in Lord Byron's words, there are still two forts on the opposite shores of the Hellespont in the narrowest part, which is only seven stadia wide (Herod. vii. 34). But the European fort cannot occupy the site of Sestos, which was higher up. It is probably on the spot to which Xerxes' bridge was thrown over from Abydos, which Herodotus calls ἀκτὴ τραχέα ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα, lying between Sestos and Madytus (Maito). It is not improbable that there was a fortified town there, or a castle in former times, and that Horace alludes to it in this place. The strength of the current above described is referred to in 'currentia.' For 'turres' the oldest Blandinian MS. had 'terras,' which Bentley, "semper novitatis avidus," adopted, saying, that though we hear in different poets of the tower of Hero at Sestos, we hear nothing of a tower at Abydos, the plain reason of course being that it was necessary to the story that the priestess should have a tower or some high place from which to show the signal-light to her lover. Abydus was a fortified place, and stood more than one siege, and 'turris' does not necessarily mean a tower. It may mean a fortified place or a castle.

6. *Quid studiosa cohors operum*] As to 'cohors,' see S. i. 7. 23 n. 'Operum' belongs to 'quid,' and signifies here 'writings,' either prose or poetry.

Quis sibi res gestas Augusti scribere sumit?
Bella quis et paces longum diffundit in aevum?
Quid Titius Romana brevi venturus in ora?
Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus,
Fastidire lacus et rivos ausus apertos.
Ut valet? ut meminit nostri? Fidibusne Latinis
Thebanos aptare modos studet auspice Musa,
An tragica desaevit et ampullatur in arte?
Quid mihi Celsus agit? monitus multumque monendus

7. *scribere sumit*] Compare C. i. 12. 2, "sumis celebrare." 'Sumere' is sometimes used in a bad sense, as we use 'assume,' 'presume,' but it is not so here. See A. P. 38: "Sumite materiam vestris qui scribitis aequam Viribus." With 'diffundit in aevum,' compare C. iv. 14, init.: "Quae cura patrum—Auguste, virtutes in aevum—Aeternet."

9. *Quid Titius Romana*] The Scholiasts say that Titius was a tragic and lyric poet. Acron says that Horace is ridiculing him for imitating Pindar, and that his poetry was worth nothing: "libri ejus nullius momenti erant." Porphyrion, on the other hand, says he was a person of great learning, and Comm. Cruq. calls him Titius Septimius, and that he had "insigne monumentum infra Ariciam." From the last of these notices he has been supposed to be the same as Septimius, to whom C. ii. 6 is addressed, and whom Horace commends to Tiberius in the ninth Epistle of this book. Weichert (Poet. Lat. Rel. de Titio Septimio) entertains this opinion, but the Titia and Septimia were Roman gentes, and though those who belonged to Italian families might have two gentile names, those who belonged to Roman could not at this time, though in later times they might. Besides, this person appears to have been younger than Septimius. There are several persons of this family whom we hear of, among others one who held a high command at the battle of Actium, and was made consul suffectus that year. But there is no one upon record with whom the person in the text can be identified. Some suppose he may be the person Tibullus mentions (i. 4. 73), "Haec mihi quae canerem Titio Deus edidit ore."

9. *venturus in ora*] This was probably a conventional expression, and may have taken its rise from Ennius' "volito vivu' per ora virum," which Virgil has imitated. 'Lacus' and 'rivos apertos' (tanks and water channels) are opposed to the deep and hidden springs of Pindar's genius, for which Horace had the greatest reverence (C. iv. 2, Introduction). 'Expalluit' is used as in C. iii. 27. 27, "mediasque fraudes Palluit audax."

14. *An tragica desaevit et ampullatur*] The first of these verbs refers to the passions represented in tragedy, the other to the pompous words employed by inferior writers to express them. 'Ampulla' signifies a sort of bottle with a big round belly, and corresponds to the Greek λήκυθος, which was used to signify great swelling words. Horace appears to have been the first to substitute the Latin words 'ampullari' and 'ampulla' (the first of which he probably coined) for ληκυθίζειν and λήκυθος. See A. P. 97, "Projicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba." Porphyrion says Horace took the idea from Callimachus, and he uses the term Μοῦσαν ληκύθειον (Fr. 319. Bl.). I do not think Orelli is right in making the point of Aeschylus' taunt against Euripides (Arist. Ran. 1208) fitting the words ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν to every other verse he composes, to turn upon the above proverbial use of the word. He is speaking of his rhythm, particularly in respect to the use of trisyllabic feet. In the other sense it would be absurd to make Aeschylus censure any one as a ληκυθιστής.

15. *Quid mihi Celsus agit*] 'Quid agis' is the common formula for 'how d'ye do?' See S. i. 9. 4, "Quid agis, dulcissime rerum?" and Epp. i. 8. 3, "Si quaeret quid agam." Celsus is probably Celsus Albinovanus, to whom the eighth Epistle is addressed. We know nothing of him except that he was one of Tiberius' staff and his secretary ("comiti scribaeque Neronis," 8. 2). There was one Pedo Albinovanus, to whom Ovid wrote one of his Epistles from Pontus (iv. 10), but it was not the same man. The advice Horace here sends him is to write something

Privatas ut quaerat opes, et tangere vitet
Scripta Palatinus quaecunque recepit Apollo,
Ne si forte suas repetitum venerit olim
Grex avium plumas moveat cornicula risum
Furtivis nudata coloribus. Ipse quid audes?
Quae circumvolitas agilis thyma? Non tibi parvum
Ingenium, non incultum est et turpiter hirtum.
Seu linguam causis acuis seu civica jura
Respondere paras seu condis amabile carmen,
Prima feres hederae victricis praemia. Quodsi
Frigida curarum fomenta relinquere posses,
Quo te caelestis sapientia duceret ires.
Hoc opus, hoc studium parvi properemus et ampli
Si patriae volumus, si nobis vivere cari.
Debes hoc etiam rescribere, si tibi curae

original, and not confine himself to the ideas of other authors, either in the way of translation or imitation. Augustus (C. i. 31, Introduction) attached a library to the temple he built for Apollo on the Mons Palatinus. Aesop's fable of the jackdaw, who dressed himself in the peacock's cast-off feathers, is told by Phaedrus (i. 3). Αἰσώπιος κολοιός was a proverb.

21. *Quae circumvolitas*] This similitude of a bee gathering honey from thyme is applied by Horace to himself (C. iv. 2. 27 n.). As to 'orator' and 'respondere,' see S. i. 1. 9 n., and on 'hederae praemia,' see C. i. 1. 29.

23. *seu civica jura respondere*] Pliny has "jus civile respondere" (Epp. 6. 15). [The usual form of expression is 'de jure respondere,' or 'jus respondere,' both of which Cicero uses.]

26. *Frigida curarum fomenta*] Some suppose that 'fomenta' signifies those selfish objects, such as honour, riches, &c., which seem to foster ('fovere') care, and which make the heart cold and the feelings dull. Others apply it to similar objects; but as the remedies by which care is sought to be alleviated are "fomenta vulnus nil malum levantia" (Epod. xi. 17 n.), I incline to the latter myself. [Cicero (Tuscul. ii. 24, quoted by Krüger) has 'haec sunt solatia, haec fomenta summorum dolorum,' which may be applied to this passage. Florus might be a philosopher, if he would neglect 'the cold consolations for cares,' that is, such things, whatever they may be, which are ineffectual and do not alleviate our troubles.] They are still 'frigida,' in the sense above given.

28. *parvi properemus et ampli*] As to 'properemus,' see Epp. 2. 61, n., and with the sentiment compare Epp. 1. 25, "Aeque pauperibus prodest, locupletibus aeque."

30. *si tibi curae*] Many of the MSS. have 'sit,' but 'si' is better, and has sufficient authority. 'Si' and 'sit' are confused in the MSS. See Epod. i. 5 n. Horace says, 'You must write me back word whether you make as much of Munatius as he deserves, or whether your mutual regard (which had been interrupted), like a wound ill sewn, refuses to unite and is torn open again.' Munatius has been mentioned before (C. i. 7, Introduction) as the son of Munatius Plancus, the consul of A.U.C. 712. We know nothing more about him except that he was consul in A.U.C. 766, and that he was afterwards sent as one of the commissioners from the senate to the mutinous German legions (Tac. Ann. i. 39). It appears he and Florus had quarrelled; we are not told what it was about; but Horace attributes it to youthful heat and ignorance of the world. He likens them to unbroke horses, and in terms more affectionate than grammatical tells them that they ought to make it up, and that when they come home they will find the fatted calf ready for sacrifice. Compare C. i. 36, written on the return of Numida. It is impossible to put the different parts of the sentence together so as to make the construction regular and natural, but the sense is clear enough. Horace frequently uses 'dignus'

Quantae conveniat Munatius; an male sarta
Gratia nequicquam coit et rescinditur. At vos
Seu calidus sanguis seu rerum inscitia vexat
Indomita cervice feros, ubicunque locorum
Vivitis, indigni fraternum rumpere foedus,
Pascitur in vestrum reditum votiva juvenca.

with the infinitive. See C. iii. 21. 6 n. 'Indignus' he uses in the same way here and in A. P. 231, but in the usual prose construction with 'qui' and the subjunctive in S. ii. 3. 236. From 'fraternum foedus' Comm. Cruq. makes them brothers. Horace only means that they were or had been and ought to be "paene gemelli, Fraternis animis," as he says below, Epp. 10. 3.

EPISTLE IV.

Something has been said about Albius Tibullus, the poet, in the Introduction to C. i. 33, which is addressed to him, as this Epistle is. Horace writes to him (probably from Rome) at his place near Pedum, a town of Latium, not far from Praeneste, which, Porphyrion says, did not exist in his day, and the site of which is supposed to be occupied by the modern town Zagarola. Tibullus had a good estate there, inherited from his father, which before his death he appears by some means to have diminished (S. i. 4. 28 n.). That it was not by his own extravagance, and that his losses must have occurred after this Epistle was written, we may perhaps infer from v. 7. He alludes to them in the first of his elegies (i. 1. 19 sqq.):

"Vos quoque, felicis quondam nunc pauperis agri
Custodes, fertis munera vestra, Lares;"

and in Lib. iv. 1. 181 sqq. there are some bitter lines on the same subject. But it is not probable that these lines were written by Tibullus; and if not, the language of the elegy above quoted is not enough to prove that the diminution of the property took place after it came into his possession. He might call his estate 'pauperem agrum' by comparison, and he might still by Horace's standard be rich. He says in i. 1. 41:

"Non ego divitias patrum, fructusque requiro
Quos tulit antiquo condita messis avo."

He may therefore be supposed to contrast his estate with what it was in the times before he came to it, rather than with its earlier condition under himself. Nevertheless there are some who suppose that Horace wrote this Epistle to console Tibullus, and to chide him for being melancholy, referring to v. 12, which, as Orelli says, contains nothing more than a general description of human life. The description Horace gives of Tibullus' person is confirmed by an old biography, which calls him "eques Romanus insignis forma cultuque corporis observabilis." He lived chiefly on his estate in the quiet pursuits Horace here supposes him to be engaged in; but in A.U.C. 723, immediately after the battle of Actium, he accompanied Messalla into Gaul and was absent about a year, which as far as we know comprised all his active life, though Dissen has endeavoured to show that for ten years, from A.U.C. 712 to 722, he served in the army. Horace among other blessings assigns him good health; nevertheless he died young. It appears that while many disparaged Horace's writings Tibullus judged them kindly, and the affection the two poets bore one another cannot be mistaken. Tibullus was probably ten or twelve years younger than Horace. Various attempts have been made to give a date to the Epistle, but none are satisfactory to my mind. Tibullus died the

same year with Virgil (A.U.C. 734), or very soon after. Ovid seems to imply that he first came into notice when Augustus was made emperor, A.U.C. 727 (Trist. ii. 463 sq.), "legiturque Tibullus Et placet et jam te principe notus erat." And so the Epistle is placed between these two dates. Any thing nearer cannot be arrived at, and this is uncertain.

ALBI, nostrorum sermonum candide judex,
Quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?
Scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat,
An tacitum silvas inter reptare salubres,

1. *sermonum*] It is a matter of discussion whether these 'sermones' were the Epistles or Satires, or both. The Satires must have been published some time, and some of the Epistles may have been written and made known to Horace's intimate friends. I think there can be no doubt the word 'sermones' applies (whether Horace published them with that title or not) to the Epistles as well as the Satires, and whatever Tibullus had seen he approved, which is all we can gather from the text. Acron writes "Albius ille criticus fuit et scriptor philosophiae." By 'criticus' he probably meant 'grammaticus' (Epp. i. 19. 40 n.); but he is plainly wrong.

2. *regione Pedana*] See Introduction.

3. *Cassi Parmensis opuscula*] Parma (Parma) was a town belonging to the Boii, at the edge of the Macri Campi, in Cisalpine Gaul, on a river of the same name which runs into the Po about twelve miles north of the town. The Via Aemilia passed through Parma. Cassius of Parma has been referred to before on S. i. 10. 61, where it was stated that the Scholiasts had confounded him with the bad poet of Etruria there mentioned. Cassius of Parma was one of the murderers of C. Julius Caesar (Velleius, ii. 87) and a 'tribunus militum' in the army of Brutus and Cassius. He was therefore in all probability well known to Horace. After following the fortunes of Sex. Pompeius he joined Antonius, on whose side he fought at the battle of Actium. After the battle he retired to Athens, and there he was put to death by order of Augustus. Acron, after stating most of the above particulars, which are confirmed by the historian, says, "Qu. Varus (or Varius, as it is in the commentary of Porphyrion; Comm. Cruq. has Varus) ab Augusto missus ut eum interficeret, studentem reperit: et perempto eo scrinium cum libris tulit. Unde multi crediderunt Thyestem Cassii Parmensis fuisse: scripserat enim multas alias tragoedias." It has been supposed that L. Varius, Horace's friend, the dramatic and epic poet, who wrote a tragedy called Thyestes, is the Qu. Varus of the Scholiasts, and that they mean to affirm that he stole it from Cassius. See C. i. 6. 8, and S. i. 5. 40.) But Estré suggests that Qu. Atius Varus, to whom the sixth Eclogue of Virgil is addressed, and who was a poet, was the executioner of Cassius referred to by the Scholiasts. A very elaborate treatise has been written (by Weichert) respecting the two Cassii, in which, besides establishing the distinction between them, he produces a few fragments which are supposed to belong to Cassius of Parma; and he attributes to him the epigram on Augustus, beginning "Quum primum istorum conduxit mensa choragum," quoted by Suetonius in his life (c. 70). What the 'opuscula' Horace refers to may have been we do not know, but it is clear that he thought well of them. Acron's note on this person begins, "Hic aliquot generibus stylum exercuit: inter quae opera elegiaca et epigrammata ejus laudantur." What confidence is to be placed in this assertion, part of which at least might easily be got from the text, we cannot tell. Obbarius thinks Horace gave a strong proof of his friendship for his old companion in arms by praising one who had died under the displeasure of Augustus. But those quarrels had long been forgotten.

4. *silvas inter reptare salubres*] 'Reptare' (frequentative of 'repere'), which contains the same root as ἕρπω, signifies to saunter, or to go about quietly; and Lucretius applies it to sheep grazing on downs (ii. 317):—

"Nam saepe in colli tondentes pabula laeta
Lanigerae reptant pecudes, quo quamque vocantes
Invitant herbae."

The woods are called 'salubres' because their shade protects from the heat of the sun, as Cicero says (Cat. M. c. 16): "Ubi enim potest illa aetas (senectus) aut calescere vel apricatione melius vel igni, aut

Curantem quidquid dignum sapiente bonoque est?
Non tu corpus eras sine pectore. Di tibi formam,
Di tibi divitias dederunt artemque fruendi.
Quid voveat dulci nutricula majus alumno,
Qui sapere et fari possit quae sentiat, et cui
Gratia, fama, valetudo contingat abunde,
Et mundus victus non deficiente crumena?
Inter spem curamque, timores inter et iras,
Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum:
Grata superveniet quae non sperabitur hora.
Me pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute vises,
Cum ridere voles Epicuri de grege porcum.

vicissim umbris aquisve refrigerari salubrius?"

6. *Non tu corpus eras sine pectore*] 'Sine pectore' is used twice by Ovid (Met. xiii. 290), "rudis et sine pectore miles." Heroid. xvi. 305:

"Hunccine tu speres hominem sine pectore dotes
Posse satis formae, Tyndari, nosse tuae?"

It means 'intellect,' of which the ancients held the heart to be the seat. See Quintilian (x. 7. 15): "Pectus est quod disertos facit et vis mentis." There is a difficulty in 'eras' which the commentators have different ways of explaining. Bothe says it is used by enallage for 'es,' like ἦν for ἐστί, which Obbarius says truly is a piece of grammarians' nonsense which no one now believes; but he does not help us much by saying that it refers to the time which was present to the poet's mind, since he does not tell us what that time was. Orelli says it means "you always were since I first knew you," which is a new sense for the imperfect. Others take it for "you were before you went into the country;" that is, "when I last saw you," which implies a doubt whether he was so at the time of writing. Others (Gesner and Doering) suppose it to mean 'you were born so;' this would be like the Greek ἔφυς. Terence uses 'tune eras?' for 'is it you?' I cannot say I am able to explain the idiom. The imperfect is used irregularly in C. i. 27. 19, and 37. 4.

7. *dederunt*] Some MSS. and nearly all the old editions have 'dederant.' Most MSS. have the perfect, the penult of which is frequently shortened. Wherever it is so the MSS. vary, Wagner says (on Georg. iv. 393).

8. *nutricula*] Persius makes a nurse exclaim (ii. 37):

"Hunc optent generum rex et regina; puellae
Hunc rapiant; quicquid calcaverit hic rosa fiat."

And in Juvenal (x. 289) the anxious mother

"Formam optat modico pueris, majore puellis
Murmure, quum fanum Veneris videt."

[9. *Qui sapere—possit*]. There is a reading 'quam sapere;' and some editions have 'quam sapere et fari ut possit:' but it is said that there is no MS. authority for 'ut.' The text means 'what more could a loving nurse wish for her child, if he should possess wisdom (philosophy) and be able to say what he thinks, and if he has abundance,' &c. Bentley says the connexion of the words is plain enough, and the difficulty of some of the critics has been caused by taking the prayer of the nurse as made for an infant child. But that is what Horace, I think, intended to say when he wrote v. 8, which is hardly consistent with what follows.]

11. *mundus*] This is explained by S. ii. 2. 65: "Mundus erit qua non offendat sordibus." Many MSS. have 'et modus et victus,' out of which Bentley has got by conjecture 'et domus et victus.'

13. *diluxisse*] Forcellini notices the archaic reading 'tibid illuxisse,' which is only a conjecture of Muretus.

15. *Me pinguem et nitidum*] This corresponds to Suetonius' description of Horace's person, "Habitu corporis brevis fuit atque obesus." On 'bene curata cute' see S. ii. 5. 38. Horace was now sleek and growing fat.

EPISTLE V.

As to Torquatus, the person whom Horace in this Epistle invites to dine with him, see C. iv. 7, Introduction. The occasion was the evening before Caesar's birth-day (v. 9), which Porphyrion says means C. Julius Caesar. His birth-day was on the 12th July, and this dinner was given in the summer (v. 11). But the name Caesar put absolutely could only apply to Augustus at this time, and Comm. Cruq. differs from the other Scholiast, and says rightly it must have been the birth-day of Augustus, which was the 23rd of September. The expression 'aestiva' does not accurately correspond to that time, for autumn began the day before the Ides of September. But that is not very important. The heat is never so oppressive as in September in a warm climate. The dinner was not given on the birth-day, but the night before, and the holiday is referred to because the man of business would have nothing to do next day, and might lie in bed late and therefore sit up late. The Epistle contains a good-tempered invitation to dinner, nothing more. It is the fashion with a good many of the commentators to find out the characters of Horace's friends from his Odes and Epistles, and in various parts of this they see allusions to the pride and avarice and parsimonious tendency of Torquatus, as well as his fondness for good living, just as from the last it is discovered that Tibullus was of a morose and melancholy turn of mind, and given to brooding over his misfortunes. This is mere trifling. [Ritter fixes the date of this Epistle in the summer months of A.U.C. 734, a few days after the birth of Caius Caesar, as he calls him, the son of Agrippa and Julia, the daughter of Augustus. The birth of this child was celebrated by making the day a perpetual festival (Dion Cassius 54. c. 8). Ritter explains v. 9 thus: 'Cras dies festus erit ob natum nobis Caesarem.' Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa and Julia, were adopted into the Julian family by Augustus (Tacit. Ann. i. 3); but Ritter has not proved that Caius Caesar was adopted by Augustus as soon as he was born.]

Si potes Archiacis conviva recumbere lectis
Nec modica coenare times olus omne patella,
Supremo te sole domi, Torquate, manebo.
Vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa palustres

1. *Si potes Archiacis*] The Scholiasts all say these were short couches called after the name of their maker, whom Porphyrion calls 'Archias,' Acron and Comm. Cruq. 'Archaicus;' from which Lambinus first, and others after him suppose that the word is from the Greek ἀρχαϊκοῖς, to which it is answer enough that the second syllable of that word is long. The great majority of MSS., and the best now existing, have 'Archiacis;' and though many of the old editions have 'Archaicis,' it is as from the name of the maker, not from the Greek. Landinus (1483), for instance, has 'Archaicis,' and explains it "vilioribus et plebeiis, ab Archia inscio fabro factis;" and so with Ascensius (1519).

2. *olus omne*] The fare Horace offers would not be very inviting to a modern diner-out; but he seems to have lived chiefly on the produce of the garden himself, and 'olus omne' may have been a sort of salad or other dish compounded of different vegetables. The dinner is fixed at a rather late hour for the time of year, to give Torquatus time to finish his business. (S. ii. 7. 33 n.). 'Patella' is the diminutive of 'patina,' as 'catillum' of 'catinum' (S. i. 3. 90). ['Coenare olus:' comp. Epp. i. 18. 48.]

4. *Vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa*] See Introduction, and C. iii. 8. 12 n.; and as to 'diffusa' see C. iv. 5. 34 n., and S. ii. 2. 58. A smaller number of MSS. than

Inter Minturnas Sinuessanumque Petrinum.
Si melius quid habes arcesse vel imperium fer.
Jamdudum splendet focus et tibi munda supellex.
Mitte leves spes et certamina divitiarum
Et Moschi causam: cras nato Caesare festus

usual have 'defusa.' The two words are commonly confounded, like all other compounds of 'di' and 'de.' As to Minturnae and Sinuessa see S. i. 5. 40 n. Petrinus was a hill overhanging Sinuessa, according to Comm. Cruq., or a tract of land in the neighbourhood. The overflowings of the Garigliano (Liris), on which Minturnae stood, still render the surrounding country damp, and it is very thinly inhabited. "The plain itself is highly cultivated, yet not a house can be seen. The labourers retire before night from the exhalations of the low grounds to towns built on the skirts of the Apennines" (Forsyth's Italy, p. 263). These marshes are famous for the adventure of Marius, who concealed himself in them. The Falernus ager and Mons Massicus, with their celebrated vineyards, were in the neighbourhood of Sinuessa, and Martial speaks of Massic wine made at that town (xiii. 111):

"De Sinuessanis venerunt Massica prelis:
Condita quo quaeris consule? Nullus erat."

It does not appear that Horace's wine was of the best, and every body knows that two vineyards close to one another may produce wines of very different quality. [T. Statilius Taurus was consul a second time (iterum) in A.U.C. 728.]

6. *arcesse vel imperium fer*] "Fetch it or else put yourself under my 'imperium,'" as if he as master had the 'imperium' at his own table. ['Arcesse:' 'ad te ire me jube,' Ritter; which, as Krüger observes, is not a correct explanation, for Horace had prepared his dinner.] Martial (xii. 48. 15) has something like this:

"Convivas alios coenarum quaere magister,
Quos capiant mensae regna superba tuae."

'Arcessere' is compounded of 'ar' (which is equivalent to 'ad') and 'cessere,' which involves the same root ('ci-') as 'ciere.' Many MSS. and editions read 'accerse,' which Wagner on Aen. v. 746, says is a form belonging to the age 'cadentis latinitatis.' Fea quotes in support of 'arcessere,' from the Calendar of Verrius Flaccus, a grammarian of Horace's time, found at Praeneste, A.D. 1773: "Quod Mater Magna ex Libris Sibullinis ARCESSITA locum mutavit ex Phrygia Romam." See Forcellini, and Key's L. G. 547, note on 754 on the suffix 'ess,' and 1312 on 'ar,' which he says is rarely if ever used, except in composition. An exception noticed by Professor Key is found in Plautus (Truc. ii. 2. 17): "An eo bella es quia accepisti? Ar me advenias." See also Long's notes on Cicero, Cat. M. c. 16, and in Verr. Act i. c. 9.

7. *Jamdudum splendet focus*] See Epod. ii. 43 n. As it was summer he does not mean that the fire was lit, but that the 'focus,' by which he means probably that which stood in the Atrium, near the images of the Lares, and which was probably of bronze, had been burnished for the occasion. Different specimens of braziers have been found at Pompeii, all movable, and varying in size and shape, some of them combining a hot-water apparatus with a charcoal trough. 'Supellex' legally included all household furniture except such as was of gold or silver, gilded or plated; that is, it included tables of all sorts, chairs, benches, couches (even when they were ornamented with silver) with their drapery, footstools, napkins, candelabra, lamps, and all sorts of vessels of earthenware, glass, bronze, whether for eating or drinking. (Dig. 33, tit. 10. 3, quoted by Forcell., where one or two exceptions in respect to plated things are mentioned.) Wearing apparel was not included, and perhaps ivory ornaments. Cicero (De Agrar. Lege ii. 15) speaks of "multa in mancipiis, in pecore, auro, argento, ebore, veste, supellectili."

[8. *leves spes*] 'Trifling hopes or expectations,' which means hopes about trifling things. 'Certamina divitiarum' is the contest for wealth.]

9. *Et Moschi causam*] If we can trust the Scholiasts, Moschus was a famous rhetorician of Pergamum, who was charged with poisoning, and his cause was undertaken by Torquatus, and also by Asinius Pollio ("insigne maestis praesidium reis," C. ii. 1. 13). The case would be tried under the 'lex Cornelia de Sicariis et Veneficis,' passed in the time when Sulla was dictator A.U.C. 672, directed (among

Dat veniam somnumque dies; impune licebit
Aestivam sermone benigno tendere noctem.
Quo mihi fortunam si non conceditur uti?
Parcus ob heredis curam nimiumque severus
Assidet insano: potare et spargere flores
Incipiam, patiarque vel inconsultus haberi.
Quid non ebrietas designat? Operta recludit,
Spes jubet esse ratas, ad proelia trudit inertem;
Sollicitis animis onus eximit, addocet artes.

others) against all who committed murder by poison, or abetted in such murder; for the provisions of which 'lex' see Dict. Ant. p. 285 sq.

— *cras nato Caesare*] See Introduction. The 23rd September, Augustus' birth-day, was one of those days in which the early part was 'nefastus;' that is, the praetor could not hold his court till a later hour than usual. Hence it is marked in the Calendar N. P. ('Nefastus Prior'). (Dict. Ant. p. 186.) So that it was doubly a holiday for Torquatus, and he could lie in bed without damaging his cause, and therefore might sit up late with his friend.

12. *Quo mihi fortunam*] This is an elliptical way of speaking, which must be filled up according to the context. 'Quo mihi fortunam dedit Deus' may do here. 'Quo' is 'to what,' that is, 'to what purpose,' as in C. ii. 3. 9, "Quo pinus," &c. Comp. S. i. 6. 24. Ovid has "Quo mihi fortunam quae nunquam fallere curet?" (Am. ii. 19. 7); and Phaedrus "Quo mi, inquit, mutam speciem si vincor sono." The best MSS. and many editions have 'quo mihi fortuna,' against the metre, [unless 'fortuna' be the ablative.] The omission of the mark over the final 'ā' may account for the reading 'fortuna.' [In the prose writers of Cicero's age the plural 'fortunae' is used to signify 'res familiaris,' a man's property. Ovid (Trist. v. 2. 57) has 'fortuna' in this sense. Conington (Virg. Aen. iv. 98) retains the reading 'Sed quis erit modus? aut quo nunc certamine tanto?' but it seems impossible to explain 'certamine tanto.']

14. *Assidet insano*] As 'dissidet' is used to signify difference (C. ii. 2. 18), Horace uses 'assidet' to signify resemblance. It is not so used elsewhere. The guests not uncommonly wore wreaths of flowers on their heads, and carried them in their hands; and we can understand their scattering them about the table and floor, especially when they were merry. In a picture discovered at Pompeii there is a representation of a young man and woman reclining on a couch before a small table, with flowers strewed about the floor. The man is drinking from a horn (ῥυτόν), and the woman is taking a small box from a female slave, supposed to be a 'myrotheca' or box of perfumes. Horace says: "Parcentes ego dexteras Odi: sparge rosas" (C. iii. 19. 21). Fresh flowers were probably scattered at intervals during the dinner.

15. *patiarque vel inconsultus haberi*] See C. ii. 7. 28: "recepto Dulce mihi furere est amico." C. iii. 19. 18: "Insanire juvat." ['*patiarque—inconsultus.*' This seems to be a Greek construction.]

16. *Quid non ebrietas designat*] Forcellini explains 'designare' here by "rem aliquam insignem patrare, sed cum nota et ignominia," quoting besides this place Terence (Adelph. i. 2. 6):

"—— quae facta sunt
Omitto: modo quid designavit. *Mi.* Quidnam id est?
De. Fores effregit atque in aedes irruit;"

on which Donatus says, "designare est rem novam facere in utramque partem et bonam et malam;" that is, to do any thing out of the common way. If this be the meaning, and I know no other, Horace says 'what strange things will not ebriety do?' (Epp. i. 7. 6 n., 'designator.') As to 'operta recludit' compare C. i. 18. 16; iii. 21. 16; Epod. xi. 14, and the places quoted in the note on S. i. 4. 89, "verax aperit praecordia Liber." 'Spes jubet esse ratas, ad proelia trudit inertem' agrees with what Aristotle says (Nic. Eth. iii. 8. 14): τοιοῦτον δὲ ποιοῦσι καὶ οἱ μεθυσκόμενοι, εὐέλπιδες γὰρ γίνονται, that is, they gain courage by gaining self-confidence. [Ritter has 'dissignat,' 'unseals,' the reading of some MSS. and of Porphyrion.]

18. *addocet artes*] That is more particularly the art of speech mentioned in

Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
Contracta quem non in paupertate solutum?
Haec ego procurare et idoneus imperor et non
Invitus, ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa
Corruget nares, ne non et cantharus et lanx
Ostendat tibi te, ne fidos inter amicos
Sit qui dicta foras eliminet, ut coëat par
Jungaturque pari. Butram tibi Septiciumque,
Et nisi coena prior potiorque puella Sabinum
Detinet, assumam; locus est et pluribus umbris:
Sed nimis arta premunt olidae convivia caprae.
Tu quotus esse velis rescribe, et rebus omissis
Atria servantem postico falle clientem.

the next line. 'Addocet' is an uncommon word, and is like the Greek προσδιδάσκει. 'Fecundi calices' are full cups. [Or 'fecundi' may have an active sense, as in Ovid, Met. iv. 697, quoted by Krüger, 'Quam clausam implevit fecundo Jupiter auro.'] 'Contracta paupertas' corresponds to 'angustam pauperiem' (C. iii. 2. 1).

21. *Haec ego procurare*] The 'procurator' was one of the chief slaves, and general steward. But the 'promus' was also called 'procurator peni' (S. ii. 2. 16), and Horace says he has undertaken to arrange every thing for the dinner. 'Haec' refers to what follows. He says he is 'idoneus,' competent to the duty, and 'non invitus,' he likes it. 'Imperor' is nowhere else used as it is here. The proper construction is 'imperatur mihi.' The use of 'imperor' with the passive infinitive is a different thing: as in Cicero (in Verr. ii. 5. 27), "in has lautumias—deduci imperantur." (See Key's L. G. 1243 n.) So Horace alone uses 'invideor' (A. P. 56): "Ego cur acquirere pauca Si possum invideor?" where he illustrates what he is saying by this novel construction. As to 'toral' and 'mappa' see S. ii. 4. 81, 84. 'Corruget nares' means to make the guests turn up their noses in disgust, as Quintilian explains it, quoting this passage (xi. 3. 80).

[23. *ne non—ostendat*] He will take care that the 'cantharus' and 'lanx' shall be polished bright.]

25. *eliminet*] 'Eliminare' is an old word for 'to turn out of doors.' Horace applies it to telling tales out of doors. Horace only brought together persons who were suited to one another, and could tell their minds without fear of what they said being repeated. Seneca (Ep. 19) quotes in his own words a good rule of Epicurus: "Ante circumspiciendum est cum quibus edas et bibas quam quid edas et bibas." Of the guests nothing is known. 'Potior puella' means one who has more attractions than Horace's dinner.

28. *locus est et pluribus umbris*] 'Umbrae' were guests uninvited by the master of the house and brought by the invited guests (S. ii. 8. 22 n.). Horace says there is room for several 'umbrae,'—that is, four; for a full 'triclinium' held nine persons. But, considering the heat of the weather, he thinks it as well not to have the full number, especially if what the Scholiasts say is true, that 'Archiaci lecti' were short couches. 'Capra,' 'caper,' 'hircus,' are all used to signify the smell from the arm-pits.

30. *Tu quotus esse velis*] So Martial (xiv. 217):

"Dic quotus et quanti cupias coenare; nec unum
Addideris verbum, coena parata tibi est;"

an hospitable invitation. Horace advises his friend not to come out at the front door, 'ostium,' or 'janua atriensis,' for fear he should find a client waiting to catch him, but at the back door, 'posticum ostium,' which the Greeks called ψευδόθυρον, a false door, a word which Cicero uses (in Verr. ii. 2. 20), where he says that the money which Verres paid back to the Syracusans publicly, came again to him privately, "per pseudothyrum." This applied sense of the word was often used, as it is by ourselves. Torrentius gives several instances. ['Posticum' may be compared with 'anticum.']

EPISTLE VI.

Who Numicius was nobody can tell, and it does not signify. Any other name would have done as well. Nothing turns upon the character or circumstances of the person nominally addressed, and I feel inclined to put the Epistle in the same light as several of the Odes, in which, as I have often had occasion to remark, a name seems to be introduced more to give life to the poem than for any other reason. The Numicia was a patrician gens of no great note.

In respect to the time of composition, the only guide is v. 26: "Cum bene notum Porticus Agrippae et via te conspexerit Appi," and that does not assist us much. (See note.)

As to the design of the Epistle, it is to support virtue, under the aspect of a calm self-content as the chief good. The ordinary standards of happiness are treated with contempt, and there is a strong vein of irony running through the greater part of the Epistle, as will be seen by the Argument.

ARGUMENT.

The only way to get happiness and to keep it, Numicius, is to save the mind from excitement. There are wise men who can look calmly on the awful skies. What do you suppose they think of the treasures of the earth and sea, and the rewards of a paltry ambition? But he who fears their opposites is excited just as much as he who desires these things themselves: each is taken by surprise, and in either case there is uneasiness. Be it joy or grief, desire or fear, what is the difference if every thing that falls out a little otherwise than is expected strikes a man dumb and makes him stare like an idiot? Nay, he who seeks virtue herself in excess is mad though he be wise, and a knave though he be good.

(v. 17.) Now then, go run after fine things; delight yourself in the praises of a mob; rise early and sleep late, that the fellow Mutus may not be richer and therefore more admired than you; but be sure that time brings obscurity to light and buries all that is brilliant in the earth: after all your admiration you shall go whither greater men have gone before you.

(v. 28.) If you are sick, you take physic. You want to be happy of course. Then if virtue be the only means, be resolute, make every sacrifice, and follow her.

(v. 31.) If virtue be but a name, make haste to be rich: off with you before any one gets the start: money is a queen, she will get you every thing. Persuasion and Love are in her train. Mind you are not like the poor king of Cappadocia. No, look at Lucullus, who knew not how much he had got: that is your only rich man: he had plenty for himself and the thieves too. So if money is to make you happy, make that your first object and your last.

(v. 49.) But if you are for honours and show, why then get yourself a man to prompt you: "here comes so-and-so—shake hands with him—there's a man will get you plenty of votes—here's another can give places to whom he will." Be sure you are civil to them: make them father, brother, on the spot.

(v. 56.) And if eating is your good, see, the day dawns, be off to the market, buy your boar as Gargilius did, and pretended he had killed it himself. Let us go bathe with our bellies full—no more fit to be citizens of Rome than the swinish crew of Ulysses.

(v. 65.) But if life is nothing without love and jest, then in love and jest let us live.

And so good bye. If you know any better rules, let me know them too. If not, let us both follow mine.

Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici,
Solaque quae possit facere et servare beatum.
Hunc solem et stellas et decedentia certis
Tempora momentis sunt qui formidine nulla
Imbuti spectent: quid censes munera terrae,
Quid maris extremos Arabas ditantis et Indos,
Ludicra quid, plausus et amici dona Quiritis,
Quo spectanda modo, quo sensu credis et ore?
Qui timet his adversa fere miratur eodem
Quo cupiens pacto; pavor est utrobique molestus;
Improvisa simul species exterret utrumque.
Gaudeat an doleat, cupiat metuatne, quid ad rem,
Si quidquid vidit melius pejusve sua spe,
Defixis oculis animoque et corpore torpet?
Insani sapiens nomen ferat, aequus iniqui,

1. *Nil admirari*] The equability of the soul, *καθ' ἣν γαληνῶς καὶ εὐσταθῶς ἡ ψυχὴ διάγει ὑπὸ μηδένος ταραττομένη φόβου ἢ δεισιδαιμονίας ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς πάθους* (Diog. Laert. ix. 45), was one of the fundamental doctrines of Democritus of Abdera, and he called it by various names, as *εὐέστω*, *ἀταραξία*, *ἁρμονία*, *συμμετρία*, *ἀθαμβία*, *ἀθαυμαστία*. But before him Pythagoras had held the same notion, and Heraclitus about the same time, and the same doctrine was held in some form by nearly every school of Greek philosophy as the foundation of morals and of happiness. In the theory of the sensual Aristippus it was an essential part (Epp. i. 1. 18 n.). Epicurus and Zeno equally found it necessary to their views of the chief good, as we find from the sayings attributed to them by Diogenes Laertius and other writers, and might infer from the nature of their several systems. It is this self-control that Horace says is the only means of making a man happy and keeping him so. 'Nil admirari' can only be said to be necessary to this rule when admiration amounts to a stupid wonder, excessive fear, excitement, or other effects by which the judgment is misled and the passions roused injuriously. Horace had too much sense to recommend a stupid apathy, or that affectation of self-possession which is not uncommon. [Ritter observes that Aristotle's, *θαυμάζειν*, Met. i. 2, is a different thing, for it is the beginning of philosophizing.] As to 'prope' see S. ii. 3. 32 n.

4. *sunt qui formidine nulla*] 'Formido' is equivalent to *δεισιδαιμονία*, a superstitious dread of the influence of the heavenly bodies. The best MSS., and most of them, have 'spectent.' A few quoted by Fea (who adopts the indicative) have 'spectant,' which some other editors prefer. I think Horace is referring generally to men of philosophical mind rather than to any particular sect or individuals, and therefore that the subjunctive is wanted. (See C. i. 1. 3 n.)

6. *Arabas ditantis et Indos*] C. iii. 24. 1:

"Intactis opulentior
Thesauris Arabum et divitis Indiae."

The treasures of the sea brought from the East were chiefly pearls and coral.

7. *Ludicra quid, plausus*] This refers perhaps to the exhibition of gladiatorial and other shows, by which the favour of the people and such rewards as they could bestow were sought. As to the singular 'Quiritis' see C. ii. 7. 3.

9. *fere*] This is used much as 'prope' is above. Horace says that fear and desire are much on a par, both indicating the want of that equanimity which he commends. 'Miratur' expresses the astonishment of fear as well as of admiration, and so does 'stupet' frequently, and 'exterret' applies like *ἐκπλήσσειν* to either state of mind. 'Torpet' does the same. (S. ii. 7. 95.)

15. *Insani sapiens*] Whether ironically or carried away by an unusual fit of enthusiasm, Horace maintains that a man may seek virtue itself 'ultra quam satis est.' What he means, or should mean, is,

Ultra quam satis est virtutem si petat ipsam.
I nunc, argentum et marmor vetus aeraque et artes
Suspice, cum gemmis Tyrios mirare colores;
Gaude quod spectant oculi te mille loquentem;
Navus mane forum et vespertinus pete tectum,
Ne plus frumenti dotalibus emetat agris
Mutus et, indignum quod sit, pejoribus ortus
Hic tibi sit potius quam tu mirabilis illi.
Quidquid sub terra est in apricum proferet aetas;
Defodiet condetque nitentia. Cum bene notum
Porticus Agrippae et via te conspexerit Appi,

that excitement is to be avoided in the pursuit of the chief good as well of subordinate goods. But, by saying that virtue itself may be admired inordinately, he is able to introduce with more contemptuous force the vulgar objects of admiration that follow, respecting which see C. iv. 8. 2; S. i. 4. 28; ii. 3. 118; and other places in the Satires.

[17. *I nunc*] Comp. Epp. ii. 2. 76.—'argentum' &c.: plate, bronzes, and works of art (C. iv. 8. 5). Comp. Juv. S. i. 76.]

[20. *Navus*] The best MSS.: but some MSS. have 'gnavus,' the genuine and complete form. Cicero says (Orat. c. 47) that 'noti,' 'navi' 'nari' were used, though 'ignoti,' 'ignavi,' 'ignari' were written.]

21. *dotalibus emetat agris*] This is equivalent to 'metat ex agris dotalibus,' as in S. ii. 2. 105 he says 'emetiris acervo.' 'Emeto' is not used elsewhere. Though the name Mutus occurs in inscriptions, it is perhaps used here by way of opposition to the eloquent man who by his own exertions was running an unequal race with the other man's luck. According to most modern commentators 'indignum' is used absolutely as an exclamation, and 'quod sit pejoribus ortus' explains why it was a shame. Mutus had been made rich by a fortunate marriage, and it was a shame that the orator should be obliged to look up to him as he must because he was rich. I take 'indignum quod sit' together, as Torrentius does in his notes, though he edits 'Mucius indignum,' which is the reading of some of the old editions and of Lambinus, Cruquius, and others. Bentley prefers, though he does not edit, 'qui sit,' for which there is no authority.

24. *Quidquid sub terra est*] This is like Sophocles (Aj. 646):

ἅπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος
φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται.

'In apricum' means 'to the rays of the sun,' 'to the light of day.' A man need not be in such a hurry to make himself a name, since time will swallow it up, while it brings forward the obscure.

26. *Porticus Agrippae*] In A.U.C. 729 Agrippa built the Pantheon in the Campus Martius, to which a 'porticus' was attached. He also built in the same year, in commemoration of the naval victories of Augustus, a porticus, to which he gave the name Porticus Argonautarum. It was not far from the Via Flaminia, on the site of the modern Piazza di Pietra (Nardini ap. Cramer). It was dedicated to Neptune, and contained a painting of the Argonauts. Martial refers to it (iii. 20):—

"Hinc si recessit, porticum terit templi,
An spatia carpit lentus Argonautarum?
An delicatae sole rursus Europae"—

where 'templi' probably refers to the Pantheon. He refers to the second again (xi. 1) among several 'porticus,' those of Quirinus, Pompeius, and Europa:—

"Vicini pete porticum Quirini;
Turbam non habet otiosiorem
Pompeius, vel Agenoris puella,
Vel primae dominus levis carinae;"

that is, Jason. Which of the two is referred to by Horace it is impossible to say. Estré (p. 408) thinks neither, but that of Europa referred to in both the above passages of Martial (and in ii. 14), which was built by Polla, Agrippa's sister, and which is mentioned by Dion Cass. (55. 8.) But this was not finished till Horace was dead. One of the others is more probably referred to, and of these the Porticus Argonautarum is more likely to have been called 'porticus Agrippae.' (Dion Cass. 53. 27.)

As to the Via Appia, see Epod. iv. 14. S. i. 5, 6. Most of the towns on this road

Ire tamen restat Numa quo devenit et Ancus.
Si latus aut renes morbo tentantur acuto,
Quaere fugam morbi. Vis recte vivere: quis non?
Si virtus hoc una potest dare, fortis omissis
Hoc age deliciis. Virtutem verba putas et
Lucum ligna: cave ne portus occupet alter,
Ne Cibyratica, ne Bithyna negotia perdas;
Mille talenta rotundentur, totidem altera, porro et
Tertia succedant et quae pars quadrat acervum.

as far as Capua had country houses belonging to wealthy Romans. Their equipages therefore would frequently be seen on the Via Appia. 'Numa quo devenit et Ancus' is a proverbial way of speaking. See C. iv. 7. 15 n.

28. *Si latus aut renes*] The connexion will be seen in the Argument. On 'fortis' again, see C. S. 58 n.: and S. ii. 3. 163. 'Hoc age' means 'set about this;' that is, the pursuit of virtue. S. ii. 3. 152.

31. *Virtutem verba putas*] Comp. "Aut virtus nomen inane est," &c. (Epp. 17. 41.) 'Putas' is more in Horace's way than 'putes,' which Bentley thinks "mollius et verecundius," and adopts from some MSS., among others the Blandinian. The MSS. and editions are divided between 'et' and 'ut.' 'Lucus' is usually a grove dedicated to some divinity, and Horace means perhaps that the man had no regard for what others held sacred, but counted a consecrated grove no better than any other wood. So Orelli at least takes it. I do not feel sure that such is Horace's meaning. 'Lucus' was sometimes used indifferently for any wood, and Horace may mean 'if you think virtue consists only of words as a grove does of trees;' in which case 'ut' would be better than 'et,' though 'et' would do. ['Virtutem—putas' is an hypothetical clause: 'if you think that virtue is only words.' So is 'vis recte vivere.']

32. *cave ne portus occupet alter*] As to 'occupo' see C. ii. 12. 28 n. Horace says, "if you think lightly of virtue as the means of happiness, be active and make money: see no one gets into harbour before you to carry off the business before you arrive." He supposes him to be a 'negotiator' (S. i. 7, Int.). The business of 'negotiatores' was chiefly banking and money-lending, but they also engaged in mercantile transactions, the difference between them and 'mercatores' being that the latter travelled with their own wares, while the 'negotiatores' did business in a general way. Cibyra Major (Horzoom) was situated on a branch (now called Horzoom Tchy) of the Indus, on the north-west borders of Lycia (Spratt's Lycia, vol. i. p. 256). It was called 'major' to distinguish it from a smaller town on the coast of Pamphylia. Twenty-five towns belonged to the conventus of Cibyra. Bithynia, after it became a Roman province, included a great part of Pontus, and so comprised nearly the whole sea-coast of Asia Minor on the Euxine. The trade therefore must have been very great, since the Halys alone must have brought down vast quantities of merchandise, and there were other navigable rivers, as the Lycus, Iris, Parthenius, Sangarius, communicating with the interior. It had also convenient harbours on the Propontis, and was only separated from Europe by the narrow Thracian Bosporus. The mountains produced valuable minerals and precious stones and marbles of different kinds. The names Thyni and Bithyni originally represented two different peoples of Thrace who migrated into this part of Asia and displaced the native tribes. They remained distinct for some time, but at this time the distinction was not observed; therefore Horace speaks of 'Thyna merx' (C. iii. 7. 3), where he means generally Bithynian. 'Negotia' is commonly used for the business transactions of a 'negotiator,' as Cicero, in his letter introducing Manlius Sosis to Acilius, proconsul of Sicily (ad Fam. xiii. 30), says, "habet negotia vetera in Sicilia sua." He had debts to get in, and accounts of old standing to settle.

34. *Mille talenta rotundentur*] On 'talenta' see S. ii. 7. 89 n. 'Rotundare' is not used in this sense elsewhere. Petronius uses 'corrotundare,' and the meaning is the same as ours when we talk of a round number: it is a complete number, leaving out fractions. 'Porro' means 'farther.' 'Quadrat acervum,' 'makes the fourth side of the square,' as it were.

Scilicet uxorem cum dote fidemque et amicos
Et genus et formam regina Pecunia donat,
Ac bene nummatum decorat Suadela Venusque.
Mancipiis locuples eget aeris Cappadocum rex:
Ne fueris hic tu. Chlamydes Lucullus, ut aiunt,

36. *Scilicet uxorem cum dote*] On the 'dos' see the Dict. Ant. 'Fidem' here signifies 'credit.' 'Pecunia' is here personified and made a royal lady, and Juvenal apostrophizes her thus:—

"—— funesta Pecunia, templo
Nondum habitas, nullas nummorum ereximus aras" (i. 113).

Arnobius, writing with the zeal of a catechumen, says: "Quis ad extremum deam Pecuniam esse credat? quam velut maximum numen vestrae indicant literae donare annulos aureos, loca in ludis atque in spectaculis prima, amplitudinem magistratus," &c. (contra Gentes, lib. 4, p. 125.) Augustin (de Civitate Dei, iv. 21, and elsewhere) speaks of Pecunia as a goddess worshipped by the Romans; but there is no foundation for this as a literal fact. Mammon was not more worshipped at Rome than it is among ourselves. Horace here repeats in effect what he said in S. ii. 3. 94:—

"—— omnis enim res,
Virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque pulchris
Divitiis parent."

'Suadela' is another form of Suada, who represented the Greek divinity Πειθώ, Persuasion. The name, Cicero tells us, was latinized by Ennius (Brut. 15). Πειθώ was usually associated with Ἀφροδίτη, and their statues stood together at Athens, where Horace may have seen them. I cannot find that Suada had any temple or separate worship at Rome. She was supposed to assist Venus in presiding at marriages, and she, the Graces, and Mercury were the acknowledged companions of that goddess. Therefore Horace associates them here. Cicero tells us that Ennius called the eloquent M. Cethegus "Suadae medullam" (Cat. Maj. c. 14), the marrow of persuasion.' (Epp. ii. 2. 117 n.)

39. *Mancipiis locuples*] See S. ii. 7. 3 n. Cappadocia was governed by kings from an early period. A list of them is given by Clinton (F. H. vol. iii. p. 430, Append.). The last was Archelaus, who was appointed by M. Antonius, A.U.C. 718, Ariarathes VII., who represented the lineal kings of Cappadocia, having been deposed and put to death. Archelaus was king at the time this epistle was written, and he reigned fifty years. At his death (A.U.C. 770) Cappadocia was reduced to the form of a Roman province, in the third year of Tiberius (Tacitus, Ann. ii. 42). The king had lands and slaves on them, but he wanted the precious metal. Ariobarzanes, who was king of Cappadocia when Cicero was governor of Cilicia, is described by him as "rex perpauper" (ad Att. vi. 3, 5). "Nullum aerarium, nullum vectigal habet. Nihil illo regno spoliatius, nihil rege egentius" (vi. 1, 3). M. Brutus had advanced him large sums of money at exorbitant interest, which he was unable to pay, and Cicero, though he got 100 talents from him, was unable to extract all the debt. Cn. Pompeius too was his creditor, and all he could get was a promissory note for 200 talents payable in six months, (ad Att. vi. 3). Horace advises his man not to be like this king. 'Hic' is an adverb, like ἐνταῦθα. [The nominative, perhaps.]

40. *Chlamydes Lucullus, ut aiunt*] L. Licinius Lucullus began his public life under Sulla, and assisted in checking Mithridates and bringing him to terms, and, when the war with that king broke out again after Sulla's death, he was appointed to the command. His extraordinary success against Mithridates and Tigranes, king of Armenia, are related by Plutarch in his life of Lucullus. He was prevented from completing his work by the intrigues of his enemies and the mutiny of his army, and being superseded in his command by Cn. Pompeius, he returned to Rome with great wealth accumulated by himself in Asia (for he inherited nothing from his father), which he devoted to self-indulgence; so that Plutarch (c. 39) compares his life to an ancient comedy, the first part of which is taken up with political and military affairs, and the latter part with all sorts of revelling. His houses (especially at Naples and Tusculum), his gardens and works of art, and preserves of fish, and household furniture, and the extravagance of his meals and way of living, surpassed any thing that had ever been known before, and even in the imperial times his gardens,

Si posset centum scenae praebere rogatus,
"Qui possum tot?" ait; "tamen et quaeram et quot habebo
Mittam:" post paulo scribit sibi millia quinque
Esse domi chlamydum; partem vel tolleret omnes.
Exilis domus est ubi non et multa supersunt
Et dominum fallunt et prosunt furibus. Ergo,
Si res sola potest facere et servare beatum,
Hoc primus repetas opus, hoc postremus omittas.
Si fortunatum species et gratia praestat,
Mercemur servum qui dictet nomina, laevum

Plutarch says, were among the most noble. From his extravagant works, by which he levelled hills and checked the waters of the sea, he was called by his contemporaries 'Xerxes togatus.' Plutarch relates (c. 39) this anecdote, only giving a smaller number of purple cloaks, which Horace puts at fifty times the number applied for, and Plutarch, perhaps with more truth, if there is any truth in the story, only doubles. The story as Plutarch tells it is, that a praetor who wished to get up a public spectacle on an ambitious scale, (φιλοτιμουμένου περὶ θέας) applied to Lucullus to lend him some purple cloaks for a chorus. Lucullus said he would inquire, and if he had any he would let him have them. The next day he asked him how many he wanted, and when the 'praetor' said a hundred, Lucullus bade him take twice that number. Plutarch refers to Horace's mention of the story, and seems to think his comment upon it, that a man to be rich ought to know only a small part of his possessions, is meant seriously. He gives that as Horace's opinion, whereas it is plain he is only speaking ironically.

The 'chlamys' was an upper garment worn by the Greeks, a light sort of shawl thrown loosely over the body in a variety of ways, of which a specimen is seen in the Belvedere Apollo. The Romans did not wear it till the time of the empire, and it was never more than an occasional garment at Rome. Lucullus it seems had brought with him a large number of a costly kind from Asia, where they were worn in the Greek cities. What the representation may have been for which the praetor wanted these 'chlamydes' is not certain, but Greek characters must have been introduced.

[45. *Exilis*] See C. i. 4. 17.]

50. *Mercemur servum*] There was a class of slaves called 'nomenclatores' or 'fartores' (crammers), ὀνοματολόγοι, whose office it was to accompany their master when walking, or attend him at home at the hour of 'salutatio' (when, if he was a person of consequence, people of all sorts came to pay him their respects), and to remind him of the names and circumstances of his visitors, and any thing else that it might be necessary for the master to remember. If he was aiming at any office, it was necessary to be polite to the citizens of all classes, and his 'nomenclator,' if he were clever, would be of good service to him in this matter. Horace's advice to the man who thinks happiness depends on such things as show and popularity ('species et gratia'), is, that he should buy a clever 'nomenclator' to go with him through the streets, and nudge him whenever he came to any one of influence and remind him to shake hands and say something civil to him, calling him affectionately 'my brother,' 'my father,' according to his age. This shows us that canvassing and elections still continued. [Krüger observes that Horace's picture refers to the time of the Republic, which may be true, though canvassing and elections were not quite at an end yet. Sueton. Octavian. c. 56. Tacit. Ann. i. 15.] 'Nomenclatores' were also employed to explain to the guests the names and qualities of the dishes, and parasites sometimes took this office upon themselves (S. ii. 8). In Pliny's time the number of slaves in a household was such that it was necessary to keep a 'nomenclator' to tell the master their names and offices (xxxiii. 1): "Hoc profecere mancipiorum legiones, et in domo turba externa, ac servorum quoque causa nomenclator adhibendus." Women also had servants of this class, as we read in Suetonius of a woman's slave, 'nomenclator,' having formed a design on Augustus (Aug. c. 19). Women had their throng of courtiers as the men had.

— *Laevum qui fodicet latus*] As to

Qui fodicet latus et cogat trans pondera dextram
Porrigere. "Hic multum in Fabia valet, ille Velina;
Cui libet hic fasces dabit eripietque curule
Cui volet importunus ebur." Frater, Pater, adde;
Ut cuique est aetas ita quemque facetus adopta.
Si bene qui coenat bene vivit, lucet, eamus

'laevum latus,' see S. ii. 5. 17 n. A great many MSS., including all the Parisian and the old editions, have 'saevum' or 'sevum,' which some persons defend in the sense of 'dūrum,' and support it by the word 'cogat,' as if the candidate were reluctant. But the man who should place his chief happiness in the attainment of public posts would not hesitate much about shaking hands with any one. [Ritter has 'servum.'] 'Cogat' merely expresses the energy of the 'nomenclator.' All the old editions, all Lambinus' MSS., and many others, have 'fodiat' [or perhaps 'fodiet']. Torrentius has that reading, but quotes 'fodicet' from three MSS., in one of which there was this note: "fodicare est leviter ac superficie tenus fodere," which is contrary to the meaning in Cicero (Tusc. iii. 16), and Plautus, Bacch. i. 1. 30 (quoted by Forcellini), and Cas. ii. 6. 9, "Stimulus ego nunc sum tibi: Fodico corculum," in all of which places it expresses a deep impression on the mind. Here it means a hearty thrust corresponding to 'cogat.'

51. *trans pondera dextram porrigere*] Orelli understands 'pondera' to mean the weights standing in front of a shop, so that the man when he came to the shop of any one who could command votes must stretch his hand over them to greet the shopkeeper. Acron interprets 'pondera' by "lapides qui porriguntur per vias, vel qui per latera (the sides of the road) expositi altiores sunt;" following whom some interpreters understand the man to hold out his hand to help the other over an obstruction. It is rather to shake hands with him. Obstructions were common in the narrow streets of Rome, such as Horace describes Epp. ii. 2. 72 sqq., and Juvenal (iii. 245):—

"—— Ferit hic cubito, ferit assere duro
Alter, at hic tignum capiti incutit, ille metretam;"

and Martial (v. 22),—

"Vixque datur longas mulorum rumpere mandras,
Quaeque trahi multo marmora fune vides."

Plutarch, quoted by Lambinus, says *αἰσχρόν ἐστι τὸ τὴν χεῖρα τῷ δήμῳ προτείνειν ψῆφον αἰτοῦντας* (Moral. iv. p. 171), which explains the text. [Gesner's explanation of 'trans pondera' is 'ultra aequilibrium corporis cum periculo cadendi.' The commentators compare Ovid, Met. i. 13.]

52. *Hic multum in Fabia valet*] Servius Tullius divided the Romans into thirty tribes, of which four were of the city and twenty-six were of the country. Ten of these twenty-six disappeared after the conquests of Porsenna, and of the remaining sixteen the Fabia was one. The whole number was gradually increased to thirty-five, but it was not till A.U.C. 513, towards the end of the first Punic War, that the Quirina and Velina were added. These were the last tribes that were formed.

53. *hic fasces dabit*] The 'sella curulis,' or chair of state, was ornamented with ivory, and expressions like Horace's are common. It was called by the Greek writers *ἐλεφάντινος δίφρος*. Ovid (ex Pont. iv. 9. 27) says,—

"Signa quoque in sella nossem formata curuli,
Et totum Numidae sculptile dentis opus."

The officers entitled to use this chair ('curules magistratus') were the censors, consuls, praetors, and curule aediles. Officers of lower rank had them in the provinces. 'Importunus' means 'obstinate' or 'ill-natured;' 'facetus,' 'polite.'

56. *lucet, eamus quo ducit gula*] 'The day has dawned, let us be off and lay in our supplies; let us hunt and fish, as Gargilius hunted when he bought a boar, and pretended he had caught it himself;' that is to say, let us go to market. Who is meant by Gargilius we have no means of knowing. The name occurs in Roman inscriptions. The man wished to establish his reputation as a huntsman: got up before daybreak and returned to the city before the morning was over, and passed through the Forum while it was full of people, with nets, spears, and men, and a mule carrying a boar which he had not

Quo ducit gula; piscemur, venemur, ut olim
Gargilius, qui mane plagas, venabula, servos
Differtum transire forum populumque jubebat,
Unus ut e multis populo spectante referret
Emptum mulus aprum. Crudi tumidique lavemur,
Quid deceat, quid non, obliti, Caerite cera

caught but purchased. It has been suggested to me that 'lucet eamus' may mean, 'it is clear we should go.' I have never met with that interpretation, but I leave it for the reader to consider.

58. *plagas, venabula*] As to 'plagae,' see C. i. 1. 28 n. They were too large to be carried by men, and were carried on mules (Epp. 18. 46). They were sometimes of enormous extent (Epod. ii. 32.) A modern writer (Swinburne, The Two Sicilies, i. 163) writes that Alphonso I. enclosed eighteen miles of the country near Foggia in Puglia (Apulia) with toils, and took so many stags, that besides what was taken away by the hunters, he sent 400 head to be salted for the use of the garrisons of Trani and Barletta. These toils were 'plagae.' The 'venabulum' was a long hunting spear, such as hog-hunters use in India, with a barbed point. Such a one is carried by one of the centaurs in the picture of the lion and centaurs found in the tragic poet's house at Pompeii. Virgil (Aen. iv. 131), describing the hunting-party of Aeneas and Dido, says,—

"Retia rara, plagae, lato venabula ferro,
Massylique ruunt equites et odora canum vis."

In the picture of Leda and Tyndareus in the same house, the latter holds two 'venabula;' and in the picture of Meleager in the Museo Borbonico, recovered from Pompeii, he is holding two of the same sort of spears upright in his left hand, while at his feet lies a huge boar's head. They were used, not for throwing, but thrusting; and in pursuit the rider would get ahead of the beast, and thrust the spear into his left flank as he passed.

59. *Differtum transire forum populumque*] Because 'differtum' (Sat. i. 5. 4) does not suit 'populum,' and because 'populo' occurs in the next verse, Bentley has put in 'campumque' for 'populumque' out of his own head. There is no difficulty in the text, which is that of all the MSS. The editor who could not only suggest an alteration, but take it into the text with confidence, rejecting the reading of all MSS. and previous editions, with "abeat in malam rem inficeta lectio 'populumque,'" is not to be argued with. Obbarius says "contra Bentleium egometipse pluribus disputavi in ed. Schmidii, p. 159," to which I refer the reader.

61. *Crudi tumidique lavemur*] It would seem that some gluttons, with the idea of renewing their appetite, went to bathe immediately after dinner as well as (which was the general practice) immediately before. It can hardly be supposed that under any circumstances such a process, which was opposed to digestion and sometimes fatal, could have promoted an appetite. Persius (iii. 98) says "Turgidus hic epulis atque albo ventre lavatur," and then describes the man carried from table in a fit of apoplexy. Juvenal (i. 142):—

"Poena tamen praesens quum tu deponis amictus
Turgidus, et crudum pavonem in balnea portas.
Hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus."

62. *Caerite cera digni*] Caere (Cervetri) was a very ancient town of Etruria, about twenty-seven miles north of Rome. It was called by the Greeks 'Αγύλλα. About A.U.C. 400, the people of Tarquinii having taken up arms against the Romans, the Caerites were accused of aiding them, and were threatened with punishment, but having asked pardon they obtained it at the expense of half their territory. They were also granted the Roman citizenship without the 'suffragium' or right of voting for magistrates. It is disputed whether this was given them on the occasion last mentioned, in which case it would appear more as a punishment than a reward; or on the retirement of the Gauls before the destruction of Rome, on which occasion they rendered important service. Gellius says it was at this latter time (xvi. 13), and he says they were the first that received the franchise in this form "sine suffragii jure." Porphyrion says distinctly this limited franchise was laid upon them as a disgrace, "victis Caeritibus Romani in percutiendo foedere non dederunt suffragii ferendi jus, quod ignominiosum

Digni, remigium vitiosum Ithacensis Ulixei,
Cui potior patria fuit interdicta voluptas.
Si, Mimnermus uti censet, sine amore jocisque
Nil est jucundum, vivas in amore jocisque.
Vive, vale. Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.

fuit." Acron says "Caerites populi sunt quos cum vicissent Romani, statuerunt ut nunquam leges ederent nec leges haberent, quod multum ignominiosum fuit." Comm. Cruq. says they had the full 'civitas' given them after the Gallic invasion, but after they had forfeited it, the Romans restored it without the 'jus suffragii,' which however would be no great loss if they had the 'commercium' and 'connubium.' 'Caeritum cerae,' or 'tabulae,' would mean properly a register of the inhabitants of Caere, who would of course be registered when they came into the above relation to Rome. But it seems probable that at this time the name had a conventional meaning, and applied to the registers of all those who were in the position of 'aerarii,' that is, of the citizens of such towns as had not the perfect franchise, and of those citizens who had for any cause been degraded from their tribes (see Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. ii. 67; iii. 85). "Tabulae Caerites appellatae in quas censores referri jubebant quos notae causa suffragiis privabant" (Gell. ubi sup.). Asconius (in Cic. Divinat. p. 103, ed. Orelli, where there are a few variations from the text of Asconius, as it is printed here) has the following note:—"Regendis moribus civitatis censores quinto quoque anno creari solebant. Hi prorsus cives sic notabant: ut qui senator esset ejiceretur senatu; qui eques Romanus equum publicum perderet; qui plebeius in Caeritum tabulas referretur, et aerarius fieret, ac per hoc non esset in albo centuriae suae, sed ad hoc esset civis tantum, ut pro capite suo tributi nomine aera penderet." Thus Horace means that they who took such a low view of life were not worthy of being Roman citizens, being more on an equality with the crew of Ulysses, whom Circe turned to swine (Epp, 2. 23, n.), and who slew and eat the kine sacred to the Sun, though they swore they would not, and their return home depended on their oath being kept. Odyss. xi. 105, sqq.; xii. 303, sq.; 340, sqq. 'Remigium' is used for the rowers, as 'mancipium,' 'servitium,' are used for a slave, and many other words are used in the same way.

65. *Si Mimnermus uti censet*] We may assume that Horace was familiar with the writings of Mimnermus, the elegiac poet of Smyrna. He preferred him to Callimachus, as appears from Epp. ii. 2. 99, sqq. His poetry is of a melancholy cast, as far as we can judge from the few fragments that have come down to us: though love was their principal theme and the only remedy he recognizes for the ills of life, it does not seem as if he was very happy in his experience of it. One fragment, preserved in Stobaeus (Florileg. 63. 16, Fr. 1, Bergk.), bears out what Horace says. He may have had many such passages in his mind. It begins,—

τίς δὲ βίος, τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης;
τεθναίην ὅτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλοι, κ.τ.λ.

Horace adds 'jocisque,' as elsewhere he makes Jocus the companion of Venus (C. i. 2. 34). Propertius says of Mimnermus (i. 9. 11),—

"Plus in amore valet Mimnermi versus Homero;
Carmina mansuetus lenia quaerit amor."

Porphyrion's note appears to be derived from some information he possessed and we do not, and it is worth adding: "Mimnermus elegans scriptor fuit, qui in quadam ecloga Hieronymi sectam commendans summum bonum indolentiam ait, quam Graeci ἀναλγησίαν nominant: molestias amores plus quam gaudii habere demonstrat." The last sentence, if the text is correct, contradicts Horace, and is not therefore to be trusted. It is also against all we have of Mimnermus' writings.

68. *his utere mecum*] There is no difficulty in understanding that 'his' refers to the rule laid down at the beginning and taken up in v. 30:—

"Si virtus hoc una potest dare fortis omissis
Hoc age deliciis;"

for all that follows is only recommended ironically, and in such a way as to hold up to contempt every rule of life but that of virtue.

EPISTLE VII.

On some occasion Horace having gone into the country for change of air on account of his health, at the beginning of August, was tempted to stay away the whole month; and as he had promised Maecenas to return in a few days, he had perhaps received a letter from his friend reminding him of that promise, and begging him to come back. Maecenas was a valetudinarian, and had probably some of the querulous selfishness that usually attends on that condition. We may infer as much from that ode (ii. 17), which begins "Cur me querelis exanimas tuis?" and he very likely felt the want of Horace's society at this time. We can only gather the tone of his letter or message from the character of Horace's reply. He says he has no mind to risk a return of his sickness by going back during the autumn to Rome; indeed that he meant to be absent at some warm place on the coast through the winter; that he was no longer as young and cheerful as he had been; that he was sure Maecenas' liberality was bestowed upon him in a generous spirit, and that he did not mean to compromise his independence; for if he could suppose such was the case, he would give up every thing he had ever received rather than forfeit his liberty. He illustrates his position by two stories,—one that of the fox who got into a vessel of corn and grew so fat there that he could not get out again (which Horace was determined to prove was not his case), and the other a splenetic trick played by L. Philippus upon a worthy man whom he seduced into leaving his home and vocation and settling on a farm in the country, the result of which unnatural change was the total destruction of his peace and independence. To this too Horace means to say he will never let himself be brought.

There is nothing disrespectful or angry in the Epistle, though it might appear from a bare outline like the above, or from a superficial reading, that there was. It was written after many years of intimacy, and shows pretty clearly the influence Horace had acquired with his patron; for though Horace was not perhaps of a servile disposition, as servility was then reckoned, he would not have assumed this tone if he had not been sure Maecenas would not take offence at it.

There is no evidence to prove when this Epistle was written. It is generally attributed to the same year as Epp. 15, when Horace was meditating a winter residence on the coast. But the date of that Epistle is also quite uncertain, and Horace in all probability passed most of his winters elsewhere than at Rome.

ARGUMENT.

I promised to be back in a few days, and now I have been a whole month away. But you let me go because I was sick, and now you will excuse me, I know, if I am afraid of this fatal season. And when the snow shall show itself on the fields of Alba, I shall go to the sea coast and take care of myself, with my books, and return, dear friend, with your permission, with the return of the swallow. Yours was not the liberality of the unmannerly Calabrian, who pressed his pears upon his guest, and when he still politely declined, concluded with "as you please: if you do not eat them the pigs will." The spendthrift gives away what he does not care for,—a generosity that does but breed ingratitude. The good man gives to those who deserve, but he knows the value of what he gives. I then will try and be

deserving in proportion to the goodness of my benefactor. But if you will have me always live at Rome, give me back the strength and cheerfulness of my youth.

A little fox chanced to get through a cranny into a vessel of corn, and when he had eaten his fill tried to get out, but could not. "Lean you went in and to leanness you must return if you would get out," said a weasel hard by. If any one says the same to me, I am ready to give up all. I don't praise the repose and freedom of the country while I have my belly full of dainties. I would not exchange it for the wealth of Arabia. You have often witnessed and commended my reverence for you, and have heard me call you my father and my king; but see if I cannot cheerfully restore all you have given me. Well did Telemachus reply when Menelaus offered him horses: "Ithaca hath no room for horses, son of Atreus; thy gifts are more suitable for thine own keeping, and there I leave them." I am a humble man: I love not the splendours of Rome, but the ease of Tibur and the softness of Tarentum.

When Philippus, that stout orator, was returning home from the Forum, tired and out of spirits, he saw one sitting in a barber's shop lazily paring his nails: 'Go,' said he to his slave, 'go and find out who that man is, and all about him.' He proves to be one Mena, a crier, of small means and good character, and well known as an active, sensible man, well content with his condition. 'I should like to hear all this from himself: invite him to dine with me.' The man can hardly believe his ears: however he begs to be excused. Philippus was surprised, but next morning saw the man at an auction and repeated his invitation, and it was accepted. The dinner went off agreeably, and was often repeated till the man became an established guest. One holiday he went with his patron into the country, and was delighted with all he saw. Philippus saw an opening for a joke, and persuaded the man to buy himself a piece of ground. To make a long story short, he was soon turned into a farmer, talked of nothing but husbandry, and worked himself to death. Then come losses: his sheep are stolen, his goats get the rot, his crops fail, his steers are worn out, till he can stand it no longer, but mounts his horse and rides off to Philippus, and entreats him by all he holds sacred to restore him the life he has lost.

And so let every man do who has found out that he has made a bad exchange. Let him go back to his first estate; and let each take care to measure himself by his own standard.

Quinque dies tibi pollicitus me rure futurum
Sextilem totum mendax desideror. Atqui
Si me vivere vis sanum recteque valentem,
Quam mihi das aegro dabis aegrotare timenti,
Maecenas, veniam, dum ficus prima calorque

1. *Quinque dies*] This is a conventional phrase to express any short time. S. i. 3. 16, "quinque diebus Nil erat in loculis."

2. *Sextilem*] In A.U.C. 746 this month received the name of Augustus.

5. *dum ficus prima calorque*] See S. ii. 6. 18 n. The 'designator' was the man who arranged the procession at the funeral of any important person, and the 'lictores' were his attendants who kept order (S. i. 6. 43 n.). I do not imagine that 'lictoribus atris' means any thing here but the common attendants of the undertaker; which seems the most simple interpretation of the words in this passage, for Horace is speaking of funerals generally. But the 'lictores' of magistrates may also have attended the funerals of such persons. Cicero (de Legg. ii. 24. 61), referring to the

Designatorem decorat lictoribus atris,
Dum pueris omnis pater et matercula pallet,
Officiosaque sedulitas et opella forensis
Adducit febres et testamenta resignat.
Quodsi bruma nives Albanis illinet agris,
Ad mare descendet vates tuus et sibi parcet
Contractusque leget; te, dulcis amice, reviset
Cum Zephyris, si concedes, et hirundine prima.
Non quo more piris vesci Calaber jubet hospes
Tu me fecisti locupletem. "Vescere sodes."
"Jam satis est." "At tu quantum vis tolle." "Benigne."

XII. Tables, says, "Reliqua in more sunt; funus ut indicatur, si quid ludorum; dominusque funeris utatur accenso aut lictoribus." The 'dominus funeris' here was the 'designator,' which name belonged also to the person who put people of rank in their places at the theatre. Plautus (Poenul. Prol. 18):—

"Neu lictor verbum aut virgae muttiant;
Neu designator praeter os obambulet;
Neu sessum ducat dum histrio in scena siet."

The form 'dissignator' occurs in inscriptions and some MSS., including nearly all the Parisian. [Ritter has 'dissignator.'] 'Designator' is that of all the editions. As to the verb 'designare' see Epp. 5. 16 n.

8. *Officiosaque sedulitas*] That is attending upon great people, and so forth. It does not seem as if the diminutive form 'opella' had any particular force. Horace uses diminutives when it suits the measure. [See Epp. i. 17. 21, 'officium facio.' 'Resignat,' 'unseals.' In v. 34, 'resigno' means 'I give up.']

10. *Quodsi bruma nives Albanis*] 'Si' is used with reference to a future event, even if it be not hypothetical, when any action depends upon that event, as (S. ii. 3. 9),

"—— multa et praeclara minantis
Si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto,"

and elsewhere; so that it becomes nearly equivalent to 'cum.' As soon as the snow shall lie on the Alban hills he will go down to the sea, where it was milder than at his own place or at home. 'Contractus' expresses the attitude of a man sitting head and knees together, wrapped up by the fire to keep himself warm. [This interpretation is not universally accepted. Krüger suggests that 'contractus' means 'in my retirement.'] The west wind set in about the second week in February. [Ritter concludes from v. 10 that Horace wrote this epistle in a villa near to the Alban hills, and at Praeneste, as he assumes, because on one occasion he was there (Epp. i. 1. 2). He also assumes that the epistle to Lollius and this epistle were written in the same year, A.U.C. 733. The reader will easily see that Ritter's conclusions are not certain.]

14. *Calaber jubet hospes*] The man is made a Calabrian only to give the story more point, not I think as Orelli says because the Calabrians were "politioris vitae ignari." The question is not one of refined manners, but of genuine or false hospitality; and the former does not belong exclusively to conventional refinement, which is rather apt to corrupt it. The guest is polite enough, and he is a Calabrian too.

16. *Benigne*] This is a polite way of declining the offer. "You are very good," the refusal being expressed in action (see v. 62). It might mean acceptance, just as the French say 'merci,' meaning 'yes' or 'no,' according to circumstances. In Shakspeare's Merry Wives of Windsor (Act i. Sc. 1), Anne Page says to Slender, "Will 't please your worship to come in, Sir?" And he answers, bashfully, "I thank you forsooth, heartily; I am very well."—*Anne.* "I may not go in without your worship: they will not sit till you come."—*Slender.* "I' faith I'll eat nothing: I thank you as much as though I did" ("Tam teneor dono, quam si dimittar onustus"). A similar scene occurs between the maid servant and Xanthias in Aristophanes (Ran. 503 sqq.), when, to her earnest invitation to come in and eat of her dainties, he answers sheepishly,

"Non invisa feres pueris munuscula parvis."
"Tam teneor dono quam si dimittar onustus."
"Ut libet; haec porcis hodie comedenda relinques."
Prodigus et stultus donat quae spernit et odit;
Haec seges ingratos tulit et feret omnibus annis.
Vir bonus et sapiens dignis ait esse paratus,
Nec tamen ignorat quid distent aera lupinis:
Dignum praestabo me etiam pro laude merentis.
Quodsi me noles usquam discedere, reddes
Forte latus, nigros angusta fronte capillos,
Reddes dulce loqui, reddes ridere decorum et
Inter vina fugam Cinarae maerere protervae.
Forte per angustam tenuis vulpecula rimam
Repserat in cumeram frumenti, pastaque rursus
Ire foras pleno tendebat corpore frustra;
Cui mustela procul, "Si vis," ait, "effugere istinc,

κάλλιστ', ἐπαινῶ—πάνυ καλῶς. (See Cicero in Verr. ii. 3. 85, Long's note.)

22. *dignis ait esse paratus*] Several examples of this sort of attraction are given in Key's L. G. 1060. Orelli has collected more on this place. See also C. iii. 16. 32 n., and C. iii. 27. 73, "Uxor invicti Jovis esse nescis." 'Dignis' is masculine: the wise man is ready to serve those who are worthy, but he is no simpleton; he knows the difference between true money and counterfeit. [He knows the value of what he gives, as well as he knows the difference between money and lupines.] Lupines were used for counters or sham money on the stage; "comicum aurum" as it is called in Plautus (Poen. iii. 2. 20).

24. *Dignum praestabo me*] Horace says he will endeavour to show himself worthy (referring to 'dignis' above) in proportion to the excellence of him (Maecenas) who has laid him under such obligations. ['Merentis' is equivalent to 'bene merentis,' one who has done a service to another and deserves a return. Krüger compares Virgil, Aen. vi. 664: "Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo."] He says in effect that Maecenas does not bestow his liberality stupidly, as one who gave his friends what he was just as ready to throw to the pigs, or the fool who does not know the value of his gifts. He only gave to the worthy, and such Horace would try to prove himself.

26. *angusta fronte*] See C. i. 33. 5 n.

27. *Reddes dulce loqui*] A similar instance, illustrating the nature of the infinitive as a neuter substantive, occurs above (S. ii. 7. 43), "Aufer Me vultu terrere." See Key's L. G. 1232:—"In the Greek language this is so completely the case that the article may be prefixed to it in all its cases. The English also treat their infinitive as a substantive when they place before it the preposition 'to.'"

28. *Cinarae*] See C. iv. 1. 4 n.

29. *vulpecula*] Bentley has a facetious note, in which he appeals to huntsmen, countrymen, and natural philosophers, against such a monstrous notion as a fox eating corn. He proves that they have neither teeth to grind nor a stomach to digest it. But the reader must go to his note, "quam legisse non poenitebit," says Forcellini, I hardly know why. It represents to me nothing but the arrogance of the author. He proposes, out of his own head, 'nitedula,' a 'field-mouse,' without attempting to explain how this word has disappeared from every MS., and has been met with in no edition till his own. The improbability of an illustration is no reason for abandoning or altering it. We are all familiar with the proverb of the camel and the needle's eye, and the fables of Aesop abound in improbabilities. The cunning of the fox brings him frequently into stories of this sort: in this instance he overreaches himself. 'Cumera,' S. i. 1. 53 n.

32. *procul*] S. ii. 6. 105.

Macra cavum repetes artum quem macra subisti."
Hac ego si compellor imagine cuncta resigno;
Nec somnum plebis laudo satur altilium, nec
Otia divitiis Arabum liberrima muto.
Saepe verecundum laudasti, rexque paterque
Audisti coram, nec verbo parcius absens:
Inspice si possum donata reponere laetus.
Haud male Telemachus, proles patientis Ulixei:
"Non est aptus equis Ithace locus, ut neque planis
Porrectus spatiis nec multae prodigus herbae;
Atride, magis apta tibi tua dona relinquam."
Parvum parva decent; mihi jam non regia Roma,
Sed vacuum Tibur placet aut imbelle Tarentum.
Strenuus et fortis causisque Philippus agendis

34. *Hac ego si compellor*] As to 'compellor,' see S. ii. 3. 297, [and 'resigno,' v. 9, and C. iii. 29. 54 n.] Horace says if he is taunted with this illustration he is willing to resign every thing; by which he means, if he is compared to the fox who had got into a store and had become so fat he could not get out again; in other words, if it was supposed that he had become lazy and self-indulgent, and that he could not assert his own liberty till he should cast off the bounties of his patron, he was willing to give them up; for he loved the peace that waits upon poverty, not as those do who commend it at rich tables spread with dainties, but as one who would not exchange his ease and liberty for the wealth of Arabia (compare C. iii. 1. 21; iii. 24. 1. Epp. i. 6. 6). 'Altiles' were fattened poultry and other birds, for which service there were particular persons employed ('fartores,' σιτευταί).

37. *rexque paterque audisti coram*] 'Rex,' which is generally used in a bad sense (C. i. 4. 14 n.), is here used in a good. As to 'audisti,' see S. ii. 6. 20 n. 'Verecundum' means 'reverential,' or ['respectful']. It expresses that feeling which Cicero says is the greatest ornament of friendship, "Nam maximum ornamentum amicitiae tollit qui ex ea tollit verecundiam" (Lael. c. 22). Horace says that Maecenas had always found him full of affectionate respect and gratitude, and what he was in his presence he was no less in his absence; but he must not think so ill of him as to suppose he only behaved so because he wished to keep his bounty; or if he thought so, let him see how willingly he could resign it, as readily as Telemachus declined the horses of Menelaus (Odyss. iv. 601):—

ἐν δ' Ἰθάκῃ οὔτ' ἂρ δρόμοι εὐρέες οὔτε τι λειμών
αἰγίβοτος, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπήρατος ἱπποβότοιο.

45. *vacuum Tibur*] 'Vacuum' is 'otiosum,' 'idle,' as in Epp. ii. 2. 81, "vacuas Athenas," [and in v. 50 of this epistle.] In the life of Horace attributed to Suetonius, it is said that he had a house at Tibur, and that it was shown as his house at the time that memoir was written. That he was much at Tibur is certain; that he had a house of his own there I do not believe, for he never even alludes incidentally to such a possession. Those who wish to know all that has been said on each side can read an Excursus of Obbarius on v. 12 of the next Epistle. As to 'imbelle Tarentum,' see S. ii. 4. 34 n.

46. *Philippus*] L. Marcius Philippus was consul A.U.C. 663, and censor A.U.C. 668. He was an energetic supporter of the popular cause, a friend of Cn. Pompeius and a powerful orator. Cicero describes him as "hominem imprimis disertum atque eruditum, qui ita solet ad dicendum surgere, ut quod primum verbum habiturus sit nesciat: et ait idem quum brachium concalefecerit tum se solere pugnare" (De Orat. ii. 78. See also iii. 1 for his vigorous language towards the senate): "Duobus igitur summis Crasso et Antonio L. Philippus proxime accedebat, sed longo intervallo tamen proximus" (Brut. 47). Cicero therefore

Clarus ab officiis octavam circiter horam
Dum redit, atque Foro nimium distare Carinas
Jam grandis natu queritur, conspexit, ut aiunt,
Adrasum quendam vacua tonsoris in umbra
Cultello proprios purgantem leniter ungues.
"Demetri,"—puer hic non laeve jussa Philippi
Accipiebat—"abi, quaere et refer, unde domo, quis,
Cujus fortunae, quo sit patre quove patrono."
It, redit et narrat, Volteium nomine Menam,

did not rank him among the first orators, but still there was much to admire in him: his speech was free, his wit abundant; he was inventive, and perspicuous, and clever in repartee; and elsewhere he calls him "suavis orator, gravis, facetus" (Brut. 50).

47. *octavam circiter horam*] This is Martial's description of the distribution of a Roman's day:—The first and second hours were given to the 'salutatio,' or reception of clients and visitors. At the third hour the courts opened and business went on for three hours. The sixth hour was given up to rest (and the 'prandium'), the seventh to winding up business, the eighth to exercise, and with the ninth began dinner. (Mart. iv. 8.)

48. *Foro nimium distare Carinas*] The Carinae was on the north side of the Via Sacra, under Mons Esquilinus, occupying part of the fourth and third quarters of the city, though the greater part of it was in the fourth, corresponding, Nardini supposes, with that part which is now called Pantani; but that part of the Carinae which was in the third quarter comprised the spot on which afterwards was built the Colosseum, and which was distinguished by the name of Ceriolensis. The Carinae contained the houses of many persons of distinction, among whom we read of Sp. Cassius (whose house was pulled down after he had been put to death), Cn. Pompeius (afterwards occupied by M. Antonius), of Tiberius (Suet. Tib. c. 15), of M' Manilius (Cic. Parad. vi. c. 3), of Balbinus, and of this Philippus. The temples of Concordia and Tellus were in the same part. The farthest part of the Carinae could not have been above three-quarters of a mile from the Forum Romanum; but Philippus was old. Horace means to show that he was inclined to be peevish, being tired with his work in the Forum; and in this splenetic humour he fell in with the man Mena, whose easy enjoyment of life made a strong impression upon him. It made him jealous, and he resolved to spoil his independence if he could.

50. *Adrasum quendam*] The MSS. and editions vary between 'adrasum' and 'abrasum.' ['Adrasum' means 'close shaved;' not, 'with his hair cropped short,' as Ritter supposes, that it might not be necessary to come often and pay his money.] The man had just been shaved and was paring and cleaning his nails leisurely ('proprios purgantem ungues'); he did not employ the barber for this operation, as people were in the habit of doing. The shop was empty [or at least, not full], because those who would come for business came early, and those who came to lounge came later (S. i. 7. 3). 'Umbra,' which here means a shop, is used for different kinds of buildings by the poets, as a 'porticus' and a school. See Juvenal (vii. 173): "Ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab umbra." ['Vacua tonsoris umbra est arboris ad domum tonsoris positae umbra, quae nullo alio sessore tunc occupata erat. Unde facilius sedentem advertit Philippus.' Ritter. This is certainly a false interpretation. 'Umbra' may be an awning, and the shop-front was probably open.]

53. *unde domo*] This phrase, which is equivalent to 'a qua domo,' occurs in Virgil (Aen. viii. 114): "Qui genus? unde domo?" which Heyne explains by *τίνες τὸ γένος; πόθεν* (for *ποίας*) *πάτρας*; Philippus sends to know who the man is, where he comes from, whether he is rich or poor, if 'ingenuus,' who is his father; if a freedman, who is his 'patronus.'

55. *Volteium nomine Menam*] The man is represented as a freedman of some person of the Volteia gens. L. Volteius, a friend of L. Metellus, is mentioned in Cic. in Ver. ii. 3. 66. A freedman took the gentile name of his master on his manumission. The name Mena is akin to

Praeconem, tenui censu, sine crimine, notum
Et properare loco et cessare et quaerere et uti,
Gaudentem parvisque sodalibus et lare certo
Et ludis et post decisa negotia Campo.
"Scitari libet ex ipso quodcunque refers; dic
Ad coenam veniat." Non sane credere Mena,
Mirari secum tacitus. Quid multa? "Benigne,"
Respondet. "Neget ille mihi?" "Negat improbus et te
Negligit aut horret." Volteium mane Philippus
Vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello

Menodorus (Epod. iv. Int.), as Demas to Demetrius, Lucas to Lucanus, Silas to Silvanus, Artemas to Artemius, &c. [Ritter affirms, and Krüger, but not so positively, that the slave gets his information, not from Mena, but from the barber; and they think that the words 'scitari ex ipso' confirm this interpretation. But these words are consistent with the supposition that the slave put the questions to Mena. Ritter, by placing the man under the tree and the barber of course in the shop, prepares the way for his explanation, which, if Mena were in the shop, would hardly be possible.]

56. *sine crimine, notum et*] Orelli and others take 'notum' absolutely for a man well known, quoting Caesar (B. C. ii. 19): "non civis Romanus paulo notior quin ad diem conveniret;" and Epp. i 6. 25: "Cum bene notum Porticus Agrippae et via te conspexerit Appi." Lambinus and many after him take 'notum' with 'sine crimine.' I think it belongs to the verbs that follow [and so Ritter and Krüger correctly understand 'notum,'] which nearly all the editors suppose to depend on 'gaudentem.' The description of Mena is that he is a crier of small means, of unblemished character, well known as a person who could be active or quiet as the occasion (loco) required, and who enjoyed what he got; one who made himself happy in the company of humble people, in the possession of a house of his own, at the theatres and Circus, and with the amusements of the Campus Martius. 'Et quaerere et uti,' 'to get and to enjoy,' expresses the reverse of him who is 'nescius uti Compositis' (S. ii. 3. 109). 'Lare certo' is opposed to a lodging, 'coenaculum' (Epp. i. 1. 91 n.). It appears (v. 65) that he transacted business as a seller; probably he had some second-hand things of his own to dispose of. But the 'praeco' was not usually the person who managed an 'auctio,' which was presided over by an 'argentarius,' and he employed a 'praeco.' See S. i. 6. 86 n. Bentley's reading, 'sine crimine natum,' which he has adopted on the slenderest authority, and explains "certo patre, honestis parentibus," cannot without straining bear the sense he gives it. He also reads 'Lare curto' from two MSS. of Cruquius, comparing "parvo sub lare" (C. iii. 29. 14), "modicis penatibus" (Tac. Ann. ii. 84). But supposing that Horace would have used 'curto' where he could have said 'parvo,' the expression would only be a repetition of 'tenui censu' above, and 'certo lare' is a common phrase, as Bentley himself has shown, as in Virgil (Georg. iv. 155), "Et patriam solae et certos novere penates:" and (Aen. vi. 673) "Nulli certa domus; lucis habitamus opacis." Compare Epp. i. 15. 28: "Scurra vagus non qui certum praesepe teneret."

61. *Non sane credere Mena*] 'Sane' is not commonly used in negative sentences. It is an adverb of emphasis. As to 'benigne' see above, v. 16, and on the subjunctive 'neget' compare S. ii. 6. 31. "What, he deny me?"

65. *tunicato scruta popello*] Suetonius tells us that Augustus took pains to restore the old habits of propriety in dress which had become neglected: "ac visa quondam pro contione pullatorum turba indignabundus et clamitans: 'En,' ait, 'Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam!' Negotium aedilibus dedit ne quem posthac paterentur in Foro Circove nisi positis lacernis togatum consistere" (c. 40). To be without the toga in the streets therefore was the practice of the lowest sort of people, which is expressed by the diminutive 'popello.' This word is used only here and by Persius (iv. 15). On 'scruta,' which signifies small wares, Comm. Cruq.

Occupat et salvere jubet prior. Ille Philippo
Excusare laborem et mercenaria vincla,
Quod non mane domum venisset, denique quod non
Providisset eum. "Sic ignovisse putato
Me tibi si coenas hodie mecum." "Ut libet." "Ergo
Post nonam venies; nunc i, rem strenuus auge."
Ut ventum ad coenam est, dicenda tacenda locutus
Tandem dormitum dimittitur. Hic ubi saepe
Occultum visus decurrere piscis ad hamum,
Mane cliens et jam certus conviva, jubetur
Rura suburbana indictis comes ire Latinis.
Impositus mannis arvum caelumque Sabinum
Non cessat laudare. Videt ridetque Philippus,
Et sibi dum requiem, dum risus undique quaerit,

says: "*Scruta*, quas vulgus grutas vocat:" it is from the Greek γρύτη, and was used by Lucilius (Gell. iii. 14), with the cognate word 'scrutarius:'

"Quidni? et scruta quidem ut vendat scrutarius laudat
Praefractam strigilem, soleam improbus dimidiatam."

As to 'occupat' see C. ii. 12. 28 n. [and S. i. 9. 6].

67. *mercenaria vincla*] The bonds (that is, the occupations) of buying and selling. Mena offers these as his excuse for not having waited upon Philippus in the morning at his 'salutatio,' as after his attention of the previous day, he would have felt bound to do if he could.

69. *Sic*] See Key's L. G. 1451, *g.* note.

71. *Post nonam venies*] See above, v. 47 n. and C. i. 1. 20 n.

72. *dicenda tacenda locutus*] This is a familiar adaptation of the Greek ῥητὸν ἄῤῥητόν τ' ἔπος (Soph. Oed. Col. 1001), which was a conventional phrase. It means all manner of things. Persius (iv. 5) has "dicenda tacendaque calles." Virgil (Aen. ix. 595): "digna atque indigna relatu Vociferans." Volteius was placed at his ease by his host, and, being a simple man, talked of what came uppermost whether it was out of season or not. "*Locutus:* Volteius, velut plebeius, expers rerum" (Comm. Cruq.). This gives the meaning very well. 'Dimittere' was a word of politeness used among equals as above, v. 18.

73. *Hic ubi saepe*] After he had broken the ice Volteius was easily persuaded to repeat his visits, and at last he became an established guest and a daily attendant at the rich man's morning receptions, till on one occasion he was invited to accompany Philippus to his country seat in the Sabine country during the 'feriae Latinae.' At this festival, which was of the highest antiquity, a sacrifice was offered on the Alban Mount, which sacrifice had been offered before Rome was built. Tarquinius Superbus first converted it into a Roman festival, Niebuhr says (ii. 34), by which he means that whereas it had before been presided over by the Latin dictator, the Roman king, when the Latins were brought into close alliance with Rome, took that place himself; and though the Latins continued to send their own magistrates till they lost their independence, the chief magistrates of Rome continued to preside over the sacrifice which was still offered on the Alban Mount. The holidays lasted four, or as some critics affirm, six days, during which business was suspended. They were 'feriae conceptivae,' that is, they were annual, but not held always at the same season, which is what Horace means by calling them 'indictae.' The consuls appointed the time of their celebration.

[77. *Impositus mannis*] In a 'rheda' drawn by horses, as some say; like Homer's ἵππων ἐπιβησόμενον, as Krüger suggests.]

79. *dum requiem, dum risus*] Philippus, tired with his work, refreshed himself by getting amusement at other people's expense. He gave the man a sum equivalent to about 60*l.* of our money, and offered to lend him as much more.

Dum septem dona sestertia, mutua septem
Promittit, persuadet uti mercetur agellum.
Mercatur. Ne te longis ambagibus ultra
Quam satis est morer, ex nitido fit rusticus atque
Sulcos et vineta crepat mera; praeparat ulmos,
Immoritur studiis et amore senescit habendi.
Verum ubi oves furto, morbo periere capellae,
Spem mentita seges, bos est enectus arando,
Offensus damnis media de nocte caballum
Arripit iratusque Philippi tendit ad aedes.
Quem simul adspexit scabrum intonsumque Philippus,
"Durus," ait, "Voltei, nimis attentusque videris
Esse mihi." "Pol me miserum, patrone, vocares,
Si velles," inquit, "verum mihi ponere nomen!
Quod te per Genium dextramque deosque Penates

84. *vineta crepat mera*] So Cicero says (ad Att. ix. 11), "Meras proscriptiones, meros Sullas;" (ix. 13. 8) "Dollabella suis literis merum bellum loquitur;" (iv. 7) "Chaerippus mera monstra nuntiarat." [C. 1. 18. 5, 'crepat.' S. ii. 3. 33.]

87. *Spem mentita seges*] See C. iii. 1. 30, n.

91. *Durus — attentusque*] Philippus means that he appears to be too hard-working and anxious about his affairs. Compare S. ii. 6. 82: "Asper et attentus quaesitis;" and Epp. i. 16. 70: "sine pascat durus aretque."

92. *Pol me miserum*] Gellius (xi. 6) says, respecting oaths of this sort, that women never swore by Hercules, nor men by Castor; but both men and women would swear by the temple of Pollux, 'Aedepol,' and this, he says, on the authority of Varro, was only adopted by men in later times, whereas it had always been used by women, who got it from the Eleusinian mysteries.

94. *Quod te per Genium*] See Epp. ii. 1. 144. This use of the relative 'quod' in entreaties is common, as in Virgil (Aen. vi. 363):

"Quod te per coeli jucundum lumen et auras,
Per genitorem oro, per spes surgentis Iuli;"

And Terence (Andr. 1. 5. 54): "Quod te ego per dextram hanc oro et per genium tuum." [The meaning of the relative 'quod' appears by observing that the antecedent is 'vitae me redde priori.'] It was customary for slaves to pray to their masters by their genius. So in Propertius (iv. 8. 68):

"Lygdamus ad plutei fulcra sinistra latens
Exuitur, geniumque meum prostratus adorat."

The Romans believed that every man had a genius, though their notions on the subject seem to have been very confused. According to the name (which involves the same element as γέν-εσις, γί-γνομαι) it should be the attendant on a man's birth, as it was believed to be the inseparable companion of his life. It represented his spiritual identity, and the character of the genius was the character of the man. Varro, quoted by Augustinus (de Civ. Dei, vii. 13), describes the genius as "Deus qui praepositus est ac vim habet omnium rerum gignendarum;" and again he says "Genium uniuscujusque animum rationalem et ideo esse singulos singulorum." This explains Epp. ii. 2. 183 sqq.:

"Cur alter fratrum, &c.—
Scit genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,
Naturae deus humanae, mortalis in unum
Quodque caput, vultu mutabilis, albus et ater."

Hence we understand why the marriage-bed was sacred to the genius (Epp. i. 1. 87 n.). Hence Horace speaks of "genium memorem brevis aevi" (Epp. ii. 1. 143); and offerings of wine and flowers, and such like were said to be presented to the genius

Obsecro et obtestor, vitae me redde priori."
Qui semel adspexit quantum dimissa petitis
Praestent, mature redeat repetatque relicta.
Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est.

when a man was indulging in that way himself (A. P. 210). This explains the expressions "genio indulgere" (Persius v. 151), "genium suum defraudare" (Terence, Phorm. i. 1. 10), "genium curare" (C. iii. 17. 14). Women had their genii, but they were named Junones; "Quamobrem major caelitum populus quam hominum intelligi potest: cum singuli quoque ex semetipsis totidem deos faciunt, Junones Geniosque adoptando sibi" (Plin. H. N. ii. 7). The representations of genii on medals correspond to attributes supposed or real of the persons they belong to. There is a medal representing the genius of Nero with a 'patera' in one hand, and a 'cornucopia' in the other, and an altar kindled before him to show the piety of that tyrant and the blessings of his reign (Oisel. Thes. Pl. 42. 5). A medal of the empress Julia Mammaea represents her with the symbol of Hope in one hand and of Virtue in the other, to show how the hopes and strength of the empire rested on her.

[96. *semel*] 'Semel' in a few MSS.: 'simul' the other reading, Ritter; who supposes that 'simul' has been introduced from v. 90 by some old copyist.]

98. *verum est*] See S. ii. 3. 312. This use of 'verum' is common in Livy, as "Verum esse habere (agrum) eos quorum sanguine ac sudore partus sit" (ii. 48); "caeterum neminem verum esse praejudicium rei tantae afferre" (iii. 40); and other places collected by Drakenborch on the former passage.

EPISTLE VIII.

A.U.C. 734.

Respecting the person to whom this Epistle was written, and the occasion, see Ep. 3 of this book, Introduction, and note on v. 15. Horace it appears was not in very good humour with himself when he wrote it. He describes himself as suffering less from bodily than mental weakness, irritability, sluggishness, perverseness, and caprice. He may use rather stronger language than was necessary, but there can be no doubt he felt a good deal of what he says that he felt. It shows that a man may give good advice to his friends which he cannot steadily apply to himself, and it helps us to understand the character of Horace and his philosophical aspirations described, probably about this time, in his Epistle to Maecenas (i. 1). The critics find fault with this Epistle as if it were written in an unkind spirit towards Celsus, which I do not understand. The counsel in the last verse does not imply this. It is advice such as a young man lately promoted to an important office might be glad of; and if the manner seems abrupt to us, it was nothing at that time probably between friends of whom one was young enough perhaps to be the other's son.

Celso gaudere et bene rem gerere Albinovano
Musa rogata refer, comiti scribaeque Neronis.

[1. *gaudere*] 'Muse, at my bidding return to Celsus greeting and good luck in what he is doing.']

2. *comiti scribaeque Neronis*] See S. i. 7. 23, n. The following words have been referred to in former notes: 'quid agam' (Epp. 3. 15), 'minantem' (S. ii. 3. 9) 'momorderit' (S. ii. 6. 45), 'cur' (C. i.

Si quaeret quid agam, dic multa et pulchra minantem
Vivere nec recte nec suaviter; haud quia grando
Contuderit vites oleamque momorderit aestus,
Nec quia longinquis armentum aegrotet in agris;
Sed quia mente minus validus quam corpore toto
Nil audire velim, nil discere, quod levet aegrum;
Fidis offendar medicis, irascar amicis
Cur me funesto properent arcere veterno;
Quae nocuere sequar, fugiam quae profore credam;
Romae Tibur amem ventosus, Tibure Romam.
Post haec ut valeat, quo pacto rem gerat et se,
Ut placeat juveni percontare utque cohorti.
Si dicet, Recte, primum gaudere, subinde
Praeceptum auriculis hoc instillare memento:
Ut tu fortunam sic nos te, Celse, feremus.

33. 3), 'cohorti' (S. i. 7. 23). 'Suaviter' occurs in S. i. 9. 5. 'Multa et pulchra minantem' Comm. Cruq. explains rightly I think: "promittentem philosophica." It refers to his philosophical aspirations described in Epp. i. 1. Orelli refers it to his poetical studies chiefly.

6. *longinquis armentum aegrotet in agris*] The pastures of Apulia, Calabria, and Lucania, and those of the Po, have been referred to (C. iii, 16. 35; Epod. i. 27). The levying of a tax on flocks fed on the southern pastures, referred to in the latter of those notes, has been continued to modern times. At the town of Foggia in Puglia (Apulia), Swinburne says there is "a register office known by the name of 'Tribunale della dogana della mena delle pecore di Puglia' (the custom-house for the toll of the sheep that pass to and from Puglia). It is managed by a governor, auditor, and two advocates, and has the distribution of a fixed assessment upon all sheep that descend in autumn from the mountains of Abruzzo into the warm plains of Puglia, where they yean, and in May return to the high country." "This dogana is one of the richest mines of wealth belonging to the crown of Naples, and is capable of great increase. At present (1777) the net profit arising to the king from the letting of the pastures is about 40,000 ducats." 'Arvis' appears in some editions and MSS.; but 'arvum' is used for arable land.

9. *irascar—cur*] 'Cur,' that is, 'quare,' is followed by 'properent.' Comp. C. i. 33. 3.

10. *properent arcere veterno*] 'Arcere' occurs in this construction in A. P. 64. It is also used with an accusative of the thing and ablative of the person, with a preposition. Comp. 'Prohibere' in C. i. 27. 4. 'Veternus' is a lethargy, here applied to the mind, and his faithful physicians are the friends who would cheer and rouse him, though we may take the word 'medicis' literally and suppose he was under medical treatment.

14. *Ut placeat juveni*] Tiberius was now in his twenty-third year. But on 'juvenis,' see C. i. 2. 41.

[15. *subinde*] Here, as Krüger observes, 'subinde' is equivalent to 'deinde.']

EPISTLE IX.

A.U.C. 734.

As to Septimius, on whose behalf this Epistle is addressed to Tiberius, see C. ii. 6, Introduction. The occasion was that journey into Armenia which has been referred to twice before (Ep. 3 and 7). It is a well-considered and careful production. Horace would have written more warmly for such an intimate friend if he could have ventured to do so; but the character of Tiberius did not admit of warmth, and he would not have responded to any very earnest eulogy. Horace therefore satisfies himself with merely naming his friend and excusing his own boldness in doing so.

This Epistle is noticed in an amusing article of the Spectator (No. 493) on the subject of introductions and testimonials in general, of which this is quoted as a judicious specimen, and a loose translation is there given.

Septimius, Claudi, nimirum intelligit unus
Quanti me facias; nam cum rogat et prece cogit
Scilicet ut tibi se laudare et tradere coner,
Dignum mente domoque legentis honesta Neronis,
Munere cum fungi propioris censet amici,
Quid possim videt ac novit me valdius ipso.
Multa quidem dixi cur excusatus abirem;

1. *nimirum*] 'Of course,' it would be strange if it were otherwise. Horace sometimes uses the word seriously, sometimes ironically, as in S. ii. 2. 106; 3. 120. He says 'Of course Septimius knows my influence with you better than any body else does ('unus,' see S. ii. 6. 57, n.), and better than I do myself, and thinks that I stand to you in the relation of an intimate friend, or he would not press me for an introduction.' There is about the same amount of ironical meaning in 'scilicet.' ['Nimirum' is another form of 'mirum ni.'] 'Tradere' is the usual word for introductions. (S. i. 9. 47.) 'Munere fungi' is like 'officium facio' below (Epp. 17. 21). It means to discharge the duties of friendship, but generally expresses the relation of an inferior to one above him in rank, and sometimes is used in a bad sense to signify servility.

4. *Dignum mente domoque*] Tacitus says of Tiberius (Ann. vi. 51): "Morum quoque tempora illi diversa: egregium vita famaque, quoad privatus vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit: occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus, donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuere." His genuine character, he says, did not come out fully till after the fall of Sejanus. But even now he was so reserved and unpleasant in his manners that Augustus could hardly be cheerful in his company. Suetonius thinks Augustus had no very good opinion of him: "sed vitiis virtutibusque perpensis potiores duxisse virtutes" (Tib. c. 21). Horace speaks well of him not only here, when he is writing to himself, but in Epp. ii. 2. 1, written probably at a later time, to his friend Julius Florus. The fourteenth Ode of the fourth book was written in honour of his success, but there I think no great amount of warmth is shown in his favour. 'Domo' means his family. Tiberius was the son of T. Claudius Nero and Livia, who was now the wife of Augustus. The Nerones belonged to the great patrician gens Claudia. They were of Sabine origin.

6. *valdius*] This comparative occurs again in A. P. 321. ['Cur' (Ep. 8. 10) is equivalent to 'propter quae.']

Sed timui mea ne finxisse minora putarer,
Dissimulator opis propriae, mihi commodus uni.
Sic ego majoris fugiens opprobria culpae
Frontis ad urbanae descendi praemia. Quodsi
Depositum laudas ob amici jussa pudorem,
Scribe tui gregis hunc et fortem crede bonumque.

11. ***Frontis ad urbanae descendi praemia***] Forcellini interprets 'urbanae frontis' by 'oris duri, perfrictae frontis, cujusmodi sunt urbani prae rusticis;' and his English editor translates this passage: "I have put in for the prize of city assurance," which is not a very sensible translation. Orelli and others understand 'urbanae frontis' to mean impudence; and though there is no other place in which 'urbanus' has that meaning, it seems to bear it here, as we may infer from the next verse. 'Praemia' seems to be opposed to 'opprobria,' and 'descendere' is commonly used in connexion with the arena. Horace may mean (taking his metaphor from this source), that, to avoid the discredit of a greater fault, he has resolved to win the crown or prize of impudence, or something of that sort. But I am not sure what he means.

13. *Scribe tui gregis*] This construction with the genitive is more common in Greek. It occurs in C. iii. 13. 13. "Fies nobilium tu quoque fontium." As to 'fortem bonumque' see C. iv. 4. 29 n.

EPISTLE X.

This Epistle is addressed to Fuscus Aristius, whose name appears in C. i. 22; S. i. 9. 61; 10. 83. For such particulars as can be stated about him see the Introduction to the above Ode. It appears that his habits inclined him to a town life. He was making money in some way, and he was associated with all Horace's literary and other friends. Horace praises the freedom, the natural beauties, and the healthiness of the country, and shows that they are natural to men's tastes from the attempts they make to get trees in their town houses and a prospect over the fields. He follows this up with a few miscellaneous remarks on the pursuit of wealth, how it blinds the eyes to the distinction between truth and falsehood, and how prosperity only makes adversity more hard to bear and disappointment more bitter, and subjects the mind to a galling slavery.

There is no clue to the date.

ARGUMENT.

You love the town, Fuscus; I love the country: that is our only difference. I for my part begin then to live and to be a king when I fly from all you praise so warmly. I am like the slave who ran away from his master the priest, because he got nothing but sweet cake to eat. I want something wholesome. If we are to live naturally, where can we build our house more fitly than in the country? Where shall we find such warmth in winter, such cool breezes in summer? Where is sleep so unbroken by care? Is the meadow less bright and sweet than the marble floor? Is the water that struggles through the leaden pipe more pure than the rippling brook? Why even among your pillars you grow a sham forest, and you like no house like that which has a landscape spread before it. You cannot get rid of Nature: she will come back and assert her rights.

The man whose ignorance cannot distinguish the dye of Aquinum from the dye of Sidon will not more certainly suffer hurt than he who confounds truth and error. He who is elated by prosperity will be confounded by adversity. If you have specially set your heart upon a thing, you will be sorry when you lose it. Seek not great things. The poor man may be happier than kings and the followers of kings. Take warning by the horse in the fable: he who forfeits his liberty for money will be a slave all his life to a hard master. As a shoe trips a man if it be too large, and galls him if too small, so is it with him whose means do not fit his desires.

Be content and wise, my friend, and when you see me heaping up riches you may chastise me in your turn as you will. Money is the mistress or the servant. It should ever be the captive, never the conqueror.

Dated by the ruins of Vacuna: in good spirits, though they would be better if you were with me.

URBIS amatorem Fuscum salvere jubemus
Ruris amatores, hac in re scilicet una
Multum dissimiles, ad caetera paene gemelli;
Fraternis animis, quidquid negat alter et alter;
Annuimus pariter vetuli notique columbi.
Tu nidum servas; ego laudo ruris amoeni
Rivos et musco circumlita saxa nemusque.
Quid quaeris? Vivo et regno simul ista reliqui
Quae vos ad caelum fertis rumore secundo,
Utque sacerdotis fugitivus liba recuso;

3. *ad caetera*] Most of the old editions have 'ad caetera,' and that is the reading of all the Parisian, the St. Gallen, three Berne, and many other MSS. The oldest Blandinian has 'at,' which Bentley defends, and so does Orelli. [See v. 50. Ritter and Krüger have, 'at cetera pene gemelli fraternis animis.' See v. 50. I am inclined to prefer the pointing of the text. The next line means 'of a brotherly mind, whatever one does not like, neither does the other.']

5. *vetuli notique columbi*] I do not know whether Horace means to be jocular here; but the notion of these two middle-aged gentlemen billing and cooing like two old pigeons has something rather absurd in it. ['Noti' means 'known to one another.' So 'vetuli notique' is the same as old friends.] There are some (Dacier, Sanadon, and others) who take 'noti' to refer to some well-known story of two doves.

8. *Quid quaeris*] This is equivalent to 'in short.' 'Why need you ask?'

9. *fertis rumore secundo*] Orelli's MSS. have 'effertis,' and so had the oldest Blandinian, and many others of note. But 'fertis' has equally good authority, and appears in nearly all the old editions. Virgil (Aen. viii. 90) has "Ergo iter inceptum celerant rumore secundo." Tacitus, speaking of the honours conferred on Nero, says "ut haec secundo rumore ita adversis animis acceptum quod filio Claudii socer Sejanus destinaretur" (Ann. iii. 29). He uses 'adverso rumore' in the opposite sense (xiv. 11). Here it means with unanimous assent.

10. *fugitivus liba recuso*] He likens himself to the slave who ran away from the priest his master because he fed him too much on the sweet cakes offered in sacrifice. He grew tired of them and wanted plainer food. These cakes, 'liba,' which the Greeks called πέλανοι, were made of flour sweetened generally with honey and sometimes made in the shape of animals as a substitute for more costly sacrifices. Orelli suggests that a scene in some 'mimus' may be referred to by Horace. He had some story in his mind I think. Ovid derives the name from 'Liber' (Fast. iii. 733):—

Pane egeo jam mellitis potiore placentis.
Vivere naturae si convenienter oportet
Ponendaeque domo quaerenda est area primum,
Novistine locum potiorem rure beato?
Est ubi plus tepeant hiemes, ubi gratior aura
Leniat et rabiem Canis et momenta Leonis,
Cum semel accepit Solem furibundus acutum?
Est ubi divellat somnos minus invida cura?
Deterius Libycis olet aut nitet herba lapillis?

"Nomine ab auctoris ducunt libamina nomen,
Libaque quod sacris pars datur inde focis.
Liba deo fiunt, succis quia dulcibus ille
Gaudet, et a Baccho mella reperta ferunt."

12. *Vivere naturae*] See S. i. 1. 49 n.: "quid referat intra Naturae fines viventi." Diogenes Laert. (vii. 87) says: πρῶτος ὁ Ζήνων—τέλος εἶπε τὸ ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν. This was the fundamental doctrine of Stoic morality. As a mere social question, which is the only point of view Horace is concerned with, the artificial state of society and mode of life in large towns he considers to be a wider departure from the normal condition, which may be called natural, than a country life. [Bishop Butler has explained what the Greek philosophers meant by living according to nature, and as they understood it, he says it is 'a manner of speaking, strictly just and true.' To live according to nature is to live according to a man's whole nature. 'To the rational animal the same act is according to nature and according to reason' (Antoninus, vii. 11).]

13. *Ponendaeque domo*] 'Area' is any open space, here for building on. (C. i. 9. 18.) Seneca (Ep. 90) has a passage very like this: "Levis umbra rupis aut arboris et perlucidi fontes rivique—et prata sine arte formosa, inter haec agreste domicilium rustica positum manu. Haec erat secundum naturam domus, in qua libebat habitare.'

15. *plus tepeant hiemes*] See S. ii. 3. 10 n.

16. *rabiem Canis et momenta Leonis*] See C. iii. 13. 8 n.; 29. 18 n. 'Momenta' seems to mean the violence of the heat that accompanies this constellation [or the entrance of the sun into the constellation Leo]. Orelli interprets it "motus, circuitus caelestes." The reader may compare Xenophon's praises of a country life (Œcon. c. 5. 9): χειμάσαι δὲ πυρὶ ἀφθόνῳ καὶ θερμοῖς λουτροῖς ποῦ πλείων εὐμάρεια ἢ ἐν χωρίῳ; ποῦ δὲ ἥδιον θερίσαι ὕδασί τε καὶ πνεύμασι καὶ σκιαῖς ἢ κατ' ἄγρον;

19. *Deterius Libycis olet*] Does the field covered with flowers smell less sweet and look less beautiful than marble floors laid with mosaic pictures and strewed with flowers or other perfumes. Respecting the Libyan and other marbles see C. ii. 18. 3 n. By 'lapillis' Horace means the small pieces of different marbles with which the floors were laid, 'tessellae' or 'crustulae' as they were called. Augustinus (de Ordine i. 2) uses the illustration of a mosaic to show the folly of those who look only to small parts of the divine dispensations rather than to the whole, and he uses Horace's word 'lapilli:' "Sed hoc pacto, si quis tam minutum cerneret, ut in vermiculato pavimento nihil ultra unius tessellae modulum acies ejus valeret ambire, vituperaret artificem velut ordinationis et compositionis ignarum, eo quod varietatem lapillorum perturbatam putaret, a quo illa emblemata in unius pulchritudinis faciem congruentia simul cerni collustrarique non possent." Such pavements were formerly common in Italy. They were wrought in coloured marbles, or the more ordinary ones in white and black. Pliny (H. N. xxxvi. c. 24) says that these 'pavimenta' (λιθόστρωτα) were first introduced by Sulla, who had one made for the temple of Fortune at Praeneste. He also gives directions for laying the substratum of such floors, and they have been found to correspond with some foundations that have been discovered, particularly in the Roman villa at Northleigh in Oxfordshire. The foundation was laid seven feet deep, and consisted of different layers of rubble, ashes, broken pots, &c., at the top being a layer of plaster nine inches thick, in which the 'tesserae' were laid. Most of the good mosaics found at Pompeii are of coloured

Purior in vicis aqua tendit rumpere plumbum
Quam quae per pronum trepidat cum murmure rivum?
Nempe inter varias nutritur silva columnas,
Laudaturque domus longos quae prospicit agros.
Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret,

glass; but there is one of marble supposed to represent the battle of Issus, which surpasses every other specimen that has yet been discovered. It is only part of the whole, but that part contains twelve horses, a war chariot, and twenty-two persons, including Darius and Alexander with his horse Bucephalus, all admirably executed more than half the size of life.

20. *aqua tendit rumpere plumbum*] The use of leaden pipes for conveying water is referred to in an inscription containing an edict of Augustus for the supply of water to the town of Venafrum: "Quaeque aqua in oppidum Venafranorum it, fluit, ducitur, eam aquam distribuere, discribere vendundi causa . . . . . jus potestatemve esse placet, dum ne ea aqua quae ita distributa, discripta . . . . . erit aliter quam fistulis plumbeis d. t. (DUMTAXAT) ab rivo p. L. (PEDES QUINQUAGINTA) ducatur." Horace's 'plumbum' means leaden pipes. (The inscription settles the question of 'discribere' or 'describere.' See A. P. 86 n.; C. ii. 13. 23; and Long's note on Cic. in Verr. ii. 3. 30.) Ovid also uses the bursting of a leaden pipe to illustrate the spurting of blood from a wound (Met. iv. 122):—

"Non aliter quam cum vitiato fistula plumbo
Scinditur, et tenues stridente foramine longe
Ejaculatur aquas atque ictibus aëra rumpit."

Cisterns were called 'castella,' and there were three sorts: 'publica,' which received the water intended for public purposes; 'privata,' which were the common property of several persons who clubbed together to build them, and laid on pipes to conduct the water to their 'castella domestica,' the cisterns in their own houses. These pipes therefore intersected the whole city. As mentioned before (S. i. 4. 37 n.), those who could not afford to have water laid on at their houses resorted to the 'lacus' or public tanks erected for their convenience in several parts of the town. The pipes were called 'fistulae.' [Frontinus, De Aquae ductibus Urbis Romae. 'Vici' are the quarters of the city. S. i. 9. 13. See Seneca, Ep. 90, who alludes to artificial fountains, 'quemadmodum in immensam altitudinem crocum latentibus fistulis exprimat.']

21. *trepidat cum murmure*] Compare C. ii. 3. 11: "obliquo laborat Lympha fugax trepidare rivo."

22. *nutritur silva columnas*] See note on C. iii. 10. 5: "nemus Inter pulchra satum tecta." Compare Tibullus (iii. 3. 15): "Et nemora in domibus sacros imitantia lucos." Shrubs and flowers were planted in the 'impluvium,' but more largely in the 'peristylium,' an open space at the back part of the house, surrounded by colonnades, and usually, like the 'impluvium,' with a cistern or fountain in the middle.

24. *Naturam expellas furca*] This was a common expression. Lambinus restored it in a corrupt passage of Cicero (ad Att. xvi. 2): "sed quoniam furcilla extrudimur, Brundisium cogito," where the common reading was 'furore illo.' Lambinus quotes Catullus (105): 'furcillis ejiciunt;' and Aristophanes (Pax. 635):—

οἱ δὲ γιγνώσκοντες εὖ
τοὺς πένητας ἀσθενοῦντας κἀπυροῦντας ἀλφίτων
τήνδε μὲν. (εἰρήνην) δικροῖς ἐώθουν τὴν θεὸν κεκράγμασιν·

where *δικρὰ κεκράγματα* is a conceit for cries that acted like a pitchfork to toss peace out of the city. Lucian (Tim. 12) has *καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ δικράνοις με ἐξεώθει τῆς οἰκίας*. Erasmus explains the metaphor in 'furca' by the practice of forcing down branches of shrubs by means of a forked stick, and when this is removed the bough rises again. But that is clearly wrong: forcible ejection is meant. Cicero says (Tusc. v. 27), referring to the eagerness of Indian widows to be burnt with their husband's body (a fiction which it appears he believed): "nunquam naturam mos vinceret, est enim ea semper invicta. Sed nos umbris, deliciis, otio, languore, desidia animum infecimus: opinionibus maloque more delinitum mollivimus." This ex-

Et mala perrumpet furtim fastidia victrix.
Non qui Sidonio contendere callidus ostro
Nescit Aquinatem potantia vellera fucum
Certius accipiet damnum propiusque medullis,
Quam qui non poterit vero distinguere falsum.
Quem res plus nimio delectavere secundae,
Mutatae quatient. Si quid mirabere, pones
Invitus. Fuge magna: licet sub paupere tecto
Reges et regum vita praecurrere amicos.
Cervus equum pugna melior communibus herbis
Pellebat, donec minor in certamine longo

plains the 'mala fastidia,' which nature, silently recovering her ground, contrives to supplant.

26. *Non qui Sidonio*] On the position of 'non,' see S. i. 6. 1. This which Obbarius calls 'difficillimus locus' can have but one meaning. 'Not he who knows not skilfully to compare with Sidonian purple the wool that drinks the dye of Aquinum, shall suffer harm more certain or more deep, than he who cannot tell truth from falsehood.' There is strong irony in these words, and they follow naturally on what goes before, as representing the paltry objects with which the mind is employed in what is called fashionable life, to the destruction of the moral sense. ['Ostro' is the dative.] The MSS. vary between 'propiusve' and 'propiusque.' [Ritter and Krüger have 'propiusve.']

The 'murex' and 'purpura,' which were the shell-fish from which the purple dye was obtained, abounded on the coasts of Italy. Those of Baiae were most celebrated on the west coast (S. ii. 4. 32 n.), and those of Tarentum on the east (Epp. ii. 1. 207). The foreign purples (enumerated on C. ii. 16. 36) were most esteemed, and these were imitated by the Italians. The juices varied in colour in various places according to climate and local circumstances. That part of the fish which yielded the dye was extracted (S. ii. 4. 32 n.) and strewed with salt in the proportion of 20 ounces to 100 pounds of fish. This caused the juice to flow, and kept it from putrefaction. After remaining thus for three days the juice was drawn off into a leaden cauldron, the heating of which gave the colours additional brilliancy. After ten days of this process, by which the fleshy particles were carried off, the liquor was fit for use. The wool was steeped for five hours, and then dried and carded; and this was repeated till the dye was sufficiently imbibed according to the quality required. The 'fucus' was a marine plant of some kind which yielded a red juice used for colouring. Pliny informs us that wool was sometimes stained with this before it was steeped in the purple. But it was commonly used in imitation of the real dye. Hence it came to be used for deception in general. Aquinum (Aquino), the birth-place of Juvenal, was a town of Latium on the Via Latina, between Fregellae and Venafrum. Comm. Cruq., who says that Aquinum had a trade in dyed articles, seems to have got his information from this passage. The town of Amyclae, on the Latin coast, appears to have dealt in the same imitation wools which Ovid mentions (Rem. Am. 707):—

> "Confer Amyclaeis medicatum vellus ahenis
> Murice cum Tyrio, turpius illud erit,"

which Quintilian quotes (xii. 10. 75), saying, "Ut lana tincta fuco citra purpuras placet; at si contuleris Tyriae lacernae, conspectu melioris obruatur."

31. *Si quid mirabere*] Comp. Epp. i. 6. 1

34. *Cervus equum pugna melior*] Stesichorus is said to have spoken this fable to the citizens of Himera when they were preparing to confer absolute power on Phalaris, and give him a body-guard, as mentioned by Aristotle (Rhet. ii. 20). The fable is told by Phaedrus (iv. 4), with the substitution of a boar for the stag.

[36. *opes*] Krüger compares C. iii. 3. 38 and Epp. ii. 2. 136. He also cites Cicero ad Att. ix. 16: 'A Caesare mihi litterae redditae sunt, quibus jam opes meas, non, ut superioribus litteris, opem

Imploravit opes hominis frenumque recepit;
Sed postquam victor violens discessit ab hoste,
Non equitem dorso, non frenum depulit ore.
Sic qui pauperiem veritus potiore metallis
Libertate caret, dominum vehit improbus atque
Serviet aeternum, quia parvo nesciet uti.
Cui non conveniet sua res, ut calceus olim,
Si pede major erit subvertet, si minor uret.
Laetus sorte tua vives sapienter, Aristi,
Nec me dimittes incastigatum ubi plura
Cogere quam satis est ac non cessare videbor.
Imperat aut servit collecta pecunia cuique,
Tortum digna sequi potius quam ducere funem.
Haec tibi dictabam post fanum putre Vacunae,
Excepto quod non simul esses caetera laetus.

expectat.' 'Opes meas,' 'all that I can do.']

37. *Sed postquam victor violens*] Bentley, not liking 'violens' in this position, has changed 'victor' into 'victo' without authority, and put 'violens' before it.

39. *potiore metallis*] The 'vectigalia' from mines ('metalla') were very considerable at this time.

[40. *improbus*] 'Improbus' corresponds to 'serviet aeternum.' 'He carries a master in consequence of his greediness, and will be a slave for ever.' Ritter has 'vehet,' perhaps the better reading.]

42. *ut calceus olim*] See S. i. 3. 31 n. 'Olim' is used indefinitely, as in S. i. 1. 25, "ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi Doctores." See C. ii. 10. 17 n. 'Urere' means 'to gall.'

[44. *Laetus*] There is an hypothetical force in 'laetus,' as Ritter says: 'if you are content with your condition, you will live like a wise man.']

48. *Tortum digna sequi*] Acron says, "Qui magis vinci debet: quoniam vinci est trahi non trahere." I think this gives the right sense, and that the metaphor is taken from a prisoner led with a rope round his neck by his captor, or [a beast led by a rope. See Juv. S. xii. 5. 'Tortus,' 'intortus,' is a usual epithet of a rope. Virg. Aen. iv. 575.]

49. *Haec tibi dictabam*] The imperfect tense is generally used in letters instead of the present, because the action is past to the person receiving the letter. As to 'dictabam,' see S. i. 10. 92 n. The Fanum Vacunae was about three miles from the confluence of the Digentia and the Anio close to the modern town, Rocca Giovane. "Vacuna has been thought by some commentators to be the goddess of leisure. Lilius Giraldus says it is synonymous with Minerva, Varro with Victoria. The opinion of the last seems confirmed by the following inscription found near the temple:—

IMP. CAESAR. VESPASIANVS.
AVG. PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT.
CAENSOR. AEDEM. VICTORIAE.
VETVSTATE. DILAPSAM.
SVA. IMPENSA.
RESTITVIT.

"A prostrate brick wall covered with cement, and the portion of a small conduit, which supplied the temple with water, were all that we could find of the 'fanum putre Vacunae'" (Kelsall's Classical Excursion from Rome to Arpino, p. 21, London, 1821). Vacuna was originally a Sabine goddess.

EPISTLE XI.

This Epistle is addressed to one Bullatius, of whom we know nothing. He was travelling in the Aegean and in Asia Minor, and was absent longer than Horace wished, or thought good for him; and the object of this letter is to induce him to return. The commentators generally have a very mean opinion of Bullatius, who has suffered at their hands harder measure than any of Horace's friends. But his chief vice seems to have been a fondness for travelling, and an especial admiration of some of the finest and most ancient towns in the world. If we are to add to this that for some reason or other he was unhappy, and expected to relieve himself by change of scene, he may have been mistaken in his means, but if so, plenty of people have shared in his mistake, and when Horace puts before Bullatius as the end of life the enjoyment of the present moment,—a doctrine he seems to have held pretty strongly,—we may doubt whether his philosophy is not at least as bad as his friend's practice. But we need not assume any thing injurious to Bullatius. Such reflections upon travel as occur in this Epistle might naturally have suggested themselves whomsoever it had been written to. We must not judge Horace's Epistles as we would private letters, meant only for the reading of the persons they are written to.

We have no means of knowing when the Epistle was written.

ARGUMENT.

What think you, Bullatius, of the fine places of the East? are they not all tame compared with our Campus and Tiber? Have you set your heart upon one of Attalus' towns, or are you so tired of travelling that you must settle down at Lebedus, the dullest of places, as you know? And yet I could live there willingly, I confess, forgetting home and every body, to look out upon the stormy sea. But the traveller who turns in to his tavern to rest would not stay there for ever; and he who warms himself by the fire or a hot bath does not make these the end of his life. So if you have been tempest-tost, and have been glad to put into port, is that any reason why you should sell your ship and never come back? Those parts are very well for sick people, but as long as health and fortune let you be at Rome, stay here and praise Samos and the rest at a distance. Be thankful for the blessings of the day, and live for the present hour; so will you be happy whatever place you may be in. 'Tis reason that takes away sorrow, and we only change our clime when we shift our place. It is but a busy idleness that employs us when we seek happiness in ships and in coaches. All you want is here or at dull Ulubrae, if your heart be true and fail you not.

QUID tibi visa Chios, Bullati, notaque Lesbos,
Quid concinna Samos, quid Croesi regia Sardes,
Smyrna quid et Colophon? Majora minorave fama,
Cunctane prae Campo et Tiberino flumine sordent?

1. *Quid tibi visa Chios*] The island of Chios was rugged and mountainous. ("Chio's rocky isle"); but had, as it still has, an excellent climate and choice wines: the women also were very handsome; in all of which ancient and modern accounts agree. The principal town, Chios, was a noble city, richly adorned with buildings and works of art. Verres plundered it of some of the best statues (Cic. in Verr. ii. 1. 19). Not a trace of any thing remains. Horace calls Lesbos celebrated, and its fame need not be supposed to depend on the wines, or on Alcaeus and Sappho, as the commentators say. From the Trojan War to the times of the Roman Empire, when Tacitus calls it "insula nobilis et amoena" (Ann. vi. 3), the fortunes of Lesbos, its revolutions and conquests, its connexion with Athens, its tradition of Orpheus, its poets and musicians and statesmen, its cities and works of art, its fields and vineyards and climate, all contributed to make it the most conspicuous island in the Aegean.

Samos (the island) is rough, but the town is meant, and it is called 'concinna' from the buildings, of which a temple of Juno was one of the most conspicuous. Cicero calls it "fanum antiquissimum et nobilissimum" (Verr. ii. 1. 19). Outside and inside this temple was adorned with the finest works of art. There was also a celebrated mole at Samos, made to protect the harbour.

The town of Sardes (*αἱ Σάρδεις*), or the greater part of it, from the facility with which it was burnt to the ground in the revolt of the Ionians, B.C. 499, must originally have been built of slight materials, though it was the seat of enormous wealth during the reigns of the Lydian kings, and especially that of Croesus, whose palace became the residence of the Persian Satraps and was beautified by them, especially by Cyrus the younger, whose gardens were celebrated (Cic. de Senect. c. 17). The strength of its natural position was extraordinary. The river Pactolus flowed through the city. There are traces of a theatre and marble piers supporting masses of brick, but all these remains no doubt are Roman. Sardes surrendered to Alexander, and after his death passed through the hands of Antigonus, Seleucus, and his descendants, and the kings of Pergamum, till Lydia became part of the Roman province of Asia. Some of the imperial coins of Sardes bear the inscription, ΣΑΡΔΕΙΣ. ΑΣΙΑΣ. ΛΥΔΙΑΣ. ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ. [Ritter has 'Croesi regia Sardis' from Priscian.]

3. *Smyrna quid et Colophon*] Alexander the Great found Smyrna in ruins, and conceived the design of re-building it, being prompted by Nemesis in a dream. He did not live to do so, but Antigonus began and Lysimachus finished a new town on a magnificent scale. Strabo (p. 646) gives a description of it, and speaks of it as one of the most beautiful cities of Ionia. There are coins of the empire bearing the inscription ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΛΛΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΕΘΕΙ. Among other objects of interest was a temple erected to Homer, and called Homerium. The inhabitants claimed him as their countryman, and showed a cave in which it was said he wrote his poems. The ruins that now stand are not many, the Turks having used the materials for building; but excavations have brought to light many statues, inscriptions, and medals.

Colophon, also in Ionia on the Hales, was destroyed by Lysimachus with Lebedus (v. 6). The chief attraction was its neighbourhood to the shrine of the Clarian Apollo.

— *Majora minorave fama*] 'Be they greater or less than report makes them out to be (I care not which), are they not all tame compared with the Campus Martius and the Tiber?' 'Ve' is probably formed from 'vel,' and had much the same meaning, being chiefly used in poetry. When 'vel' is used, an indifference in the speaker's mind is implied as to which of the two cases or objects be taken. 'Ne' being attached to 'cuncta' shows that the emphasis lies on that word (Key's L. G. 1444 n., and 1417). Ven. 1483, Ascens. 1529, and most of the old editions, and the great majority of MSS., have 'minorave' Lambinus and many editors after him, including Bentley, have followed the Aldine editions, which have 'minorane' But 'ne' has little MS. authority. If 'minorane' be the true reading, 'fama' must be followed by a note of interrogation. [Ritter has 'majora minorave fama?']

An venit in votum Attalicis ex urbibus una,
An Lebedum laudas odio maris atque viarum?
Scis Lebedus quid sit; Gabiis desertior atque

5. *Attalicis ex urbibus*] One of the towns of the kingdom of Pergamum bequeathed by Attalus III. to the Roman people, and constituted a Roman province on the defeat of Aristonicus, A.U.C. 625. The fortress of Pergamum in Mysia was entrusted by Lysimachus to his officer Philetaerus, who made himself independent, and held the town and its vast treasures, of which he had charge, for twenty years, beginning B.C. 283. His successor, Eumenes I., defeated the army of Antiochus the Great near Sardes, and added some of the surrounding country to his possessions, to which his successor Attalus I. added more by the conquest of the Gallo-Graeci, and he first took the title of King of Pergamum. His successors, adhering to the alliance of the Romans, got the benefit of their success against Antiochus; and the kingdom of Pergamum, when it was handed over to the Romans, included Mysia, Lydia, Ionia, and part of Caria, the principal cities of which (μητροπόλεις) were Ephesus, Pergamum, Sardes, Smyrna, Lampsacus, Cyzicus. Other large towns were Tralles, Adramyttium, Thyatira, and others. (Strabo, xiv.)

6. *An Lebedum laudas*] Lysimachus, after the battle of Ipsus (B.C. 301), when he became master of the western part of Asia Minor, destroyed the towns of Lebedus and Colophon in Ionia, and transferred the inhabitants to Ephesus. Lebedus never seems to have been rebuilt so as to recover any of its former importance, and the ruins of the old town probably helped to make the desolate appearance described by Horace. Some ruins still in existence, marking the spot where this town stood, are called Ecclesia, or Xingi. Horace writes as if he knew Lebedus, but did not know the other places he has referred to. He must have seen this place, if at all, in his campaign with Brutus.

Gabii was an ancient town of Latium, an Alban colony, 100 stadia from Rome, which excavations, made about the end of the last century, show to have stood near the small lake, now called Pantano. During the civil wars it fell into ruins; so that Lucan says,

"—— Gabios, Veiosque, Coramque
Pulvere vix tectae poterunt monstrare ruinae" (vii. 392).

Propertius mentions its desertion and former greatness in one line (iv. 1. 34),—

"Et qui nunc nulli maxima turba Gabi."

Juvenal mentions it as a place of resort for people in humble circumstances (iii. 190),

"Quis timet aut timuit gelida Praeneste ruinam,
Aut positis nemorosa inter juga Volsiniis, aut
Simplicibus Gabiis?"

"—— quum jam celebres notique poetae
Balneolum Gabiis, Romae conducere furnos
Tentarent" (vii. 3).

In Horace's time, while cold bathing was the fashion under the advice of Antonius Musa, Gabii was resorted to. Horace may have been there himself (Ep. 15. 9). The town was restored under the Emperors Antoninus and Commodus. There was a temple of Juno at Gabii, of which some remains are said to exist. Several statues and inscriptions were found when the excavations were made.

Fidenae was about five miles from Rome, on the Via Salaria, at a place now named Castel Giubileo. In A.U.C. 329 the town was destroyed by Aemilius Mamercus (Liv. iv. 9). Previous to this it had been one of the most troublesome of the Roman possessions, making many efforts to recover its independence. According to tradition Romulus found it a large town and conquered it (Dionys. Halic. ii. 53), but it seems never to have risen to any great importance again. Tacitus (Ann. iv. 62) describes a dreadful accident which happened at Fidenae, and was caused by the falling of a temporary amphitheatre, by which he says 50,000 persons were killed or hurt; but they had come from all quarters, and this is no indication of the population. Suetonius (Tib. 40) makes the number upwards of 20,000.

These two towns are mentioned by Juvenal (S. x. 99),—

"Hujus qui trahitur praetextam sumere mavis,
An Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas?"

that is, a magistrate of the little towns of Fidenae and Gabii; and S. vi. 56:—

"—— vivat Gabiis ut vixit in agro;
Vivat Fidenis, et agello cedo paterno."

Fidenis vicus; tamen illic vivere vellem,
Oblitusque meorum obliviscendus et illis
Neptunum procul e terra spectare furentem.
Sed neque qui Capua Romam petit imbre lutoque
Adspersus volet in caupona vivere; nec qui
Frigus collegit furnos et balnea laudat
Ut fortunatam plene praestantia vitam.
Nec si te validus jactaverit Auster in alto,
Idcirco navem trans Aegaeum mare vendas.

Virgil mentions them together as colonies of Alba (Aen. vi. 773):—

"Hi tibi Nomentum, et Gabios, urbemque Fidenam,
Hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces;"

where it may be observed Virgil shortens the first syllable, whereas Horace, Juvenal and Silius (xv. 91) make it long.

8. *tamen illic vivere vellem*] There is a good deal of difficulty in respect to the connexion and meaning of this passage and the next. Horace seems to mean that though Lebedus was a place deserted, he could enjoy living there, though it cut him off from all his friends, for the sake of the fine prospect of the sea, which would be an exaggerated way of speaking. He had probably in mind some occasion when he had admired the sea from Lebedus, and the recollection came upon him strongly as he wrote; or Bullatius may have said something in a letter about the fine prospect, and Horace means that he agrees with him. [Horace says, if it had been necessary, he could have been content to dwell in this lonely place and to gaze on the stormy sea; for there was nothing else to look at. Ritter has rightly conceived the meaning: 'poeta hoc exemplo planum facere voluit, minimum ad beate vivendum momentum in loco esse, non magnum in amicis et cognatis, maximum in suo cujusque animo.'] But, he says, there is a time for all things. The traveller, when he is splashed, may be glad of a tavern to retire to and clean himself, but he would not wish to stay there all his life; and the man who has got chilled may be glad of a fire or hot bath, but he does not reckon fires and hot baths the chief good of life; and though you may have been glad to get on shore in a foreign land to escape from a storm, you will surely not think it necessary to stay there for ever. If a man is in health, Rhodes and Mytilene are not the places for him; so come back again while you may, and if you must praise those distant parts, praise them at home. It appears as if Bullatius had been a good while absent and meant to remain much longer.

11. *qui Capua Romam*] The road Appius made (A.U.C. 442) extended only as far as Capua. It was afterwards extended to Beneventum, and thence by two different branches to Brundusium, according to the general opinion, which however has been disputed (S. i. 5. 79, n.). The road, of which a description is given by Procopius (de Bell. Goth. i. 14) from his own observations, was formed of blocks of basaltic stone very compactly put together without mortar or clamps, or metal of any sort. Whether there was originally gravel laid over the pavement or not is uncertain; but when it was worn by traffic, a coat of gravel may have been given it. Certainly gravel is mentioned in the inscription quoted on S. i. 5. 6, and Horace's account of the traveller coming in splashed with mud leads to the same conclusion. The pavement is now generally covered with gravel, and "when it is uncovered, as at Capo di Bove, at Fondi, &c., the stones, though irregular, are large and flat, but their edges being worn into hollows, they jolt a carriage unmercifully" (Forsyth's Italy, p. 133). This confirms the interpretation given to the verse last referred to.

12. *nec qui frigus collegit*] The meaning is plain enough: he who has got chilled, not he who has caught the ague, as some say. Obbarius quotes Ovid (Met. i. 234): "ab ipso Colligit os rabiem;" [and Krüger quotes Ovid Met. v. 446: 'Fessa labore sitim collegerat.'] 'Furnos' may be bakers' ovens or any furnaces to which a man might go to warm himself. As to the 'balnea,' see Dict. Ant.

Incolumi Rhodos et Mytilene pulchra facit quod
Paenula solstitio, campestre nivalibus auris,
Per brumam Tiberis, Sextili mense caminus.
Dum licet ac vultum servat Fortuna benignum,
Romae laudetur Samos et Chios et Rhodos absens.
Tu quamcunque deus tibi fortunaverit horam
Grata sume manu, neu dulcia differ in annum,
Ut quocunque loco fueris vixisse libenter
Te dicas; nam si ratio et prudentia curas,
Non locus effusi late maris arbiter aufert,
Caelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.
Strenua nos exercet inertia: navibus atque
Quadrigis petimus bene vivere. Quod petis hic est,
Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus.

17. *Incolumi*] See S. ii. 3. 137 n.

18. *Paenula solstitio, campestre*] The 'paenula' was a thick outer mantle worn in bad weather over the toga. The 'campestre' was a linen cloth worn round the loins in games or exercises in which the body was otherwise stripped, as also in swimming. The garment which Adam and Eve made for themselves of fig-leaves, which the Septuagint translators call περιζώματα, and we translate 'aprons,' Augustinus (de Civ. Dei, xiv. 17) renders 'campestria:' "consuerunt folia fici et fecerunt sibi campestria: id est succinctoria genitalium. Nam quidam interpretes succinctoria posuerunt. Porro autem campestria latinum quidem verbum est, sed ex eo dictum quod juvenes qui nudi exercebantur in Campo pudenda operiebant: unde qui ita succincti sunt campestratos vulgus appellat."

19. *caminus*] See Epod. ii. 43 n.

[21. *absens*] 'Absens,' which is connected with 'Samos' and the other places, and opposed to 'Romae,' means that a man may praise these distant spots, if he likes, but he should stay at home. The point of the Epistle is that happiness does not depend on change of place.]

22. *fortunaverit*] This word is only used in reference to the gifts of the gods.

23. *in annum*] See Epp. i. 2. 39.

26. *effusi late maris arbiter*] That is, a place which commands (as we say) a wide prospect over the sea, such as Lebedus.

28. *Strenua nos exercet inertia*] This is a very happy expression, and has become proverbial for a do-nothing activity, such exertions as tend to no point and produce no fruits. [Seneca, de brevit. vit. c. 11, has 'desidiosa occupatio,' Krüger.] 'Navibus atque quadrigis' obviously means 'running about by sea and land.' 'Quadriga' is any carriage drawn by four horses (abreast, two under the yoke attached to the pole, and two outside, 'funales' fastened by traces), though the word is more generally used for a triumphal or racing chariot than for a travelling carriage, of which there were various kinds. 'Rheda' was the most general name for such a carriage on four wheels (S. ii. 6. 42 n.). 'Petorritum' was another name, and a third was 'carruca,' a later name, not known in Horace's time. Of travelling carriages there was a variety of names: 'cisium,' 'essedum,' 'carpentum,' 'pilentum,' 'covinus.'

30. *Est Ulubris*] Ulubrae was a small town of Latium, not far from Velitrae, and a place of no importance. Juvenal (x. 101) says:

"Et de mensura jus dicere? Vasa minora
Frangere pannosus vacuis aedilis Ulubris?"

EPISTLE XII.

A.U.C. 734.

Iccius, to whom this Epistle is addressed, has been mentioned, with all that is known of him, in the Introduction to C. i. 29, and Pompeius Grosphus in C. ii. 16. It is a letter of introduction for Grosphus to Iccius, who was employed in managing Agrippa's estates in Sicily.

It is possible Horace may have had a letter from Iccius in which he wrote something that gave rise to the reflections with which the Epistle begins; but to affirm from what Horace here says that Iccius was a miser or a misanthrope, or any thing else but a good and sensible man, any one who reads the Epistle with the smallest attention must see is absurd. The Argument will show the spirit of it, and convince any body that Horace means nothing but compliments to his friend.

The date is not difficult to make out. It must have been written shortly after the success of Agrippa against the Cantabri, who, having been subdued by Augustus in A.U.C. 730, afterwards broke out again and were finally conquered and broken by Agrippa A.U.C. 734, in the autumn of which year this Epistle was written. (See v. 29.) At that time the close of Tiberius' expedition to Armenia, and the restoration of the standards of Crassus would be news just fresh.

ARGUMENT.

Use what you get with discretion, Iccius, and no man can be better off than you. Be content. He is not poor who has enough. As long as you have good health the riches of kings could add nothing to your happiness. Accustom yourself to simple fare and you will never leave it off, though you should be turned into gold, whether it be that money makes no change in our natures, or because, like a wise man, you count every thing less than virtue. We may wonder why Democritus should have neglected his goods to absorb himself in his studies, when we see how you are able in the midst of sordid employments to lift your thoughts to the skies, and to search into the springs of nature and to balance rival systems.

But be all this as it may, I beg you to receive Pompeius Grosphus, and whatever he asks let him have, for he will ask nothing that is not right. Such friends are cheaply purchased.

If you would know what is going on at Rome, the Cantabrian has fallen before the valour of Agrippa, the Armenian of Tiberius. Phraates has done homage and accepted the yoke of Caesar. Plenty is showering an abundant harvest upon Italy.

Fructibus Agrippae Siculis quos colligis, Icci,
Si recte frueris, non est ut copia major
Ab Jove donari possit tibi. Tolle querelas;
Pauper enim non est cui rerum suppetit usus.
Si ventri bene, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, nil
Divitiae poterunt regales addere majus.
Si forte in medio positorum abstemius herbis
Vivis et urtica, sic vives protinus ut te
Confestim liquidus Fortunae rivus inauret;
Vel quia naturam mutare pecunia nescit,
Vel quia cuncta putas una virtute minora.
Miramur si Democriti pecus edit agellos
Cultaque dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox;
Cum tu inter scabiem tantam et contagia lucri

1. *Fructibus Agrippae*] From what sources Agrippa derived his immense wealth we do not know. From this Epistle we learn that he had estates in Sicily, probably given him after his success against Sex. Pompeius. Iccius, says Horace, has a good post and may be very comfortable if he is careful. He is generally called the 'procurator' of Agrippa, and that word may express his office, since 'procurator' was one who acted for another with his authority. He might be called 'coactor' as collector of rents, but probably his supervision was general. But he must not be supposed to have been Agrippa's 'villicus.' The 'villicus' was a slave (Ep. 14. 1).

4. *cui rerum suppetit usus*] 'Rerum usus' here seems to mean the supply of things needful. 'Suppetere' 'to be sufficient,' occurs in Epod. xvii. 64. 'Pauper' is here used more in the sense of privation than Horace generally uses it.

5. *Si ventri bene, si lateri*] This seems to be a translation of Solon's verses, quoted by Plutarch (Sol. c. 2), who says of him *πλοῦτον δ' οὐκ ἐθαύμαζεν, ἀλλὰ καί φησιν ὁμοίως πλουτεῖν ᾧ τε—*

πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστι
καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ γῆς πυροφόρου πεδία,
ἵπποι θ' ἡμίονοί τε, καὶ ᾧ μόνα ταῦτα πάρεστι
γαστρί τε καὶ πλευρῇ καὶ ποσὶν ἁβρὰ παθεῖν.

['Si ventri bene:' see Epp. i. 1. 89.]

7. *positorum*] 'Ponere' is the usual word for putting dishes on the table (S. ii. 2. 23). Here fine dishes are meant, as we can tell by the context. The nettle 'urtica' forms an ingredient in the broth of poor people in this country, and still more in Scotland. 'Protinus' means 'right on,' and is applied in various ways. Here it means 'in an uninterrupted course,' that is, 'always.' 'Ut' means 'even supposing,' as in Epod. i. 21. 'Confestim,' 'straightway,' has the same root as ['infestus,' 'confertus']. Though 'Fortunae rivus' occurs nowhere else in extant writers, it seems, as Orelli says, to have been a proverbial expression.

10. *naturam mutare*] Horace says the same in a different application elsewhere (Epod. iv. 5):—

"Licet superbus ambules pecunia,
Fortuna non mutat genus."

12. *Miramur si Democriti*] I do not agree with Orelli in his interpretation of this passage. (See Argument.) The father of Democritus entertained Xerxes at Abdera, from which we may infer that he had property (Diog. Laert. ix. Democritus). The son travelled a great part of his life and squandered his means in this way. Cicero says he was reported to have put out his eyes to prevent his mind from being distracted, and that he neglected his patrimony and left his lands uncultivated. (De Finn. v. 29; Tusc. Disp. v. 39.) In whatever way he wasted his goods, it seems his name had passed into a proverb.

14. *Cum tu inter scabiem*] There is no reflection on Iccius in these words. His occupation as a collector of rents and overseer of a large estate would bring a good deal of dirty work upon his hands, and the words are well suited to express the con-

Nil parvum sapias et adhuc sublimia cures:
Quae mare compescant causae, quid temperet annum,
Stellae sponte sua jussaene vagentur et errent,
Quid premat obscurum lunae, quid proferat orbem,
Quid velit et possit rerum concordia discors,
Empedocles an Stertinium deliret acumen.
Verum seu pisces seu porrum et caepe trucidas
Utere Pompeio Grospho, et si quid petet ultro

trast between the necessary pursuits of his daily life and the high subjects his mind rose to in spite of such drawbacks.

16. *Quae mare compescant causae*] There is much poetical power in these four verses. They are worthy of Lucretius, and in his style.

[17. *sponte*]

'Sunt in fortunae qui casibus omnia ponunt
Et nullo credunt mundum rectore moveri,
Natura volvente vices et lucis et anni.'
Juv. Sat. xiii. 86.]

[18. *Quid premat*] 'Obscurum' expresses the result of 'premere,' which is opposed to 'proferre.']

20. *Empedocles an Stertinium*] Empedocles was born about B.C. 520, and was a man of wealth and station at Agrigentum in Sicily. In respect to his physics, which are here more particularly referred to, he seems to have held with the Eleatic School of Xenophanes and Parmenides. What we know of his doctrines is chiefly derived from fragments of two poems in hexameter verse, one called *καθαρμοί*, a song of expiation (Müller's Hist. Gr. Lit. p. 254); the other on Nature, unless they are parts of the same poem. His views are rendered more difficult of comprehension by the pretension, which runs through his works and mystifies his style, to divine powers (A. P. 464). Lucretius (i. 732 sqq.) says of his poems (of which, so far as the fragments allow, an analysis is given by Ritter, Hist. Phil. i. p. 445 sqq.):—

"Carmina quinetiam divini pectoris ejus
Vociferantur et exponunt praeclara reperta,
Ut vix humana videatur stirpe creatus."

They were much read and admired by the Romans. Horace refers perhaps to a dogma imputed to Empedocles (Diog. Laert. viii. 76): *στοιχεῖα μὲν εἶναι τέτταρα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, γῆν, ἀέρα, φιλίαν τε ᾗ συγκρίνεται καὶ νεῖκος ᾧ διακρίνεται*: and to this Cicero alludes (de Amic. c. 7) when he says "Agrigentinum quidem doctum quendam virum carminibus Graecis vaticinatum ferunt, quae in rerum natura totoque mundo constarent quaeque moverentur, ea contrahere amicitiam, dissipare discordiam."

Stertinius (Introduction to S. ii. 3) is put again as the representative of the Stoics, who in their physical theory followed Aristotle, and he appears to have had a contempt for Empedocles. 'Stertinium' is an adjective formed like 'Sulpiciis' in C. iv. 12. 18. 'Stertinium acumen' is an expression like 'sententia Catonis' S. i. 2. 32 n., and others quoted there, and ii. 1. 72 n.), and 'error Herculis' in Propertius (i. 20. 15): "Quae miser ignotis error perpessus in oris Herculis." 'Deliret' is used perhaps by way of jocular allusion to the Stoic theory noticed in S. ii. 3.

21. *Verum seu pisces*] This is only a way of changing the subject, and passing from Iccius and his habits to that which was the chief purpose of the Epistle, the introduction of Grosphus. Murdering leeks and onions is a humorous way of alluding to the notion of Pythagoras (S. ii. 6. 63), and the same is extended to fishes perhaps, because Empedocles, who believed in the metempsychosis, though in a different way from Pythagoras, and held that to take life was against the universal law, declared that he himself had once been a fish, among other things:—

ἤδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ γενόμην κοῦρός τε κόρη τε
θάμνος τ' οἰωνός τε καὶ ἐξ ἁλὸς ἔμπυρος ἰχθύς.

We need not at any rate suppose that a contrast of luxurious and frugal fare is meant in 'pisces' and 'porrum et caepe.' "Seu laute sive parce vivis" is the explanation of Comm. Cruq., which many commentators have followed. [Ritter takes these words literally: part of the 'fructus' of Agrippa were fish, leek and onion. I know no other commentator who agrees with him.]

Defer; nil Grosphus nisi verum orabit et aequum.
Vilis amicorum est annona bonis ubi quid deest.
Ne tamen ignores quo sit Romana loco res:
Cantaber Agrippae, Claudi virtute Neronis
Armenius cecidit; jus imperiumque Phraates
Caesaris accepit genibus minor; aurea fruges
Italiae pleno defundit Copia cornu.

23. *verum*] See Ep. 7. 98 n.

24. *Vilis amicorum est annona*] Good friends are cheaply bought because they do not ask more than is right; they are reasonable and modest in their demands, as Grosphus would be. Socrates in Xenophon (Mem. ii. 10. 4), exhorting Diodorus to the duties of friendship, says: *νῦν δὲ διὰ τὰ πράγματα εὐωνοτάτους ἔστι φίλους ἀγαθοὺς κτήσασθαι*, in consequence of the troublesome times friends might be bought cheap.

26. *Cantaber. Agrippae*] See Introduction.

27. *Armenius cecidit*] This is an exaggerated way of stating the case. He refers to the completion of Tiberius' mission mentioned in the Introduction to Ep. 3. At the request of the Armenians Augustus sent Tigranes, who had been for some time living at Rome. They put the reigning king Artaxias to death and received Tigranes. Nevertheless it appears that a coin was struck for the occasion with the inscription ARMENIA CAPTA.

— *jus imperiumque Phraates*] The restoration of the standards of Crassus took place A.U.C. 734. The account of Justin, quoted in the Introduction to C. i. 26, does not state the case accurately as regards this transaction, and the causes which led to the restoration are so variously told by the historians that it is difficult to form any opinion from their statements. Suetonius (Aug. c. 21) merely says: "Parthi quoque et Armeniam vindicanti facile cesserunt (which refers to a later affair), et signa militaria, quae M. Crasso et M. Antonio ademerant, reposcenti reddiderunt: obsidesque insuper obtulerunt." Tacitus (Ann. ii. 1) says: "Phraates quanquam depulisset exercitus ducesque Romanos, cuncta venerantium officia ad Augustum verterat partemque prolis firmandae amicitiae miserat, haud perinde nostri metu quam fidei popularium diffisus." The Romans made the most of the concessions of the Parthian king; and the recovery of the standards, which was probably an act of policy independent of any fear of Roman invasion, was proclaimed as a triumph and recorded upon coins with the inscription SIGNIS RECEPTIS. Horace alludes to the circumstance also in C. iv. 15. 6, and in Epp. i. 18. 56. That Augustus was particularly anxious to hide the fact that the Parthians were not afraid of him may be inferred from the frequent assertion that they were so. (See C. iv. 5. 25; C. S. 53 sq.; S. ii. 5. 62; Epp. ii. 1. 256.) On the 'Monumentum Ancyranum' (p. 35, ed. Franz. quoted by Orelli) Augustus records that he compelled the Parthians to restore the spoils and standards of three Roman armies, and to seek as suppliants the friendship of the Romans. Horace says that Phraates accepted or put himself under the law and 'imperium' of Augustus, throwing himself on his knees ('genibus minor'),—a ridiculous exaggeration. Ovid is nearly as strong (Trist. ii. 227):—

"Nunc petit Armenius pacem; nunc porrigit arcus
Parthus eques timida captaque signa manu;"

and again, (Fast. vi. 459):—

"Crassus ad Euphraten aquilas natumque suosque
Perdidit, et leto est ultimus ipse datus.
Parthe, quid exultas? dixit dea: signa remittes,
Quique necem Crassi vindicet ultor erit."

Propertius in the following places refers prospectively to the recovery of these standards (ii. 10. 13; iii. 4. 9; 5. 48; iv. 6. 79). On this subject see C. iii. 5. 3, and Introduction.

29. *Copia cornu*] See C. S. 60 n., and compare the expressions in C. iv. 5. 17:—

"Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat,
Nutrit rura Ceres almaque Faustitas," &c.

and iv. 15. 4:—

"—— Tua, Caesar, aetas
Fruges et agris rettulit uberes."

The present tense 'defundit' makes it ap-

pear that the harvest was going on. But the perfect is in some MSS. I do not feel certain however that the words are to be taken literally. They may refer figuratively to the general prosperity of the country. 'Diffundit' appears in some MSS. but 'defundit' represents the pouring out from the horn better than 'diffundit,' 'scatters.' In later representations Copia is shown with her horn upturned.

EPISTLE XIII.

This letter professes to be written by Horace to one Vinius, the bearer of certain volumes of his to Augustus at Rome, Horace being probably at his own estate. He writes as if he had given his friend particular and anxious instructions when he started as to his behaviour, and as if this was to be sent after him to overtake him on the road, in order to impress the instructions upon his memory. It is probable that some such jokes may have passed between Horace and his messenger when he started, and that he amused himself afterwards by putting them into the form of this Epistle, which it is not unlikely he showed Augustus; but more I think is made of it in this respect than it will bear, as if it were written for the especial purpose of commending to Augustus the modesty of the writer, and apologizing for the intrusion, and so forth. I cannot see any such design. The person is assumed to be ignorant of the world, and therefore liable to make mistakes in the execution of his mission; to intrude at an unseasonable time; in the eagerness of his affection for Horace to be too officious; to carry the books awkwardly, so as to draw attention, or to stop in the streets in order to tell his curious friends what important business he was upon. The person addressed is called Vinius, and the allusion in v. 8 leads to the inference that his cognomen was Asellus, or Asina, or Asella. Asellus was a cognomen of the Annia, Claudia, and Cornelia gentes. Asina also was of the Cornelia. Porphyrion calls the man Vinnius Asella, while the other Scholiasts call him Caninius (which may be an error for Caius) Vinnius Fronto. There was one T. Vinius Philopoemen proscribed by the triumvirs for concealing his patronus, whose name therefore was the same, and the Vinia gens was in existence at this time. It has been conjectured by Dacier, and believed by others, that the person here addressed was one of the five tenants mentioned in the next Epistle, v. 3. The conjecture may be taken for what it is worth. No one can deny that he may have been one of those persons. He was not, as Orelli says, a 'tabellarius' or letter carrier, as his name sufficiently shows, for a 'tabellarius' was a slave, yet some have treated him as such.

What the volumes were that Horace was sending to Augustus it is impossible to say, but they may have contained the first three books of the Odes, and, if so, the Epistle was probably written in A.U.C. 730. Franke thinks so very decidedly; but all do not adopt that date, and some suppose the Satires to be the 'volumina' referred to.

UT proficiscentem docui te saepe diuque,
Augusto reddes signata volumina, Vini,

2. *signata volumina*] The number of volumes would depend upon the number of books into which the work was divided, as each book, if it was not very long, would be rolled on one stick. (Epod. xiv. 8 n.) Round each would be wrapped a piece of parchment, and to this Horace's seal would be affixed.

Si validus, si laetus erit, si denique poscet;
Ne studio nostri pecces odiumque libellis
Sedulus importes opera vehemente minister.
Si te forte meae gravis uret sarcina chartae,
Abjicito potius quam quo perferre juberis
Clitellas ferus impingas, Asinaeque paternum
Cognomen vertas in risum et fabula fias.
Viribus uteris per clivos, flumina, lamas;
Victor propositi simul ac perveneris illuc,
Sic positum servabis onus, ne forte sub ala
Fasciculum portes librorum ut rusticus agnum,
Ut vinosa glomus furtivae Pyrrhia lanae,

3. *Si validus*] Augustus had very uncertain health, as Suetonius informs us (c. 81): "Graves et periculosas valetudines per omnem vitam aliquot expertus est." He had some diseases that returned annually, and he was generally ill about the time of his birth-day (23rd September); at the beginning of spring he suffered from colic, and in the autumn from catarrh. So that, Suetonius adds, in the shattered state of his body he could hardly bear either cold or heat. In winter he wore an extraordinary quantity of clothing, as many as four tunics with a subucula (Epp. i. 1. 95), and a woollen covering for the chest, and trousers or leggings of some sort. In the hot weather he slept with all the doors open and a man to fan him. He never went out in the sun without a broad-brimmed hat ('petasus'); he generally travelled at night, and in a litter, and very short distances; and he preferred going by sea when he could. He took the greatest care of his health: seldom bathed, and washed in tepid water; rarely and cautiously he used hot medicated baths for his nerves. He took little exercise latterly, and that only walking or gently running. Notwithstanding all this he lived to be seventy-six. His physician after the Cantabrian expedition (A.U.C. 730), when he was very ill with liver complaint, was Antonius Musa (Epp. i. 15. 3).

6. *chartae*] See S. ii. 3. 2 n.

9. *fabula fias*] Compare Epod. xi. 8: "fabula quanta fui." ['Abjicito:' 'throw it away rather than, like a beast, dash your panniers against the door to which you are ordered to carry them.' Ritter says that 'clitellas' is only the 'objectum' of 'perferre;' but it may be the 'objectum' of 'impingas' also.]

10. *lamas*] This word is only found elsewhere in a verse of Ennius, quoted by Comm. Cruq. and by Torrentius from an old MS. Comm. Cruq. thus explains 'lamas:' "lacunas majores continentes aquam pluviam seu caelestem. Ennius: 'Silvarum saltus, latebras lamasque lutosas.'" Acron also says: "lama est aqua in via stans ex pluvia;" and Porphyrion: 'lama est vorago. λαιμός enim est ingluvies.' Torrentius mentions an old Lexicon which has "Lamae: πηλώδεις τόποι;" and Forcellini quotes Festus: "Lacuna, aquae collectio quam alii lamam alii lustrum dicunt." Horace writes as if the man was going some arduous journey over hills and rivers and bogs, whereas he had only thirty miles or thereabouts to go along a good road, the Via Valeria, which passed very near the valley of the Digentia.

14. *glomus furtivae Pyrrhia lanae*] Comm. Cruq. says Pyrrhia is the name of a slave in a play of Titinius, who stole some wool and carried it away so clumsily that she was detected. Titinius was a writer of comedies who lived before Terence. Pyrrhia is formed from Pyrrha, the name of a town in Lesbos, like Lesbia, Delia, &c. For 'glomus,' Ven. 1483, Ascens. 1519, and many MSS. and editions, have 'globos.' The common reading till Bentley was 'glomos;' but such a word does not exist, as Bentley has shown. 'Glomus' is the singular number and neuter gender. See Lucret. (i. 360): "Nam si tantumdem est in lanae glomere quantum Corporis in plumbo," where the quantity of the first syllable is long. In 'glomero' it is short, and in 'globus,' but all these words contain the same root. 'Glomus' is a clue or ball of wool.

Ut cum pileolo soleas conviva tribulis.
Ne vulgo narres te sudavisse ferendo
Carmina, quae possint oculos auresque morari
Caesaris; oratus multa prece nitere porro.
Vade, vale, cave ne titubes mandataque frangas.

15. *Ut cum pileolo soleas*] The allusion is to a person of humble station invited to the table of a great man of his own tribe. He comes with his cap and slippers under his arm in an awkward manner, not being accustomed to the ways of fine houses. 'Pileus' was a skull cap made of felt and worn at night or in bad weather. The man would bring it with him to wear on his way home from the dinner party. The 'solea' was the slipper worn in the house as 'calceus' was the walking-shoe. (S. i. 3. 127 n.)

16. *Ne vulgo narres*] "Don't tell it to all the town that you are the bearer of poems from Horace to Augustus, and, though they should stop you and entreat you to tell them your business, press on." Horace, by way of keeping up the joke, supposes his messenger to arrive hot from his journey and to be besieged by inquisitive people wanting to know what brings him to Rome.

19. *cave ne titubes*] This is perhaps another jocular allusion to his name, and, as an ass stumbling might chance to break what he was carrying, he adds 'mandataque frangas' (volumina). In plain prose it means 'take care you make no mistake nor neglect to deliver your charge.' ['Cave:' S. ii. 3. 38.]

EPISTLE XIV.

Horace appears to have had a discontented 'villicus' or steward of his property, whom he had promoted to that post from having been originally one of the lower sort of slaves in the town establishment. While in that position he sighed for what he thought must be the superior freedom of the country; but as soon as he had reached the highest place he could be trusted with on the farm, he began to regret the former days when he could get access to the tavern, and cookshop, and brothel, forgetting, as is common, the vexations that had made him long for deliverance before. This man's discontent suggested to Horace this Epistle. It is such only in form, for we are not to suppose it was ever sent to the 'villicus.' Horace means to describe his own feelings in respect to the country, and the change in his habits and character, and at the same time to draw a moral from his slave's conduct, as to the temper of those who never know what they want, who are envious, discontented, and lazy.

There is no clue to the date.

ARGUMENT.

Steward of my dear woods and fields, which you despise, though five respectable families they maintain, and send up as many good fathers to Varia, let us see which can root out the thorns quickest, you from the soil, or I from my breast, and whether Horace or his land is best. Lamia's sorrow keeps me here, but my heart yearns to be where you are. I love a country life, you love a town; and of course he who envies another's lot dislikes his own. Each lays the blame on the place he is in, whereas the fault is in his own breast. While you were a common slave in the town you used to sigh for the country; now you long for the town. I am consistent as you know and am loth to depart when business forces me to Rome. Our tastes are different,

What you call a desert I call a beautiful landscape, and what you think beautiful I dislike. You long for the brothel and greasy tavern, and dancing to a wanton's music, declaring that my paltry place would as soon bear pepper as the grape; and yet with all this dulness you must work forsooth at the hardest of soils, and look after the oxen, and attend to the river banks, and so forth. You know the gay man I was; now I like nothing but simple fare in a plain country way, and though I love my recreation I should be ashamed to be always at play. No envy pursues me into the country, though my neighbours good-humouredly quiz me in my new character of farmer. But you had rather go back to your city rations, while the stable boy is envying you your logs and your flocks and your garden, just as the ox longs for the saddle, and the horse for the plough. I advise each to mind the business he understands.

VILLICE silvarum et mihi me reddentis agelli,
Quem tu fastidis habitatum quinque focis et
Quinque bonos solitum Variam dimittere patres,
Certemus spinas animone ego fortius an tu
Evellas agro, et melior sit Horatius an res.
Me quamvis Lamiae pietas et cura moratur
Fratrem maerentis, rapto de fratre dolentis
Insolabiliter, tamen istuc mens animusque
Fert et amat spatiis obstantia rumpere claustra.
Rure ego viventem, tu dicis in urbe beatum;
Cui placet alterius sua nimirum est odio sors.
Stultus uterque locum immeritum causatur inique:
In culpa est animus, qui se non effugit unquam.

1. *Villice silvarum*] The 'villicus' was one of the principal slaves in the 'familia rustica' and had the superintendence of a man's farm and 'villa rustica.' He looked after the slaves, and had charge of every thing but the cattle, of which there was a separate superintendent. Horace says his woods and fields restored him to himself; they gave him liberty and enjoyment of life. ['Vilicus' is said to be the true form.]

2. *habitatum quinque focis*] 'Focis' is put for 'families.' Horace says there lived on his estate five families, the heads of which were good men, who went up from time to time to the neighbouring town of Varia, Orelli supposes, to elect local officers or to attend the market. Some suppose they were 'coloni' (C. ii. 14. 12 n.), lessees who farmed different parts of the estate. Varia, according to the Tabula Theodosiana, was thirty miles from Rome and ten from Tibur, on the Via Valeria. It was four miles from Horace's farm. The modern name is Vico Varo. [Horace may mean that his estate was once occupied by five men, who used Varia as their market. At present he cultivated the land with eight slaves (S. ii. 7. 118). We must suppose that Maecenas, who gave Horace the estate, either had these five men as his tenants, or, if they were owners, bought their land and gave it to his friend.]

5. *an res*] 'Praedia' were 'res mancipi.'

6. *Lamiae*] See Introductions to C. i. 26; iii. 17. 'Insolabiliter' occurs nowhere else.

9. *rumpere claustra*] At the end of the Circus were stalls ('carceres') in which the chariots remained till the race was ready to begin. They were then brought out and ranged side by side behind a rope called 'alba linea' or 'calx,' which was stretched across the course and formed a barrier, beyond which the chariots could not advance till the signal was given and the rope withdrawn. It is from this obstruction or from the 'carceres' that the metaphor in the text is taken.

13. *se non effugit unquam*] C. ii. 16. 19.

Tu mediastinus tacita prece rura petebas,
Nunc urbem et ludos et balnea villicus optas;
Me constare mihi scis, et discedere tristem
Quandocunque trahunt invisa negotia Romam.
Non eadem miramur; eo disconvenit inter
Meque et te: nam quae deserta et inhospita tesca
Credis amoena vocat mecum qui sentit, et odit
Quae tu pulchra putas. Fornix tibi et uncta popina
Incutiunt urbis desiderium, video, et quod
Angulus iste feret piper et tus ocius uva,
Nec vicina subest vinum praebere taberna
Quae possit tibi, nec meretrix tibicina, cujus
Ad strepitum salias terrae gravis: et tamen urges

14. *Tu mediastinus*] See Becker's Gall. Exc. on the 'Slave Family.' He had been one of the lowest slaves, used for all manner of work in the 'familia urbana,' and by his pitiful countenance (for he was afraid perhaps to speak) had shown how much he wished to be delivered from that condition and to be sent to work on the farm, though that was generally considered to be the greatest punishment (S. ii. 7. 118 n.). When there he had risen it may be supposed to be 'villicus.' 'Mediastinus' was the name for the lowest sort of slave both in the town and country establishment. It is derived, Forcellini says, from 'medius,' from his standing in the midst and being at every one's call. Porphyrion, on this passage, explains 'mediastinus' to be a 'balneator,' one who attended to the baths, and Priscian, quoted by Forcellini and Becker (ubi sup.), limits the name to the bathing slaves. He is corrected by Nonius (ii. 573, ap. Forcell.); but it is probable that the 'balneatores' were included in the class of slaves called 'mediastini.' ['Etenim multum interest qualis servus sit . . . an vero vulgaris, vel mediastinus an qualisqualis.' Ulpian. Dig. 47. 10. 15. § 44, quoted by Ritter.]

19. *tesca*] Acron says 'tesca' (or 'tesqua,' as it is in Ascensius' edition of his text and Porphyrion's, and so it appears in Comm. Cruq.) are "loca deserta et difficilia," and that it is a Sabine word. According to the authorities quoted by Festus it signified also a consecrated enclosure, and Varro says much the same (de Ling. Lat. vii. 10). Accius used the word before Horace, and Lucan after him (vi. 41): "Amplexus fines, saltus, nemorosaque tesca, Et silvas."

21. *Fornix tibi et uncta popina*] Within the porticus, which ran round the circus, were vaulted chambers ('fornices'), which were let out to prostitutes; and in other parts of the city, under different buildings, public and private, there were similar vaults employed in the same way. As to 'popina' (which he calls 'uncta,' because of the greasy viands cooked there), see S. ii. 4. 62 n.

23. *Angulus iste feret*] Horace writes as if he were repeating the contemptuous language of the villicus. 'That little nook of yours will produce pepper and frankincense (which of course was impossible) sooner than grapes.' The grapes grown on the farm he did not think worthy of the name. That Horace made his own wine, and that it was not too bad to put before Maecenas, we know from C. i. 20. 'Thus' or 'tus' (see Forcell.) 'olibanum,' which is a gum resin, extracted from a tree called the Boswellia Thurifera, and is now brought from India. Virgil (Georg. i. 57): "India mittit ebur, molles sua tura Sabaei." ['Piper:' S. ii. 4. 73 n.]

25. *meretrix tibicina*] As to 'tibia,' see C. iii. 19. 19; iv. 15. 30. It was played by women as well as men.

26. *et tamen urges*] This is said with a sort of mock compassion: 'and yet, poor man! (though you have none of these comforts to help you on your way) you have to go on turning up the rough soil, feeding the oxen, looking out for floods, and all that.' 'Jampridem non tacta' implies that Horace's property had been neglected before it came into his possession. One of the duties of the 'villicus' was to look after the banks of the Digentia, which overflowed when the rains came down heavily.

Jampridem non tacta ligonibus arva bovemque
Disjunctum curas et strictis frondibus exples;
Addit opus pigro rivus, si decidit imber,
Multa mole docendus aprico parcere prato.
Nunc age quid nostrum concentum dividat audi.
Quem tenues decuere togae nitidique capilli,
Quem scis immunem Cinarae placuisse rapaci,
Quem bibulum liquidi media de luce Falerni,
Coena brevis juvat et prope rivum somnus in herba;
Nec lusisse pudet sed non incidere ludum.
Non istic obliquo oculo mea commoda quisquam
Limat, non odio obscuro morsuque venenat;
Rident vicini glebas et saxa moventem.
Cum servis urbana diaria rodere mavis:
Horum tu in numerum voto ruis; invidet usum

Horace has (A. P. 67): "Seu cursum mutavit iniquum frugibus amnis Doctus iter melius."

[28. *frondibus*] In southern climates where grass is scarce, cattle browse on the leaves of trees, or the leaves are gathered for them. Columella vii. 3, quoted by Ritter.]

31. *quid nostrum concentum dividat*] 'What disturbs our harmony,' or prevents us from agreeing in opinion; which is, that whereas I can look back upon my past enjoyments with pleasure, and am glad to quit them now that my time of life requires it to retire to the country, where I am free from jealousies and vexations, you are longing to get back to your former life, and give up the country, which many a poor slave in the town envies you. So the ox envies the horse, and the horse envies the ox, but my judgment is that each should do the work he is best fitted for.

32. *tenues decuere togae*] The toga was generally made of a thick woollen cloth, but there were lighter and finer sorts for summer. These were called 'rasae,' because the nap was clipped close. See Martial (ii. 85):—

"Dona quod aestatis misi tibi mense Decembri
Si quereris, rasam tu mihi mitte togam."

'Nitidi capilli' refers to the anointing of the head. The Romans in their degenerate days carried the use of perfumes, in the shape of fragrant oils and ointments for the body and hair, to great lengths. Scipio counted the man a coxcomb and something worse, "qui quotidie unguentatus adversus speculum ornetur, cujus supercilia radantur," &c. (Gell. vii. 12.)

33. *immunem Cinarae*] Though Cinara loved money, and he had none to give, yet she was fond of him. See C. iv. 1. 3 n.

34. *media de luce*] 'Soon after noon' (S. ii. 8. 3 n.). It need not be taken too literally. Their drinking was not uncommonly carried on from three or four o'clock till past midnight, but with idle people, or on particular occasions, it began earlier. 'Bibulum' depends upon 'scis.' As to Falerni, see C. i. 9. 7 n. ['Liquidi' 'clear,' 'bright,' and of course unmixed. Comp. Ep. i. 18. 91.]

[36. *sed non incidere ludum*] 'I am not ashamed to have amused myself, but I should be ashamed never to break off my amusement.' I doubt if the exposition in the argument is correct.]

[38. *Limat*] See S. i. 2. 62. It seems probable, and it has been suggested, that 'oculo limat,' 'files' or 'rubs away' with envious eye, may refer to the expression 'limi oculi.']

40. *urbana diaria*] See S. i. 5. 69, and compare Martial (xi. 108), "Sed Lupus usuram puerique diaria poscunt." The word 'calo' was applied to the menial slaves in general, though it is not a generic title for such, like 'mediastinus' (v. 14). See S. i. 6. 101 n. Forcellini understands 'argutus' to be 'cunning.'

Lignorum et pecoris tibi calo argutus et horti.
Optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus;
Quam scit uterque libens censebo exerceat artem.

43. *ephippia*] 'Ephippium' was a saddle which the Romans appear to have used, having copied it from the Greeks. It did not differ materially from ours, except that it had no stirrups. A saddle cloth was worn under it, sometimes highly ornamented.

[44. *Quam scit*] There was a Greek proverb rendered thus by Cicero, 'Quam quisque norit artem in hac se exerceat.' Tusc. Disp. i. 18.]

EPISTLE XV.

This Epistle, as the chronologists rightly assume, is not likely to have been written before A.U.C. 731, when Antonius Musa and his cold remedies came into fashion (v. 3 n.). How long afterwards it may have been written is uncertain.

Vaala was the cognomen given to one C. Numonius for storming the vallum of a camp, as appears from a coin with his head on one side, and the above exploit represented on the other. The Scholiasts say nothing of Horace's friend, but the MSS. inscriptions call him C. Numonius Vala. There was one of that name who was a legatus of Varus, and perished with his army in Germany A.U.C. 763, thirty years or more after this Epistle was written. He may have been this man or his son. Estré has given an inscription found at Philae in Egypt, in which it appears that two persons—L. Trebonius and C. Numonius Vala—were at that place "A.D. VIII. K. Aprilis," in the year when Augustus was consul the thirteenth time, that is, A.U.C. 752. If this be Horace's friend, as it may, he was a traveller like Bullatius, and has succeeded in recording his travels for a longer time than he expected. But this does not help us to distinguish him from many travellers who have carved their ignoble names upon the sphinxes, obelisks, and Pyramids of Egypt.

Vala was acquainted with the southern coast of Italy, and Horace, who had been recommended by his physician no longer to go as he had been wont to Baiae, had a mind to try one of the southern ports; and he writes to Vala for information about them. It is an unconnected sort of Epistle, with a long digression upon the lament of Baiae at the loss of her invalids, and another upon wines, and a third, which occupies half the Epistle, upon the profligacy of one Maenius, who squandered all his money on good living, and then turned to living at the expense of others. When he had nothing better, he ate tripe and abused all spendthrifts, and as soon as he had any money he spent it in the same way again. Such am I, says Horace; when I am short of money I commend the serenity of a humble life; when a windfall drops in, I am ready to be as extravagant as you please.

The connexion of this with the professed object of the letter I do not quite see.

QUAE sit hiems Veliae, quod caelum, Vala, Salerni,

1. *Quae sit hiems Veliae*] Velia or Elea, famous as the residence of Xenophanes, the founder of the Eleatic school of philosophy, and the birth-place of Parmenides and Zeno, was a town of Lucania, near the mouth of the river Hales or Elees (Alento). It was said to have been founded by the Phocaeans of Ionia on the occasion of their

Quorum hominum regio et qualis via, (nam mihi Baias
Musa supervacuas Antonius et tamen illis

migration related by Herodotus, i. 165 (Epod. xvi. 15 n.). The ruins of the town still exist on the site called Castellamare della Brucca. From the Topica of Cicero (c. i.) and Epp. ad Fam. (vii. 20) we learn that Trebatius, who is introduced in S. ii. 1, had estates there. On his way from thence to Rhegium, when he fled from Rome after the death of Caesar, Cicero compiled the Topica, and he wrote the above letter to Trebatius from that place, and probably from his house, which he makes remarks upon. There are coins of Velia with the inscriptions ΤΕΛΗ. ΤΕΛΗΤΩΝ. FΕΛΙΑ. Salernum in Campania was situated at the head of the bay of Paestum, now the Gulf of Salerno, on the heights above the modern town, which is close to the sea. It was a Roman colony, but was originally built only as a fortress to be a check on the Picentini, in whose country it was situated. These places were not very much frequented it would seem at this time, but a new doctor was bringing them into fashion.

2. *Baias*] The atmosphere of Baiae appears to have been clear, and the place attractive (Horace calls it 'liquidae,' C. iii. 4. 24, and 'amoenae,' Epp. i. 1. 83). This made it the most favourite resort of wealthy Romans. To invalids there was the additional attraction of hot sulphurous springs. See among other places Ovid (A. A. i. 255):—

"Quid referam Baias praetextaque littora velis,
Et quae de calido sulphure fumat, aquam?"

and Statius (Silv. iii. 5. 96):—

"Sive vaporiferas, blandissima littora, Baias,
Enthea fatidicae seu visere tecta Sibyllae
Dulce sit."

Horace had been in the habit of going to Baiae, as we may infer from his connecting it with the Sabine hills, Praeneste, and Tibur in C. iii. 4; but it appears he was now advised to try a different treatment, and seek some other climate. A letter of Cicero to Dolabella (ad Fam. ix. 12) begins in this jocular way:—"Gratulor Baiis nostris siquidem ut scribis salubres repente factae sunt: nisi forte te amant et tibi assentantur et tamdiu dum tu ades sunt oblitae sui." The place therefore was not healthy in Cicero's opinion, or Dolabella had found it disagree with him before. 'Supervacuas' means 'useless,' the place would do him no good. ['Supervacuas' must also be connected with 'facit.']

3. *Musa—Antonius*] This physician was a freedman of Augustus, and came into notice chiefly through curing him of an illness he contracted in the Cantabrian expedition (Ep. 13. 3), on which occasion Suetonius (c. 81) tells us that Augustus "distillationibus jecinore vitiato ad desperationem redactus contrariam et ancipitem rationem medendi necessario subiit; quia calida fomenta non proderant, frigidis curari coactus, auctore Antonio Musa," which gave rise to the caustic words Seneca makes Livia address to Augustus (de Clemen. i. 9):—"Fac quod medici solent, qui ubi usitata remedia non procedunt, tentant contraria." It seems that in consequence of this cure Musa came into fashion, and having found cold bathing successful with the emperor, he appears to have made that his general principle of treatment. He recommended it to Horace, the Scholiast says, for his eyes; and Horace followed his advice. A statue was erected to Musa by subscription (aere collato) near that of Aesculapius in gratitude for Augustus' restoration (Sueton. Aug. c. 59), and he also was allowed to wear a gold ring; that is, he was made an 'eques' (Dion Cass. 53. 30. See S. ii. 7. 9 n.). Eusebius relates that he lost his life by shipwreck. Pliny (xix. 8. 38) says that Musa was called in to supersede Camelius, the former physician, and that he successfully administered lettuce to his patient, which the scruples ('nimia religio') of Camelius had refused him. Comm. Cruq. says that the disorder was gout, that Camelius resorted to heating remedies, going so far as to line the roof of his bed-chamber with wool; that Musa changed the whole treatment, ordered not only cold baths, but gargles of water from Atella (in Campania) and cold drinks, by which means he soon cured him. For this service he was presented, the Scholiast adds, with forty millions of sesterces by a senatus consultum. From Dion (53. 30) we learn that Musa attended Marcellus. If so, it is surprising that he allowed him to go to Baiae, where Marcellus died. The death of Marcellus may have contributed to making Baiae unpopular for a time, but it soon recovered its character (Ep. 1. 83). There are some fragments of medical works by Musa, and he is frequently referred to as an authority by Galen. The

Me facit invisum, gelida cum perluor unda
Per medium frigus. Sane murteta relinqui
Dictaque cessantem nervis elidere morbum
Sulphura contemni vicus gemit, invidus aegris,
Qui caput et stomachum supponere fontibus audent
Clusinis Gabiosque petunt et frigida rura.
Mutandus locus est et deversoria nota
Praeteragendus equus. Quo tendis? Non mihi Cumas
Est iter aut Baias, laeva stomachosus habena
Dicet eques; sed equi frenato est auris in ore.)
Major utrum populum frumenti copia pascat,
Collectosne bibant imbres puteosne perennes
Jugis aquae; (nam vina nihil moror illius orae;

order of the names is inverted, as in C. ii. 2. 3; 11. 2.

3. *et tamen illis me facit invisum*] 'Though it is all Musa's fault, he makes Baiae hate me as if it was my own fault: that instead of enjoying her pleasant climate and warm baths, I am being drenched with cold water in the middle of winter.' This seems to be Horace's meaning, and he remarks that the town is angry with all the patients for deserting it. 'Murteta' are groves in which houses were erected for vapour baths. ['Quarundam naturalium sudationum, ubi e terra profusus calidus vapor aedificio includitur, sicut super Baias in murtetis habemus.' Celsus ii. 17. These were natural sweating-baths. Celsus says, iii. 21, 'maxime utiles naturales et siccae sudationes sunt' like those at Baiae. They were supposed to be good for chronic complaints.]

8. *Qui caput et stomachum*] A douche bath on the head or stomach would now be thought a strong remedy even by hydropathists; but it is one of those which Musa recommended and Celsus likewise (i. 4; iv. 5).

9. *Clusinis Gabiosque*] Clusium (Chiusi) was one of the chief towns of Etruria, the capital of Porsenna, and the place where the Gauls received that insult which led to their siege of Rome (Liv. v. 33). It was situated on the Via Cassia, about 100 miles north of Rome. The river Clanis (la Chiana) flows by it. As to Gabii, see Ep. 11. 7 n. Fea says there are sulphur baths there still. But it was not for sulphur baths that the Romans went there. Strabo (p. 238) mentions several cold streams here called τὰ Ἄλβουλα, which were useful in many complaints both for bathing and drinking. The baths of Clusium may be those that Tibullus refers to (iii. 5. 1):—

"Vos tenet Etruscis manat quae fontibus unda,
Unda sub aestivum non adeunda Canem.
Nunc autem sacris Baiarum maxima lymphis,
Cum se purpureo vere remittit humus."

10. *deversoria*] See S. i. 5. 2 n. [The traveller would go along the Via Appia till he came to Sinuessa or somewhere thereabouts, and then he would turn to the right to reach Cumae. If he were not going to Cumae, he would keep his horse on the main road to the left and go to Capua and so on to Salernum, if that was the place that he was travelling to.] This explains 'laeva habena.' The horse would attempt to turn to the right as usual to go to Cumae, from whence the road was continued to the Lucrine Lake and to Bauli and Baiae.

13. *sed equi frenato est auris in ore*] Bentley, on very slender authority, changed 'equi,' the common reading, to 'equis.' It gives a little more meaning to the words to apply them to the horse to which the words of the rider are addressed.

[15. *Collectos imbres*] Rain-water collected in cisterns or tanks. 'Jugis aquae,' S. ii. 6. 2.]

16. *vina nihil moror illius orae*] The nearest place to Salernum spoken of as growing wines is Surrentum (Sorrento), at the end of the promontory that bears that name, and forms the southern boundary of the bay of Naples. This wine is

Rure meo possum quidvis perferre patique,
Ad mare cum veni generosum et lene requiro,
Quod curas abigat, quod cum spe divite manet
In venas animumque meum, quod verba ministret,
Quod me Lucanae juvenem commendet amicae.)
Tractus uter plures lepores, uter educet apros,
Utra magis pisces et echinos aequora celent,
Pinguis ut inde domum possim Phaeaxque reverti.
Scribere te nobis, tibi nos accredere par est.
Maenius, ut rebus maternis atque paternis
Fortiter absumptis urbanus coepit haberi,
Scurra vagus non qui certum praesepe teneret,
Impransus non qui civem dinosceret hoste,
Quaelibet in quemvis opprobria fingere saevus,
Pernicies et tempestas barathrumque macelli,
Quidquid quaesierat ventri donabat avaro.
Hic ubi nequitiae fautoribus et timidis nil
Aut paulum abstulerat patinas coenabat omasi
Vilis et agninae, tribus ursis quod satis esset;
Scilicet ut ventres lamna candente nepotum
Diceret urendos, corrector Bestius. Idem

mentioned in S. ii. 4. 55. Ovid (Met. xv. 710) mentions "Surrentino generosos palmite colles;" and Martial speaks of this wine with praise (xiii. 110). But Horace had no high opinion of it (see C. i. 9. 7 n.); and Statius speaks of "Caraque non molli juga Surrentina Lyaeo." Pliny also (xiv. c. 6) says that Tiberius declared it was no better than vinegar, and only owed its character to the doctors. Horace did not think it worth while to ask about the wine, which he knew was bad.

17. *perferre patique*] This pleonasm occurs again in the next Epistle, v. 74. It serves to make up a verse. I am not aware it has any other force.

21. *Lucanae*] This supposes he was going to Velia.

24. *Phaeaxque reverti*] Epp. i. 2. 28.

26. *Maenius*] See S. i. 1. 101 n. 'Fortiter' is used ironically. 'Urbanus' means 'witty,' ['a man who amuses or tries to amuse by his talk.'] 'Scurra vagus' means a parasite who was ready to dine any where, paying for his dinner with his jokes ['certum praesepe:' 'lare certo,' Epp. i. 7. 58].

31. *Pernicies et tempestas barathrumque*] All these words belong to 'macelli,' as to which see S. ii. 3. 229 n. He was a plague that wasted, a tempest that swept, a gulf that swallowed up, the whole contents of the market.

37. *corrector Bestius*] This reading is due to Lambinus, who first conjectured it, and, before the publication of his second edition, found it in one of his oldest MSS., but did not take it into the text. Bentley was the first editor to adopt it. Most modern editors have done the same. The meaning, if this is the true reading, is, that Maenius, whenever he could not get a good dinner from one of those who patronized or were afraid of him, would dine prodigiously off tripe and coarse mutton, and then declare all good livers ought to be branded on the belly: a censor as strict as Bestius, who was no doubt some person well known at the time, perhaps as a spare liver or reprover of profligate living, though nothing is known of him now. 'Corrector,' which was used in a technical sense during the empire for a person sent into a province to put it in order, a special commissioner, is here used (if it is the true reading) for

Quidquid erat nactus praedae majoris ubi omne
Verterat in fumum et cinerem, Non hercule miror,
Aiebat, si qui comedunt bona, cum sit obeso
Nil melius turdo, nil vulva pulchrius ampla.
Nimirum hic ego sum; nam tuta et parvula laudo
Cum res deficiunt, satis inter vilia fortis;
Verum ubi quid melius contingit et unctius idem
Vos sapere et solos aio bene vivere, quorum
Conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis.

a reformer of morals, as in Epp. ii. 1. 129 it is applied to poets. [See Cic. Phil. ii. 17, 'emendatore et correctore nostro.' Krüger.] The old readings and those of the MSS. are 'correctus' and 'correptus.' The authority for each of these readings may be learnt from Obbarius or Fea. The MS. authority for 'corrector' is very small [perhaps none. 'Correctus Bestius,' Ritter; who explains it 'corrected like Bestius,' who was corrected by being reduced to poverty. Persius (vi. 37) has a Bestius].

39. *Verterat in fumum et cinerem*] This was evidently an ordinary way of speaking. We need not refer the expression to the sacking of towns or to the kitchen fire, as some do. He devoured all that he made from fools who patronized him.

41. *Nil melius turdo, nil vulva*] As to 'turdus' see S. ii. 5. 10 n. The womb and breast ('sumen') of a sow, especially after her first litter, were considered great delicacies.

42. *Nimirum hic ego sum*] Compare Ep. 6. 40: "ne fueris hic tu." ἐνταῦθ' εἰμί is a common expression with the Tragedians. 'Nimirum,' of course, as is natural: how could any thing better be expected of me? (Ep. 9. 1.) He says that, like his neighbours, he professes love for poverty while he is poor, but as soon as he gets any money, he is ready for any extravagance.

46. *nitidis fundata pecunia villis*] 'Villa' was a country house, as opposed to 'aedes,' a town house. There were 'villae rusticae,' farm houses, and 'villae urbanae,' houses in the neighbourhood of towns (to which sense we limit the word in our use of it) or in the country, but built in many respects after the fashion of town houses. The 'urbanae villae' were often built at great expense, with much marble about them, which is referred to in 'nitidis.' 'Fundata' means 'invested,' 'placed.' Krüger quotes Cicero Pro C. Rabirio, c. 1, 'fortunas fundatas atque optime constitutas.'

EPISTLE XVI.

Quintius, to whom this Epistle is addressed, cannot be identified with any known person. The same name is connected with the eleventh Ode of the second book; but there is no reason to suppose them to belong to one person. There is no more reason in the Epistle than in the Ode why a name should appear at all; for the subject is general, that being the liability of men to be deceived in respect to their own goodness and that of others by the judgment of the multitude. This discourse follows rather abruptly a short description of Horace's residence, to understand which any body who can get it should read the Abbé Capmartin de Chaupy's 'Découverte de la Maison de Campagne d'Horace,' printed at Rome in 1767. It is written with great vivacity and intelligence, though, as in such cases must always be expected, with a tendency to strain his proofs and to attempt more precision than the circumstances admit.

ARGUMENT.

To save you the trouble of asking about my estate, my good Quintius,—my crops and my olives, my orchards, meadows, and vines,—I will describe it to you at full length. There is a chain of mountains broken by a shady valley, of which one side receives the rays of the morning sun, the other of the evening. The climate you would like; and when I tell you I have cornels and plums growing wild, and oaks to give acorns to my swine and shade to their master, you will think Tarentum has drawn nearer to Rome. Then I have a spring worthy to give a name to the stream, for Hebrus is not more clear or cool, good for the head and good for the stomach. To these retreats, which I love, and which are in truth delightful, you owe it that your friend is alive in September.

You too are counted a happy man: see that you be so; trust not to the judgment of others but to your own of yourself, and remember that none but the sage is happy. The people may think you sound, but if you are conscious of a fever in your veins, do not attempt to hide it. If any one talks of your wars in language that fits only Augustus, you shrink from the lie; but when they call you good and wise, do you not accept the compliment? Well, say you, I like to be praised, as I suppose you do yourself. But do you not know that they who give can take away their praise? Give it back, say they, and you must do so. What if they call me thief, parricide, does that affect me? Who but the vicious care for false praise or false blame? Who is the really good man? The vulgar will point to the man who keeps the laws, who decides important matters as a judex, and has weight as a surety and a witness; but his intimates may know him better. There are some who do not sin for fear of punishment; but the good man is good because he loves goodness. Your good man who is so looked up to when he sacrifices has his silent prayer to Janus, Apollo, Laverna, that they will promote and hide his knavery. I cannot see wherein he is better than the poor slave who stops to pick up an as from the pavement. He who craves will fear; and he who fears is not a free man in my judgment. He has deserted the ranks of virtue who is ever busied in making money. Sell him for a slave: he is fit for that; whereas the sage can say to his tyrant, "Take all I have, put me in bonds if you will; but when I please, heaven will set me free;" for he thinks thus: "I can die; and death is the goal of all things."

Ne perconteris fundus meus, optime Quinti,
Arvo pascat herum an baccis opulentet olivae,

1. *fundus*] See S. ii. 5. 108 n.

2. *Arvo pascat herum*] Horace had some of his land under his own cultivation; but it was no great quantity, as we may infer from the number of slaves employed upon it (S. ii. 7. 118). The rest he seems to have let (Ep. 14. 2 n.), [if that is the true interpretation of the passage.] Part of his land was arable and part of it meadow (Ep. 14. 26—30, and C. iii. 16. 30, "segetis certa fides meae"). He had a garden (Ep. 14. 42). He must also have had vines (23 n.). In short, it was an ordinary farm on a small scale. The second and third verses, though not put directly as a description, are so to be understood I think. Horace recounts the different productions of his farm, while he supposes Quintius to ask about them; otherwise, as De Chaupy says (vol. i. p. 357), the subsequent description is meagre enough, and all we learn is that the land produced wild cherries, plums, and acorns.

— *opulentet*] This word does not occur in any earlier writer. There is an instance in Columella (viii. 1. 2).

Pomisne et pratis an amicta vitibus ulmo,
Scribetur tibi forma loquaciter et situs agri.
Continui montes ni dissocientur opaca
Valle, sed ut veniens dextrum latus adspiciat Sol,
Laevum discedens curru fugiente vaporet.
Temperiem laudes. Quid, si rubicunda benigni
Corna vepres et pruna ferant, si quercus et ilex
Multa fruge pecus multa dominum juvet umbra,
Dicas adductum propius frondere Tarentum.
Fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus, ut nec

3. *an amicta vitibus ulmo*] See C. ii. 15. 4: "platanusque caelebs Evincet ulmos." The reader may be interested in what De Chaupy saw: "Je remarquerai sur les vignes, qu'elles y ont conservé la forme antique peinte par Horace, qui consiste à y être exactement mariées aux ormeaux. Dans la Vallée de Licence et dans le reste de la Sabine antique en effet les vignes sont en ce qu'on appelle Alberetti. On plante en même tems, et on taille ensuite dans la même saison le cep, qui forme la vigne et l'ormeau qui doit l'élever et l'appuier: les deux plantes croissent et vivent ainsi ensemble avec un sort si uni, que de même que l'ormeau devient inutile lorsqu'il perd la vigne, ainsi la vigne reste quasi sans ressource si l'arbre qui lui sert d'appui vient à mourir" (iii. 545). He says the olive is less cultivated in this valley than it might be, in consequence of the large quantity that is grown at Tivoli. Other fruits are abundant and good in the valley of Licenza. He also speaks of the oak and holm oak (le chêne vert), and the wild plum and wild cherry ('cornus'), as growing every where.

5. *Continui montes*] De Chaupy's description (iii. 284) of the valley of the Licenza is, that it is the only valley which cuts the vast range of mountains extending from the Campagna above Tibur to Carseoli, about forty-five miles from Rome. Without this valley, he says, this immense body would be a continuous mass. The valley is not formed by a simple depression of the mountains, but they seem to open down to their foundations to produce it. This he thinks gives more force to the word 'latebrae' in v. 15. The valley, he says, seems to have neither entrance nor exit. It lies nearly north and south, which corresponds with the description of the text. De Chaupy professes to have found the ruins of Horace's house on the western side of this valley, its aspect being chiefly east. But there is not much reliance to be placed on this, and his map may mislead, the points of the compass being inaccurately marked. A writer quoted by Obbarius, and said by him to have investigated these localities before De Chaupy (Ger. Heerken's Notabil. l. ii. p. 31) says: "circumspiciens aliquamdiu montes oculis dimensus sum qui multo dumo virides vallem videbantur quinque millium includere." This corresponds with De Chaupy's account and his rough map of the country. The Scholiasts Acron and Comm. Cruq. say that both the valley and one of the mountains was called Ustica; but see C. i. 17. 1 n. [The mountains would be uninterrupted (continui) if they were not severed by a shady valley.]

8. *Temperiem laudes*] The position of the valley, De Chaupy says, keeps it cool in summer and warm in winter by the exclusion of the north wind (Tramontana). The Scirocco ('plumbeus Auster') is either excluded altogether, or the little that penetrates the mountains is so purged of noxious qualities that it does no harm.

— *Quid, si rubicunda*] There is no necessity for making two interrogative sentences here, as Orelli and most others do. 'Quid' only introduces what follows, which is a direct additional statement. 'Why if I tell you that my thorn-trees bear abundantly the cornel and the wild plum, you may say it is the woods of Tarentum brought nearer to Rome.' "Par ces arbres et par tous les autres qu'on a vus, la Vallée de Licence n'égale pas maintenant la verdure de Tarente, mais la surpasse infiniment" (De Chaupy, iii. 547). 'Fruge' is acorns; and 'pecus' is pigs. [The 'ilex' produces a smaller acorn than the 'quercus.' Plin. xv. c. 12, quoted by Ritter.]

12. *fons etiam*] De Chaupy (iii. 542) thinks he has discovered this stream in a

Frigidior Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus,
Infirmo capiti fluit utilis, utilis alvo.
Hae latebrae dulces, etiam si credis amoenae,
Incolumem tibi me praestant Septembribus horis.
Tu recte vivis si curas esse quod audis.
Jactamus jampridem omnis te Roma beatum;
Sed vereor ne cui de te plus quam tibi credas,
Neve putes alium sapiente bonoque beatum,
Neu si te populus sanum recteque valentem
Dictitet occultam febrem sub tempus edendi
Dissimules, donec manibus tremor incidat unctis.
Stultorum incurata pudor malus ulcera celat.
Si quis bella tibi terra pugnata marique
Dicat et his verbis vacuas permulceat aures:
"Tene magis salvum populus velit an populum tu

rivulet which now bears the name Ratini, which he considers to be a corruption of Horace's own name. Obbarius says it is called "fonte del Oratino," or by contraction "fonte Ratino." It runs from west to east, close to the ruins above mentioned, and flows into the Licenza, by which the valley is nearly bisected. There is another stream a little further to the north, which is called Fonte Bello, and which might perhaps more likely be Horace's 'fons.' The source of the Digentia, according to this writer, is in the hills at the north-eastern extremity of the valley, but he says the river is more regularly supplied from the little tributaries than from its own fountain head. As to 'fons' meaning the fountain of Bandusia, see the Introduction to C. iii. 13. ['Fons etiam' &c.: 'a spring too, so fit to give a name to the stream, that Hebrus which winds through Thrace is neither cooler nor purer.' Comp. Epod. xvi. 31 n. 'Utilis alvo' means what Celsus expresses by 'movet alvum.']

14. *fluit utilis*] See note on v. 8 of the last Epistle. De Chaupy says of the 'fonte Ratino' that the purity and coolness of the waters were equal to those of Bandusia, which he had visited.

15. *dulces, etiam si credis amoenae*] A place may be 'dulcis' from association or other causes: it can only be 'amoenus' from its climate, its beauties, and so forth. Bentley's conjecture, "et (jam si credis) amoenae," is very bad, in my opinion. As to 'Septembribus horis' see S. ii. 6. 18 n., and for 'audis' see note on v. 20 of the same Satire.

[22. *sub tempus edendi*] This must mean at the time of eating. See Epod. ii. 43 n.]

24. *pudor malus*] See S. ii. 3. 39 n. It is a false shame that would induce a patient to conceal his disease from the physician; and so it is for a man to hide his defects rather than bring them to the wise to cure. The idea contained in vv. 22 sq. is expanded by Persius in his powerful manner (S. iii. 88 sqq.).

25. *si quis bella tibi*] 'Tibi' depends on 'pugnata,' which is joined with 'bella' in C. iii. 19. 4. See C. ii. 6. 11 n. Quintius had no doubt seen service; but, says Horace, if any one were to speak of your campaigning in such language as this (then he quotes two lines, said by the Scholiasts to be taken from Varius' panegyric on Augustus, referred to on C. i. 6. 11), you would recognize it as meant not for you, but for Caesar. But if you allow yourself to be called wise and correct, does your life correspond to that name any more than to the above encomium? Literally, 'Do you answer in your own name?' or 'on your own account?' 'Vacuas aures' are ears which, being unoccupied, are ready to receive what is spoken. I do not think Orelli is right in comparing 'patulae aures' (Epp. i. 18. 70; ii. 2. 105). The metaphors are different.

27. [*Tene magis—populum*] 'May Jupiter keep it doubtful whether the people are more anxious for your safety or you for the safety of the people.'] "Patiens vocari Caesaris ultor" (C. i. 2. 43) is the same construction as 'pateris sapiens,' &c.

Servet in ambiguo qui consulit et tibi et urbi
Juppiter;" Augusti laudes agnoscere possis:
Cum pateris sapiens emendatusque vocari,
Respondesne tuo dic sodes nomine? Nempe
Vir bonus et prudens dici delector ego ac tu.
Qui dedit hoc hodie cras si volet auferet, ut si
Detulerit fasces indigno detrahet idem.
"Pone, meum est:" inquit. Pono tristisque recedo.
Idem si clamet furem, neget esse pudicum,
Contendat laqueo collum pressisse paternum;
Mordear opprobriis falsis mutemque colores?
Falsus honor juvat et mendax infamia terret
Quem nisi mendosum et medicandum? Vir bonus est quis?
Qui consulta patrum, qui leges juraque servat,
Quo multae magnaeque secantur judice lites,
Quo res sponsore et quo causae teste tenentur.
Sed videt hunc omnis domus et vicinia tota
Introrsum turpem, speciosum pelle decora.
"Nec furtum feci nec fugi," si mihi dicat

[31. *sodes*] "'Sodes' pro 'si audes,' 'sis' pro 'si vis:' jam in uno 'capsis' tria verba sunt." Cic. Or. c. 45. Cicero understood 'capsis' to be 'cape si vis,' and he must have known how the word was used. But Quintilian (i. 5. 66) does not allow this. 'Capsis' is like 'faxis,' and equivalent to 'ceperis;' but 'cape si vis' might be pronounced 'capsis.']

32. *Nempe vir bonus*] Quintius is supposed to answer 'Yes, surely I like to be called good and wise, and so do you.' 'Nay,' replies Horace, 'such praise as this is given one day, and may be withdrawn the next; and you are obliged to resign your claim because you know you do not deserve it. But if a man attacks me with charges I know I am innocent of, is that to affect me?'

40. [*medicandum*] There is a reading 'mendacem,' and 'mendicum' which is certainly a mistake.]

— *Vir bonus est quis*] The answer is to this effect: "In the eyes of the people the good man is he who never transgresses the laws; who is seen acting as 'judex' in important causes, and has never been known to be corrupt; whom men choose as their sponsor, and whose testimony carries weight in court; but all the while the man's own neighbourhood and family may know him to be foul within though fair enough without."

41. *Qui consulta patrum*] 'Leges,' properly so called, were laws enacted by the popular assembly. [As to 'jura,' see S. i. 3. 111 n.]

42. *secantur*] See S. i. 10. 15 n. In the next verse the reading of nearly all the MSS. and old editions is 'responsore,' which word occurs nowhere in the sense of 'sponsore' (see S. ii. 6. 23 n.), and can only apply here to him 'qui respondet,' that is, the 'jurisconsultus.' The oldest Blandinian had 'res sponsore,' and Cruquius defends that reading. So does Bentley, and it appears in nearly all modern editions. Torrentius conjectured it, but did not think it would make good sense. [But 'res sponsore' is probably the better reading.] 'Tenere,' in the sense of gaining a cause, is used by Cicero (pro Caecina, c. 24): "Scaevolam causam apud centumviros non tenuisse." ['Judice:' a 'judex' named by the praetor to hear civil causes.]

46. *Nec furtum feci*] 'There are some who think themselves very good who would be bad if they dared.' To such a one Horace answers as he answered his slave when he boasted of his goodness. I understand vv. 46—56 to be a dialogue between the slave and his master; the

Servus, "Habes pretium, loris non ureris," aio.
"Non hominem occidi." "Non pasces in cruce corvos."
"Sum bonus et frugi." "Renuit negitatque Sabellus:
Cautus enim metuit foveam lupus accipiterque
Suspectos laqueos et opertum miluus hamum.
Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore;
Tu nihil admittes in te formidine poenae:
Sit spes fallendi, miscebis sacra profanis;
Nam de mille fabae modiis cum surripis unum,
Damnum est non facinus mihi pacto lenius isto."
Vir bonus, omne forum quem spectat et omne tribunal,

application being easily made is not expressed. Not to be very wicked does not make a man good; nor is it sufficient to abstain from crime through fear of punishment: our motive should be the love of virtue for her own sake. 'Sabellus' may mean the 'villicus,' or it may be taken, as Torrentius understands it, for any plain-judging man. Some suppose Horace means himself. There is a good passage in Cicero (de Legg. i. 14) containing the same sentiment: "Quod si poena, si metus supplicii, non ipsa turpitudo deterret ab injuriosa facinorosaque vita, nemo est injustus, aut incauti potius habendi sunt improbi," &c. Gellius has a chapter on this subject (xii. 11). 'Frugi,' S. ii. 5. 76 n.

57. *Vir bonus, omne forum*] He whom the people believe to be good, whom every body turns to look at as he walks through the Forum, and looks up to when he speaks in the courts. "Gaude quod spectant oculi te mille loquentem" (Ep. 6. 19). There were three principal 'fora' in Rome in which judicial and other public as well as mercantile business was carried on. The Forum Romanum was called simply Forum because it was the largest, and till the time of C. Julius Caesar the only one. The dictator began the erection of another adjoining the Forum Romanum, and it was called after him: "Forum de manubiis inchoavit, cujus area super HS millies constitit" (Sueton. Caes. 26). It was finished by Augustus, as appears from the Monumentum Ancyranum: FORVM IVLIVM ET BASILICAM QVAE FVIT INTER AEDEM CASTORIS ET AEDEM SATVRNI CAEPTA PROFLIGATAQVE OPERA A PATRE MEO PERFECI. Afterwards Augustus built another in the same neighbourhood: "Publica opera plurima exstruxit, ex quibus vel praecipua Forum cum aede Martis ultoris.—Fori exstruendi causa fuit hominum et judiciorum multitudo quae videbatur, non sufficientibus duobus, etiam tertio indigere" (Sueton. Aug. 29). Elsewhere Suetonius says it was of no great extent: "Forum angustius fecit, non ausus extorquere possessoribus proximas domos" (c. 56). The allusions to the Forum Augusti are common. Servius on Aen. i. 298, "Furor impius intus Saeva sedens super arma," says "in foro Augusti introeuntibus ad sinistram fuit Bellum pictum et Furor sedens super arma, catenis revinctus, eo habitu quo poeta dixit." It was partially destroyed by fire, and restored by Hadrian. Other 'fora' were afterwards erected by different emperors (Nerva, Trajan, Vespasian). But in Martial's time there were only three in which judicial business was transacted (iii. 38):

"Causas, inquis, agam Cicerone disertius ipso,
Atque erit in triplici par mihi nemo foro."

In every 'forum' there was a 'basilica' (or more than one), a building devoted to the joint purposes of judicial and commercial business. At the end of the building was a part called 'tribunal,' devoted to law (for which the early ones were exclusively intended); and in a later 'basilica' (that of Trajan) there was a 'tribunal' at each end. There was in the Forum Romanum the Basilica Porcia, erected by M. Porcius Cato when he was Censor, A.U.C. 570. Plutarch mentions its erection in his life of Cato the Censor (c. 19), and in that of Cato of Utica (c. 5) he says that here the tribunes did their business, and here Cato first distinguished himself as a speaker. There were also two Basilicae Aemiliae erected or restored by Aemilius Paulus. That which was begun

Quandocunque deos vel porco vel bove placat,
Jane pater! clare, clare cum dixit, Apollo!
Labra movet metuens audiri: "Pulchra Laverna,
Da mihi fallere, da justo sanctoque videri,
Noctem peccatis et fraudibus objice nubem."
Quî melior servo, quî liberior sit avarus,
In triviis fixum cum se demittit ob assem,

by C. Caesar and finished by Augustus is referred to in the inscription quoted above. Here the 'centumviri' held their court. (See S. i. 9. 35 n.) L. Opimius, who was consul A.U.C. 633, built a basilica, and called it after hmself; and Augustus built one in honour of his grandsons, Lucius and Caius, probably in his own Forum (Sueton. Aug. c. 29).

58. *vel porco vel bove*] The animals most commonly sacrificed by the Romans were sheep, pigs, and oxen. On public occasions these three were sacrificed together, and the sacrifice was called 'suovetaurilia,' being a combination of the three names. Such a sacrifice is represented on one of the four panels on Constantine's arch, of which an engraving is given in p. 884 of the Dict. Ant. Private persons would only sacrifice the three on great occasions, and on some there would be several of each or any of them offered together. Ordinarily they sacrificed but one, according to their means or their zeal.

59. *Jane pater*] See S. ii. 6. 20 n. This scene is imitated with much power by Persius (ii. 5 sqq.). Ovid has a similar scene (Fast. v. 671 sqq.), where he introduces a mercator praying to Mercury to help him to cheat successfully, and to give him delight in cheating:—

"Da modo lucra mihi, da facto gaudia lucro,
Et face, ut emtori verba dedisse juvet." (v. 689 sq.)

Silent devotion was not practised or understood by the ancients any more than it is by the heathen or Mahomedans now: μετὰ φωνῆς εὔχεσθαι δεῖ is reported to have been a saying of Pythagoras. Silent prayers were supposed to be a veil either for improper petitions, or magical incantations, or something wrong. To speak with men as if the gods were listening, and with the gods so as men might overhear, is a rule found in more than one writer (Senec. Ep. 10. Macrob. Saturn. i. c. 7). See the above passage of Persius, in which he says, "at bona pars hominum tacita libavit acerra;" and S. v. 184, "Labra moves tacitus." A Hindoo, seeing nothing of the Christian's devotions, believes he practises none; and if you speak to him of your private prayers, he smiles incredulously.

60. *Pulchra Laverna*] Laverna was a goddess associated with Mercury as the god who presided over thieving. According to Comm. Cruq. she had a grove dedicated to her somewhere on the Via Salaria, which led from Rome through the Sabine country to the coast. The same Scholiast derives it from 'latere:' "Nam fures olim et laterniones et laverniones dicebantur." Acron derives it from 'lavare:' "Nam fures lavatores dicuntur," alluding to the λωποδύται, I suppose, those who stole the clothes of bathers. Vossius (Etymolog. v. Laverniones, p. 282) thinks Acron wrote 'levatores,' and that the word is from 'levare,' as we say 'shop-lifting.' Buttmann (Mythol. i. p. 17) identifies Laverna with Latona, the goddess of night. Forcellini adopts λαβεῖν as his solution. Obbarius, on this passage, has collected all the opinions respecting the etymology of this word.

64. *In triviis fixum*] Persius, speaking of a man who was above sordid ways, says (v. 110), "Inque luto fixum possis transcendere nummum," where there is a Scholium which says boys used to fasten an as to the pavement, and amuse themselves with watching people stop to pick it up: and Obbarius quotes an old note on the Prologue to Persius' Satires (v. 6), relating a similar amusement resorted to by old men. Whether this is referred to by Horace, or whether any such practice existed, is doubtful. It is very likely Horace means no more than a man stooping to pick up an as from the mud, which seems to be the origin of that expression of Augustinus (Confess. v. 12), "lucrum luteum quod cum apprehenditur manum inquinat."

Non video; nam qui cupiet metuet quoque; porro,
Qui metuens vivet liber mihi non erit unquam.
Perdidit arma, locum virtutis deseruit, qui
Semper in augenda festinat et obruitur re.
Vendere cum possis captivum occidere noli;
Serviet utiliter: sine pascat durus aretque,
Naviget ac mediis hiemet mercator in undis;
Annonae prosit; portet frumenta penusque.
Vir bonus et sapiens audebit dicere: "Pentheu,
Rector Thebarum, quid me perferre patique
Indignum coges?" "Adimam bona." "Nempe pecus, rem,

65. *qui cupiet metuet quoque*] Horace joins fear and desire in Epp. i. 2. 51, and in ii. 2. 155. ['Liber mihi,' 'free in my judgment.']

67. *Perdidit arma*] The man who is ever hurrying after money and swallowed up in the love of it is a *ῥίψασπις*: he has cast away his arms, and run away from the ranks of virtue. If you catch him, do not put him to death, but sell him for a slave, which is all he is fit for. He may do good service in keeping cattle, or ploughing, or going with his master, the mercator, to sea, replenishing the market, and so forth. One of the principal sources from which the Romans got their slaves in earlier times was the prisoners of war. Dealers accompanied the camp for the purpose of purchasing them. They were sold on the spot by auction, 'sub corona,' that is with a chaplet on their head to mark them for sale. See Gellius (vii. 4) and Caesar (B. G. iii. 16). Captives reserved to follow the triumph of the commander were sometimes put to death when the procession was over (Epod. vii. 8 n.). The law-writers derive 'servus' from 'servare,' as prisoners kept for slavery were not put to death. 'Annona' properly signifies the year's supply of provisions from the harvest. 'Penus' signifies provisions of all sorts: "est enim omne, quo vescuntur homines, penus" (Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 27. 68). 'Penus' is of three declensions, the second, third, and fourth. The MSS. here are in favour of 'penus' (third), not 'penum.'

73. *Vir bonus et sapiens*] 'The virtuous and wise man can speak to Fortune as Dionysus did to Pentheus.' The scene alluded to is in Euripides' play, Bacchae (489 sqq.):—

ΠΕΝ. *δίκην σε δοῦναι δεῖ σοφισμάτων κακῶν.* ——
ΔΙ. *εἴφ' ὅτι παθεῖν δεῖ· τί με τὸ δεινὸν ἐργάσει;*
Π. *πρῶτον μὲν ἁβρὸν βόστρυχον τεμῶ σέθεν.*
Δ. *ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος, τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω.*
Π. *ἔπειτα θύρσον τόνδε παράδος ἐκ χεροῖν.*
Δ. *αὐτός μ' ἀφαιροῦ· τόνδε Διονύσου φορῶ.*
Π. *εἱρκταῖσί τ' ἔνδον σῶμα σὸν φυλάξομεν.*
Δ. *λύσει μ' ὁ δαίμων αὐτὸς ὅταν ἐγὼ θέλω.*

The two last verses are almost literally translated in vv. 77, 78. Pentheus, king of Thebes, hearing that a young stranger has come to his country, giving himself out to be Dionysus, and has tempted all the women to go out and do honour to him, sends his servants to apprehend him. The god allows himself to be taken, and, when brought before the king, describes himself as the servant of Dionysus. Then follows a dialogue, of which the above forms part. The application is obvious. The good man can bid defiance to the reverses of Fortune, since at any time he wishes he can call death to his assistance,—a bad doctrine for good men. Cicero did not approve of it. He says, "vetat Pythagoras injussu imperatoris, id est, Dei, de praesidio et statione vitae decedere" (Cat. Maj. c. 20). [Epictetus (Arrian, Diss. i. 25. 18) says: 'if the house is too full of smoke, I quit it; for we must remember and hold to this, that the door is open.' Comp. i. 24. 20, and ii. 1. 20: 'on all occasions the door ought to be open; and then we have no trouble;' and iii. 13. 14; and 22. 34. Compare Seneca, de Prov. c. 6, 'patet exitus;' and "omne tempus, omnis vos locus doceat quam facile sit renuntiare naturae."]

Lectos, argentum: tollas licet." "In manicis et
Compedibus saevo te sub custode tenebo."
"Ipse deus simul atque volam me solvet." Opinor
Hoc sentit: "Moriar." Mors ultima linea rerum est.

79. *Mors ultima linea rerum est*] This refers to the 'alba linea' mentioned on Ep. 14. 9, which was the goal as well as starting point in the chariot races.

EPISTLE XVII.

Who Scaeva was there are no means of determining. He is said by the Scholiast to have been an 'eques,' and they call him Lollius Scaeva from a confusion of this with the next Epistle. Scaeva was a cognomen of the Junii and Cassii, as Torrentius observes. There was one of this name a distinguished officer in Caesar's army (de Bell. Civ. iii. 53). But it is quite immaterial who this Scaeva was. He bears no part in the Epistle, which might have been addressed to any body of his age. The professed purpose is to instruct a young man how to rise in the world by paying court to great people, which is declared to be an art of no small merit. The chief secret of this art is said to be a well-affected modesty, and a tact in letting your wants be rather felt than heard by your patron, and this is the only advice that is offered. The Epistle ends abruptly, and is a mere fragment.

Horace's argument for what we call tuft-hunting, which was the universal practice of his day, and grew with the growth of tyranny and the decline of the general liberty and the morals of the olden time, is that it was necessary, if a man would do good to himself and his family; that he who affected to despise it, like Diogenes the Cynic, was no more independent than he who practised it, but less so; while the other, like Aristippus, while he sought great people, and exerted himself manfully to gain them, might at the same time be indifferent to the fruits of success, being able to accommodate himself to any condition whatever; a poor apology for a degrading system. Horace had himself been a successful courtier, and now, after many years' intimacy with Maecenas, could talk of his independence, as in the seventh Epistle, and of emulating the indifference of Aristippus; but he must have seen as much as any man of the disappointments, pains, intrigues, jealousies, and crimes that wait upon the practice he recommends. He says it is true a man may live pretty well in obscurity and poverty; but the scope of the Epistle is to commend and to teach a different doctrine. The subject is taken up again in the next Epistle.

ARGUMENT.

Scaeva, you know how to take care of yourself, and how to treat the great people; still, though it be but the blind leading the blind, see if you can get a hint or two from your humble friend.

If you wish for sleep by night and quiet by day go to quiet Ferentinum. Happiness is not confined to the rich; he too does well who lives and dies in retirement. But if you would benefit your friends and yourself, go as poor to the rich man. 'If Aris-

tippus could learn to dine upon herbs, he would have no mind for the company of kings,' said Diogenes. 'If my reprover knew how to keep company with kings, he would have no mind for herbs,' said Aristippus. 'If I please myself, you please the people. My line is better than yours. I pay my duty to the king, and I ride and feed at his expense. You beg alms, and so become lower than the lowest, though you profess to want nothing at all.' Nothing came amiss to Aristippus. He aimed high, but was content with what he had; but as for the Cynic, I should like to know how a change of life would have suited him. The one carried himself well in the most crowded places, in purple or in rags; the other abhors fine clothes, and will die of cold rather than wear any but his old abolla. Well, give it him back, and let the fool live. Victories and triumphs are very fine things, no doubt; but to win the favour of the great is no mean merit. It is not every body who can go to Corinth. He who is afraid he shall not succeed sits and does nothing. Let him pass. But he who does succeed, is he not a man? Nay, if it be any where, here is the very thing we are looking for. The one shrinks from the burden because it is too much for him, the other takes it on his shoulders and carries it through. If merit be not an empty name, surely he does well who leaves no stone unturned in pursuing his reward.

They who say nothing in the great man's presence about their own poverty will get more than they ask: there is a great difference between snatching and modestly receiving. And this is the secret of success. He who cries, 'I have a poor sister, and an infirm mother, and my estate is worth nothing, and will not support us,' might just as well say at once, 'Give me bread.' Another chimes in with, 'Let me have a slice too in my turn.' If the blockhead could have held his tongue, he might have got more meat and less squabbling for it. If a man going into the country with his great friend complains that the roads are so rough, and the cold and wet so bitter, that his box has been broken open and his money stolen, it is like the woman's trick who every now and then cries for a stolen necklace or other ornament, so that at last no one trusts her when she loses in reality: or the man who used to pretend he had broken his leg in order to get a ride, but when he broke his leg in earnest and called for help no one would listen to him.

Quamvis, Scaeva, satis per te tibi consulis, et scis
Quo tandem pacto deceat majoribus uti,
Disce docendus adhuc quae censet amiculus, ut si
Caecus iter monstrare velit; tamen adspice si quid
Et nos quod cures proprium fecisse loquamur.
Si te grata quies et primam somnus in horam
Delectat, si te pulvis strepitusque rotarum,
Si laedit caupona, Ferentinum ire jubebo;

[3. *docendus*] Some refer 'docendus' to Scaeva: others to Horace.]

4. *Caecus iter monstrare velit*] Erasmus quotes as a proverb *μήτε τυφλὸν ὁδηγόν, μήτε ἐκνόητον σύμβουλον.* Our Lord twice used it in instructing his disciples (Matt. xv. 14. Luke vi. 39). Sextus Empiricus (adv. Mathem. 1. 31, quoted by Kuinoel on the first of those passages) has *οὔτε δὲ ὁ ἄτεχνος τὸν ἄτεχνον διδάσκειν δύναται, ὡς οὐδὲ ὁ τυφλὸς τὸν τυφλόν.* Porphyrion quotes another proverb to the same effect: "Sus Minervam docet."

8. *Ferentinum*] This was a town on the Via Latina, about forty-six miles from Rome, in the country of the Hernici, not, as Torrentius and others say, of Etruria, which was a different place. It still retains the name Ferentino. It appears not to have been much frequented, and Horace

Nam neque divitibus contingunt gaudia solis,
Nec vixit male qui natus moriensque fefellit.
Si prodesse tuis pauloque benignius ipsum
Te tractare voles, accedes siccus ad unctum.
"Si pranderet olus patienter regibus uti
Nollet Aristippus." "Si sciret regibus uti
Fastidiret olus qui me notat." Utrius horum
Verba probes et facta doce, vel junior audi
Cur sit Aristippi potior sententia; namque
Mordacem Cynicum sic eludebat, ut aiunt:
"Scurror ego ipse mihi, populo tu; rectius hoc et

recommends his friend to go there, if the object of his wishes is a quiet life, which he says is not without its recommendations. [Ritter says, the small Etrurian town was the place which Horace alludes to.]

10. *moriensque fefellit*] Horace uses 'fallere' as the Greeks used λανθάνειν (C. iii. 16. 32 n.). But it is only used absolutely here and in the next Epistle (v. 103), 'secretum iter et fallentis semita vitae.' Livy uses it without a substantive after it (xxii. 33): "Speculator Carthaginiensis qui per biennium fefellerat Romae deprehensus." Horace takes his expression from the Greek proverb λάθε βιώσας, which appears to have been used by the Epicureans and Cyrenaics. Plutarch opposes the rule in a treatise of which the title is εἰ καλῶς εἴρηται τὸ λάθε βιώσας. Erasmus quotes Ovid (Trist. iii. 4. 25):—

"Crede mihi bene qui latuit, bene vixit, et intra
Fortunam debet quisque manere suam."

12. *siccus ad unctum*] Comm. Cruq. explains thus: "pauper et tenuis ad opulentum et locupletem." So Forcellini explains 'siccus,' but he does not give any other examples of this sense. There is an expression in Theocritus which is obscure, but bears some likeness to this (Id. 1. 51), where a fox is represented as having a design upon a boy's breakfast:—

ἁ δ' ἐπὶ πήραν
πάντα δόλον τεύχοισα τὸ παιδίον οὐ πρὶν ἀνήσειν
φατί, πρὶν ἢ 'νάριστον ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι καθίξῃ:

which means that the fox is resolved not to go away till he has left the boy without his breakfast; and ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι, 'on dry meat,' means no meat at all. So 'siccus' means one who cannot command a dinner, or can only command a dry one. The Cynics were called ξηρόφαγοι from their abstinence, and ξηροφαγία among the early Christians was a fast.

13. *Si pranderet olus patienter*] Diogenes Laert. (ii. 68) relates that Aristippus one day was passing Diogenes, the Cynic, while he was washing some vegetables for his dinner, and he was accosted thus: εἰ ταῦτα ἔμαθες προσφέρεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν τυράννων αὐλὰς ἐθεράπευες, alluding to his having been the guest of the younger Dionysius of Syracuse. The answer of Aristippus was: καὶ σύ, εἴπερ ᾔδεις ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλεῖν, οὐκ ἂν λάχανα ἔπλυνες.

15. *qui me notat*] 'Notare' is used in a bad sense (S. i. 6. 20 n.).

18. *Mordacem Cynicum*] The character of Diogenes is proverbial, and the stories that are told of him are too well known to require repetition. He was like his master Antisthenes in character, and adopted his views with a zeal that knew no discretion: so that the popular notion of a Cynic is derived, as in other cases, rather from the disciple than the founder of the school, whose contempt for sensual pleasures, and stern opposition to the self-indulgent spirit of his age, and especially of the Cyrenaic school (whatever defects of judgment he may have shown), place him very high in the history of Greek philosophy. The Cynics received their name from the place where Antisthenes taught, the Cynosarges, a gymnasium at Athens.

19. *Scurror ego ipse mihi*] This verb does not occur elsewhere. The participle is used in the next Epistle (v. 2). Aristippus is supposed to parry the blow ('eludere,' a metaphor taken from the gladiators) of Diogenes thus, by admitting, for the sake of argument, that he acted parasite to a king; yet it was for his own advantage; whereas the Cynic

Splendidius multo est. Equus ut me portet, alat rex,
Officium facio: tu poscis vilia rerum,
Dante minor quamvis fers te nullius egentem."
Omnis Aristippum decuit color et status et res,
Tentantem majora, fere praesentibus aequum.
Contra quem duplici panno patientia velat
Mirabor vitae via si conversa decebit.
Alter purpureum non exspectabit amictum,
Quidlibet indutus celeberrima per loca vadet,
Personamque feret non inconcinnus utramque;
Alter Mileti textam cane pejus et angui

acted parasite to the populace for their amusement; he begged their dirty provisions, and gave them snarling jests in return; and by accepting their alms he acknowledged himself their inferior, and this though he professed to want nothing of them or any one else. Diogenes is said by his biographer and namesake to have been reduced to begging by poverty. It is more probable he was a beggar on principle, considering the possession of property to be an unphilosophical indulgence. 'Hoc' (v. 19) refers to the remoter object, as in S. ii. 2. 29 n. On 'equus me portet, alat rex,' the Scholiasts quote a Greek proverb: *ἵππος με φέρει, βασιλεύς με τρέφει.* It occurs in the *Παροιμίαι* of Diogenianus, a grammarian in the time of Hadrian, who compiled a lexicon, of which a collection of proverbs formed part. He says the words were first uttered by a soldier of Philip of Macedon to his mother, who entreated him to ask exemption from service. 'Officium' is commonly applied to attendance on great people. [Epp. i. 7. 8.] As to 'vilia rerum,' see C. iv. 12. 19 n. S. ii. 8. 83. Lambinus first introduced this reading from some of his MSS., which have been confirmed by many since. The Scholiasts Porphyrion and Comm. Cruq. had 'vilia: verum es,' and nearly all the old editions have that reading, which Torrentius also follows and Dacier. The only modern editor who does so is Fea, and he defends it on the authority of many MSS. and of the Scholiasts. [Ritter has 'vilia, verum dante minor.']

23. *Omnis Aristippum decuit color*] Epp. i. 1. 13 n. 'Color' is 'color vitae' (S. ii. 1. 60), and corresponds to 'vitae via' below (v. 26). We use 'complexion' in the same double sense. ['Fere . . . aequum:' 'generally satisfied with what he had.']

25. *duplici panno*] The asceticism of Diogenes was his way of carrying out the principle of endurance, which was a chief feature in his teacher's system. A coarse 'abolla,' a garment thrown loosely over the body, served him for his dress, without tunic. He is said to have been the first to wear it double and to have slept in it, and those who followed him, adopting the same practice, were called *διπλοείματοι* and *ἀχίτωνες.* (Diogenes Laert. vi. 22.) Juvenal says the Stoics differed from the Cynics only in the use of the tunic (S. xiii. 121): "Nec Stoica dogmata legit A Cynicis tunica distantia."

28. *celeberrima per loca*] C. ii. 12. 20 n.

30. *Alter Mileti textam*] The purple and wool of Miletus were held in great esteem by the Greeks. ['Mileti,' 'at Miletus,' the case of locality.] As to 'chlamys,' see Epp. i. 6. 40 n. It appears that there were several stories current about the indifference of Aristippus to dress. Acron, on this passage, relates that Plato saw him, after being shipwrecked, clad in a coarse garment, and commended him, saying he was possessed of that knowledge which enabled him to make good use of small things as well as great. Plutarch (de Fort. Alex. i. 8), says, *Ἀρίστιππον θαυμάζουσι τὸν Σωκρατικόν, ὅτι καὶ τρίβωνι λιτῷ καὶ Μιλησίᾳ χλαμύδι χρώμενος δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἐτήρει τὸ εὔσχημον.* 'Cane pejus et angui' is a proverbial way of speaking. Erasmus quotes it, and explains 'cane' as 'rabioso cane.' 'Pejus' occurs in the same connexion, C. iv. 9. 50, "Pejusque leto flagitium timet."

Vitabit chlamydem, morietur frigore si non
Rettuleris pannum. Refer et sine vivat ineptus.
Res gerere et captos ostendere civibus hostes
Attingit solium Jovis et caelestia tentat:
Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est.
Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.
Sedit qui timuit ne non succederet. Esto!
Quid qui pervenit, fecitne viriliter? Atqui
Hîc est aut nusquam quod quaerimus. Hic onus horret
Ut parvis animis et parvo corpore majus:
Hic subit et perfert. Aut virtus nomen inane est,
Aut decus et pretium recte petit experiens vir.
Coram rege suo de paupertate tacentes
Plus poscente ferent; distat sumasne pudenter
An rapias. Atqui rerum caput hoc erat, hic fons.
"Indotata mihi soror est, paupercula mater,
Et fundus nec vendibilis nec pascere firmus,"
Qui dicit, clamat, "Victum date." Succinit alter:
"Et mihi dividuo findetur munere quadra."
Sed tacitus pasci si posset corvus, haberet

36. *Non cuivis homini*] Οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλοῦς. Erasmus says of this that it is "vetustum juxta ac venustum adagium de rebus arduis et aditu periculosis, quasque non sit cujuslibet hominis affectare;" and he adopts one of the explanations of Suidas (διὰ τὸ δυσείσβολον εἶναι τὸν πλοῦν), that it arose out of the difficulty of approaching the harbour of Corinth. On the other hand, Gellius (i. 8), relating from Sotion, the Peripatetic, a story of Demosthenes, the orator, and Lais, the courtesan, who was a native of Corinth, says that the proverb, which he calls "frequens apud Graecos adagium," is supposed to have been derived from the exorbitance of this woman's demands upon her lovers. Comm. Cruq. explains it in the same way, except that he couples with Lais other women of her class who were numerous at Corinth. Acron explains a little differently, referring to the answer Aristippus gave respecting this same Lais, related on Epp. i. 1. 18.

37. *Sedit qui timuit*] 'Sedere' has here the sense of 'cessare,' 'to be idle.' ['Fecitne viriliter?' 'Has he not acted like a man?' 'Atque hic:' well, in this (acting like a man) lies what we are inquiring about, or it is nowhere.]

42. *experiens vir*] This means an active man who tries every means of success. ['Fortis et experiens arator.' Cic. Verr. ii. 3. 11.]

[43. *suo*] Ritter prefers 'sua.']

45. *caput hoc erat*] Modesty and the absence of importunity is the best way of succeeding with the great; not to be eager to ask, but to be modest, and take what is offered. 'Erat' seems to mean 'this is the point I was coming to.' But see C. i. 37. 4 n. Epp. i. 4. 6 n.

47. *nec vendibilis nec pascere firmus*] 'Not saleable (because worth nothing) nor sufficient for our support.' This is the only instance Forcellini quotes of 'firmus' with the infinitive mood. This construction occurs often in the Odes. C. i. 1. 18 n.

49. *dividuo findetur munere quadra*] 'Dividuus' is used in the sense of 'divisus:' 'quadra,' a fourth part, is put for any fragment. It is often used so by Martial.

50. *Sed tacitus pasci*] Erasmus says this is taken from a fable referred to by Apuleius in his book respecting the δαίμων of Socrates, in which a fox cheats a crow out of something good. How Horace's crow is connected with that does not

Plus dapis et rixae multo minus invidiaeque.
Brundisium comes aut Surrentum ductus amoenum
Qui queritur salebras et acerbum frigus et imbres,
Aut cistam effractam et subducta viatica plorat,
Nota refert meretricis acumina, saepe catellam,
Saepe periscelidem raptam sibi flentis, uti mox
Nulla fides damnis verisque doloribus adsit.
Nec semel irrisus triviis attollere curat
Fracto crure planum, licet illi plurima manet
Lacrima, per sanctum juratus dicat Osirim:
"Credite non ludo; crudeles, tollite claudum."
"Quaere peregrinum," vicinia rauca reclamat.

appear. A crow open-mouthed is his illustration of a greedy fellow, as "corvum deludet hiantem" (S. ii. 5. 56), and it means this here. If Horace had any fable in view, the purport and application are sufficiently plain. A crow cawing over the morsel luck or thieving has thrown in his way, and thereby attracting the attention and envy of his brethren, applies to many a knave who loses his ill-gotten gains through his own folly in parading them. [Ritter refers to Phaedrus, i. 13.]

52. *Brundisium comes aut Surrentum*] To Brundisium a man might go on business; to Surrentum (Sorrento) for the climate and scenery, which are very healthy and beautiful. Surrentum was made a Roman colony about this time. We do not hear much of it as a place of resort, though from this passage we may infer that it was one of the pleasant spots on the Campanian coast to which the wealthy Romans went for change of air. The wines were celebrated (Ep. 15. 16 n.). In mentioning Brundisium, Horace may have been thinking of his journey with Maecenas.

54. *viatica*] See Epp. ii. 2. 26 n.

55. *catellam*] This is a diminutive form of 'catena,' and is used for a bracelet or necklace: 'periscelis' appears to be an anklet, such as women and young children of both sexes in the East wear universally. But other meanings have been given (see Dict. Ant.). 'Nota acumina' means 'the hackneyed tricks.'

59. *Fracto crure planum*] The Romans adopted the Greek word *πλάνος* for a vagabond and impostor. Acron says it was the name of an impostor who resorted to this trick in order to get a ride. As to 'plurima,' see C. i. 7. 8 n. Horace makes the man swear by the Egyptian Osiris, as if that were the most sacred of oaths. Among other new superstitions the worship of Osiris and Isis had been lately introduced into Rome. Efforts were made from time to time to put it down, and Augustus forbade Egyptian rites being exercised in the city. [Dion Cassius, 53. c. 2.] But under later emperors it became established with the encouragement of the government, in conjunction with that of Serapis.

EPISTLE XVIII.

Here we have some more advice about the manner of winning the favour of the great. The person addressed is Lollius (Introduction to Epp. 2 of this book). Though a distinction is drawn between vulgar flattery and refined, and the first is condemned, which in this case could scarcely be necessary, it would be hard to imagine any thing more degrading to a fine and independent mind than the arts by which this young man is taught to rise. It seems as if Horace thought there was danger of his being foolish enough to prefer his books or his recreations or intellectual privacy to the boisterous tastes or varying humours of a patron,—a folly of which he must by no means be guilty. He was of an ingenuous disposition if there is any meaning in the first verse; but he was to school his tongue and his manners to a refined servility, and to consider this act a virtue. That Horace was himself tired of the life he recommends, we may infer from the closing verses. It would have been more manly if he had held up his experience in the way of warning to the young man that he should avoid these dangerous and dirty waters. Horace's was not a vigorous mind, but amiable, and in the small ways of the world sagacious to perceive but not prompt to act.

The date is generally assumed to be A.U.C. 734, the year in which the standards were restored by the Parthians. This depends partly on the accuracy of the reading in v. 56, where see note.

ARGUMENT.

Unless I am mistaken in you, my frank Lollius, you are not the person to act the parasite under the garb of a friend. There is as much difference between the two as between a chaste matron and a harlot. But even a greater fault than this is an affectation of roughness which calls itself liberty and virtue. Real virtue is a mean between opposite vices. You shall see one at the rich man's table trembling at his every look, catching up and echoing his words like a school-boy or second-part actor; while another brawls for trifles as one who would not give up a point or have his bawling stopped, no, not if you'd give him his life over again.

(v. 21.) Great people have a horror of the man of pleasure, the gambler, the coxcomb, the covetous, though they may be ten times worse themselves; or the patron, if he sees one aping him, will, if he be kind, admonish him, saying, "I can afford to be a little foolish: you cannot." Eutrapelus, if he had a spite against any one, would give him some fine clothes; for he knew they would change the man's character entirely, that he would turn idle, profligate, spendthrift, and come to abject poverty in the end.

(v. 37.) You must never be inquisitive about your patron's secrets, or betray them; nor praise your tastes at the expense of his; nor take to your books when he wants to go out hunting. On such grounds the brothers Amphion and Zethus quarrelled; and as the one yielded to the other, so do you yield to your patron's kind commands: put away your books and go with him to the chase, and like him earn your dinner by your toil, as the old Romans did, especially now you are young and swift and strong, admired in the Campus, and experienced in war under our great commander. Besides you have no excuse, for you know what manly sports are, you who have practised sham fights at your father's place in the country. He who thinks your taste accords with his, will praise your amusements to the skies.

(v. 67.) Take care what you say of others, and to whom you say it. The inquisitive is a babbler; avoid him: he will repeat what you say, and once said it cannot be recalled. Cast not a longing eye on your patron's slaves. He may put you off with one as a present in satisfaction of your claims, or he may be churlish about it and annoy you. Take care whom you introduce, for you may be brought to shame by the faults of another. If you have ever found a man deceive you, get rid of him, and keep your influence for those who are falsely maligned, for may not the same come upon yourself? Your house is in danger when your neighbour's is on fire, and you had better get the fire under in the beginning.

(v. 86.) Those who have never tried it think attendance on the great a mighty pleasant thing. He who has is afraid of it. But as you are embarked take these hints for your guidance. The light-hearted like not the solemn, nor the active the slothful, nor the slothful the active, nor the drinkers the sober. Put the cloud from your brow: the modest is liable to be counted reserved, and the silent sour. And withal study wise books and learn the secrets of a quiet life, and to examine your own condition; learn the sources of virtue, the reliefs of sorrow, the means of self-contentment, and innocent tranquillity.

(v. 104.) When I retire to refresh myself by my own cool stream, what, think you, are my reflections and my desires? That I may get no more than I have, that I may live for myself, with a good stock of books and a well-stored barn, and a mind calm and steady. Nay, but this I will make for myself; for the rest I will pray to Jove, for they are all that he can give or take away.

Si bene te novi metues, liberrime Lolli,
Scurrantis speciem praebere professus amicum.
Ut matrona meretrici dispar erit atque
Discolor, infido scurrae distabit amicus.
Est huic diversum vitio vitium prope majus,
Asperitas agrestis et inconcinna gravisque,
Quae se commendat tonsa cute, dentibus atris,
Dum vult libertas dici mera veraque virtus.
Virtus est medium vitiorum et utrinque reductum.
Alter in obsequium plus aequo pronus et imi
Derisor lecti sic nutum divitis horret,
Sic iterat voces et verba cadentia tollit,

1. *liberrime Lolli*] See Introduction. On 'metues' see C. ii. 2. 7; and as to 'scurrantis,' Ep. 17. v. 19. 'Discolor' Forcellini seems to understand literally, with reference to the difference of dress between the chaste matron and the prostitute (S. i. 2. 63 n.). He had better have classed it with the passage of Persius (v. 52), which he also quotes: "Mille hominum species et rerum discolor usus," where it means only 'different.' On 'prope' see C. iv. 14. 20; S. ii. 3. 32.

7. *tonsa cute*] With the hair cut short down to the very skin, which would show a want of regard to appearances.

9. *Virtus est medium vitiorum*] See C. ii. 10. 5 n. and Cicero (Brut. 40. 149): "Quum omnis virtus sit ut vestra, Brute, vetus Academia dixit, mediocritas," &c. [Comp. de Offic. i. 25; and Aristot. Eth. Nicom. ii. 6.]

10. *imi derisor lecti*] See S. ii. 8. 20 n. 'Derisor' means a parasite whose business it was to keep the company amused with jokes, such as the man described in S. i. 4. 87 sq.:

"E quibus unus amet quavis adspergere cunctos,
Praeter eum qui praebet aquam: post hunc quoque potus."

Ut puerum saevo credas dictata magistro
Reddere vel partes mimum tractare secundas.
Alter rixatur de lana saepe caprina,
Propugnat nugis armatus: "Scilicet ut non
Sit mihi prima fides, et vere quod placet ut non
Acriter elatrem! Pretium aetas altera sordet."
Ambigitur quid enim? Castor sciat an Dolichos plus;
Brundisium Minuci melius via ducat an Appi.

13. *dictata magistro*] S. i. 10. 75 n.

14. *partes mimum tractare secundas*] 'Secundas agere' is a phrase taken from the stage. On the Greek stage there were only three actors, who were called πρωταγωνιστής, δευτεραγωνιστής, τριταγωνιστής respectively (A. P. 192 n.). In the Roman plays and 'mimes' there was no such specific distinction; but as on our own stage there is always one principal actor that takes the lead, while the rest act parts more or less subordinate, so it was with the Romans; and 'secundas agere,' though it sometimes applied to a particular actor if there were any more prominent than the rest, was applied to all except the chief, especially in the mimes, which consisted chiefly of dumb show, and in which the inferior parts were all arranged, and the actors played so as to support the principal character. In most cases one of the parts was that of a parasite. Torrentius quotes Suetonius (Calig. 57), a passage which shows that 'secundae' was applied to the inferior parts generally: "Cum in Laureolo mimo, in quo actor proripiens se ruina sanguinem vomit, plures secundarum certatim experimentum artis darent, cruore scena abundavit." Here the man who played the principal part is called simply 'actor.' The subordinates were also called 'adjutores.' (See S. i. 9. 46 n.)

15. *de lana saepe caprina*] This is equivalent to 'nothing at all.' The Greek proverb corresponding to this, and usually quoted in this place, is περὶ ὄνου σκιᾶς μάχεσθαι, founded upon a story told in court, according to the Scholiast on Aristophanes (Vesp. 131), by Demosthenes. A man hired an ass, and in the heat of the day lay down in the shadow of the animal, whereupon the owner turned him out of his place, saying he had hired the ass, but not his shadow; and on this they went to law.

16. *Scilicet ut non*] 'Forsooth, that I should not be believed before any body else, and boldly bark out what I know to be true! Why if you would give me my life over again I would not accept it on such conditions. [Ritter, I think correctly, has only a comma after 'elatrem,' and explains the passage thus: 'pretium aetas altera sordet ut non sit . . . ut non elatrem.']

19. *Castor sciat an Dolichos plus*] This is the same sort of gossip that Maecenas is represented as discussing with Horace (S. ii. 6. 44 sqq.). The Scholiasts say that these persons were players, or, as others say, gladiators. Comm. Cruq. has the name Dolichos, and Cruquius was the first to adopt it on his Scholiast's authority and that of three MSS. which have never since been confirmed. Most of the modern editions have Dolichos. Bentley [and Ritter] retain Docilis, the reading of Porphyrion and all the old editions. Orelli says this name occurs in inscriptions as that of a freedman, but he prefers the other. If Dolichos be right, the name is that of a Greek slave.

20. *Brundisium Minuci*] This road is only once more mentioned by any classical writer (Cic. ad Att. ix. 6: "Cohortesque sex quae Albae fuissent ad Curium via Minucia transisse"), and all we learn from that is, that the road passed by Alba, which lay between the Via Latina and Via Appia, about half-way between Tusculum and Aricia. Continuing in that direction it would fall into the Via Latina at Teanum in Campania, a little above Capua, from which place the Via Appia was continued to Brundisium. If this were the line of the Via Minucia (it is impossible to say any thing about it with certainty), it would be a more direct route than the Via Appia. [Ritter assumes that the Alba of Cicero's letter is Alba ad lacum Fucinum, and that the Minucia was either another name of the Valeria Via or part of it.] The MSS. and editions vary between the names Numici and Minuci here; [but the better MSS. have 'Minuci' or 'Minuti.'] The second syllable in Numicius is long (Ep. 1. 6). I do not know upon what grounds Obbarius

Quem damnosa Venus, quem praeceps alea nudat,
Gloria quem supra vires et vestit et ungit,
Quem tenet argenti sitis importuna famesque,
Quem paupertatis pudor et fuga, dives amicus
Saepe decem vitiis instructior odit et horret:
Aut si non odit regit, ac veluti pia mater
Plus quam se sapere et virtutibus esse priorem
Vult, et ait prope vera: "Meae (contendere noli)
Stultitiam patiuntur opes; tibi parvula res est:
Arta decet sanum comitem toga; desine mecum
Certare." Eutrapelus cuicunque nocere volebat
Vestimenta dabat pretiosa: beatus enim jam
Cum pulchris tunicis sumet nova consilia et spes,
Dormiet in lucem, scorto postponet honestum
Officium, nummos alienos pascet, ad imum
Thrax erit aut olitoris aget mercede caballum.
Arcanum neque tu scrutaberis illius unquam,
Commissumque teges et vino tortus et ira;
Nec tua laudabis studia aut aliena reprendes,
Nec cum venari volet ille poëmata panges.
Gratia sic fratrum geminorum Amphionis atque

affirms, with Orelli's approval, that it is certain that this road led through the country of the Marsi and Samnites.

22. *Gloria quem—vestit*] See S. i. 6. 23 n.

25. *decem vitiis instructior*] 'Furnished with ten times as many defects.'

26. *veluti pia mater*] Like a fond mother who wishes her child to be wiser and better than herself, the patron advises his client.

30. *Arta decet sanum comitem toga*] The size and shape of the toga are referred to on Epod. iv. 8.

31. *Eutrapelus*] Aristotle defines εὐτραπελία as πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις, a refined impertinence (Rhet. ii. 12). It appears that for his wit this name was given to P. Volumnius, an eques, and friend of M. Antonius, to whom are addressed two of Cicero's letters (Ad Fam. vii. 32, 33). From the way Horace writes he must have been dead at this time.

34. *honestum officium*] Orelli refers to the last Epistle (v. 21), "Officium facio," and explains 'honestum officium' by the proper respect due from the poor to the rich, the client to his patron, getting up early to attend his levee, and so forth. I think it means the calls of duty, in a better sense. (See Epp. ii. 2. 68.)

[35. *nummos—pascet*'] 'He will increase another man's wealth' literally. By increasing his own debts he will increase the wealth of another; unless he simply means that he will increase his own debts ('aes alienum,' Epp. ii. 2. 12 n.), for he might do that and never pay his creditors.]

36. *Thrax erit*] See S. ii. 6. 44. He will get into debt, and be reduced to hire himself as a gladiator, or drive a costermonger's hack. 'Ad imum' is not elsewhere used as 'ad extremum,' but it means 'when he has got to the lowest point.'

38. *vino tortus*] This expression is repeated in A. P. 435:

"Reges dicuntur multis urgere culullis,
Et torquere mero quem perspexisse laborant."

[Ritter and Doederlein understood 'ira' to be the anger of others, not of Lollius, but they arrive at this conclusion by two different arguments, both of which are bad.]

41. *Amphionis atque Zethi*] These brothers, the sons of Antiope by Zeus, were

Zethi dissiluit, donec suspecta severo
Conticuit lyra. Fraternis cessisse putatur
Moribus Amphion: tu cede potentis amici
Lenibus imperiis, quotiesque educet in agros
Aetolis onerata plagis jumenta canesque,
Surge et inhumanae senium depone Camenae,
Coenes ut pariter pulmenta laboribus empta;
Romanis sollemne viris opus, utile famae
Vitaeque et membris, praesertim cum valeas et
Vel cursu superare canem vel viribus aprum
Possis. Adde virilia quod speciosius arma
Non est qui tractet: scis quo clamore coronae
Proelia sustineas campestria; denique saevam
Militiam puer et Cantabrica bella tulisti
Sub duce qui templis Parthorum signa refigit
Nunc, et si quid abest Italis adjudicat armis.
Ac, ne te retrahas et inexcusabilis absis,

different in their dispositions, the one being given to music, and the other to country pursuits. Euripides and Pacuvius each wrote a play called Antiope, the former of which is referred to by Plato (Gorgias, p. 485) in connexion with a dispute of these brothers. Zethus it appears had a contempt for Amphion's lyre, and advised him roughly to throw it away, and take to arms, and to useful pursuits, like his own. Cicero alludes to Pacuvius' play (de Orat. ii. 37): "Miror cur philosophiae sicut Zethus ille Pacuvianus prope bellum indixeris." Propertius contrasts the brothers as "durum Zethum et lacrimis Amphiona mollem" (iii. 15. 31); and the Scholiast on Hesiod (Theogonia 60) says, Ἀμφίων καὶ Ζῆθος ἀδελφοὶ μὲν ἦσαν, ἑτερόζηλοι δὲ γεγόνασι ταῖς προαίρεσι. See the fragments of Euripides' play in Dindorf's collection (Poet. Sc. Gr. p. 82 sqq.) for further notices of these brothers.

45. *Aetolis onerata plagis*] See Epp. i. 6. 58. Aetolian toils are toils fit for Meleager, the king of Aetolia, and the destroyer of the Calydonian boar; of whom, just returned from the hunt, there is a picture in the Museo Borbonico, discovered at Pompeii in the house that bears the name of Meleager. With 'senium' compare 'senectus' (Epod. xiii. 5). [Krüger has 'Aeoliis,' a conjecture, I suppose, of which he gives a very forced explanation.]

48. *pulmenta laboribus empta*] Compare S. ii. 2. 20: "tu pulmentaria quaere Sudando." 'Pulmentum' originally signified any thing eaten with 'puls,' porridge or gruel (a common dish with the early Romans) to give it a flavour. It came afterwards to signify any savoury dish.

54. *Proelia sustineas campestria*] Compare A. P. 379: "Ludere qui nescit campestribus abstinet armis." The allusion of course is to the games on the Campus Martius [and the crowd of spectators, 'corona'].

55. *Cantabrica bella*] See Introduction, and C. ii. 6, Int.; iii. 6, Int.; iii. 8. As to 'Parthorum signa' see Ep. 12. 27. The following line is merely a flourish of flattery like this about the standards. Augustus had no intention of extending the Roman empire at this time, and had no occasion to do so if the Parthians were humbled, which they were not. No further conquest was attempted till A.U.C. 739, when some of the Alpine tribes were beaten by Drusus and Tiberius, and their country made into a province. (See C. iv. 4, Int.) The great majority of MSS. have 'refigit' (v. 56). But all the old editions till Cruquius had 'refixit,' which is also supported by MS. authority. Bentley defends 'refigit,' and it appears in most modern texts. The present tense is relied upon for fixing the date of the Epistle. See Introduction.

58. *Ac, ne te retrahas*] Horace adds another reason why he should not refuse to join the amusements of his patron, that

Quamvis nil extra numerum fecisse modumque
Curas, interdum nugaris rure paterno;
Partitur lintres exercitus; Actia pugna
Te duce per pueros hostili more refertur;
Adversarius est frater, lacus Hadria, donec
Alterutrum velox Victoria fronde coronet.
Consentire suis studiis qui crediderit te,
Fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum.
Protinus ut moneam, si quid monitoris eges tu,
Quid de quoque viro et cui dicas saepe videto.
Percontatorem fugito, nam garrulus idem est,
Nec retinent patulae commissa fideliter aures,
Et semel emissum volat irrevocabile verbum.
Non ancilla tuum jecur ulceret ulla puerve
Intra marmoreum venerandi limen amici,
Ne dominus pueri pulchri caraeve puellae
Munere te parvo beet aut incommodus angat.

he cannot say that he has no turn for that sort of thing, for he is wont to amuse himself at home with such sports as sham fights, though he is not given to excess and wasting his time on such matters. 'Extra numerum modumque' is literally 'out of time and tune.' The two brothers got up a representation of the battle of Actium on a pond, and made the slaves ('pueros') act the soldiers and sailors, while they took the principal characters themselves, M. Lollius acting Augustus, and his brother M. Antonius. [Suetonius (Aug. c. 18) says that Augustus founded Nicopolis near Actium, and instituted games to be celebrated there every five years. But according to Strabo (p. 325) there were already games at Actium, and Augustus only gave them fresh distinction. There were, however, 'Actiaci ludi' at Rome (Dion. 51. c. 1; 53. c. 1; Suetonius, Tib. 6). Ritter supposes that Horace means that as Lollius imitates the fight of Actium in the country, he can have no excuse for not being present at the Actian games in Rome. He conjectures that Lollius' brother may be Scaeva, to whom the seventeenth Epistle is addressed; and there is some foundation for this conjecture. See the Introduction to Epist. 17. But the Romans used 'frater' loosely. It may mean 'cousin.' Cicero calls his cousin Lucius his brother (Ad Att. i. 5).]

64. *velox Victoria fronde coronet*] Victoria is represented as a young female with wings, and with a palm-branch or a wreath in her hand, or both, as in a medal of Galba in Oiselius' Thes. lxviii. 2.

66. *Fautor utroque—pollice*] In the fights of gladiators the people expressed their approbation by turning their thumbs down, and the reverse by uplifting them. When a gladiator had got his adversary down or disarmed him, he looked to the spectators for this signal, and according as the thumb was up or down he despatched or spared the man. I suppose he took his orders, or the mass of the spectators took their lead, from the personages who sat near the 'podium.' (Epp. i. 1. 6 n.) Thus 'fautor utroque pollice' is a proverbial way of speaking, as Pliny says (xxviii. 2): "Pollices cum faveamus premere etiam proverbio jubemur." Juvenal (iii. 36):

"Munera nunc edunt et verso pollice vulgus
Quem libet occidunt populariter."

[67. *Protinus ut moneam*] 'To continue my lesson."]

69. *Percontatorem*] 'Percontator' is a gossip who is always asking questions in order to retail the answers, generally in a perverted form. His ears are always open to pick up remarks ('patulae'), and his tongue always active to repeat them.

72. *Non ancilla tuum*] See S. ii. 5. 91 n. as to the use of 'non' for 'ne.'

75. *Munere te parvo beet*] 'Lest he be generous and make you happy with this

Qualem commendes etiam atque etiam adspice, ne mox
Incutiant aliena tibi peccata pudorem.
Fallimur et quondam non dignum tradimus: ergo
Quem sua culpa premet deceptus omitte tueri,
Ut penitus notum, si tentent crimina, serves
Tuterisque tuo fidentem praesidio; qui
Dente Theonino cum circumroditur, ecquid
Ad te post paulo ventura pericula sentis?
Nam tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet,
Et neglecta solent incendia sumere vires.
Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici:
Expertus metuit. Tu dum tua navis in alto est
Hoc age, ne mutata retrorsum te ferat aura.
Oderunt hilarem tristes tristemque jocosi,
Sedatum celeres, agilem navumque remissi;
Potores bibuli media de nocte Falerni
Oderunt porrecta negantem pocula, quamvis
Nocturnos jures te formidare vapores.
Deme supercilio nubem; plerumque modestus
Occupat obscuri speciem, taciturnus acerbi.

trumpery present, or be cruel and refuse it you.' This seems to be the meaning: the patron may take it into his head to gratify his dependant with a present of the slave he admires, and then think he has done enough for him, or he may refuse to make him the present, and this would give him pain.

78. *quondam*] See C. ii. 10. 17 n. S. ii. 2. 82. ['Tradimus:' comp. S. i. 9. 47, 'tradere.']

79. *deceptus omitte tueri*] 'When once you have found yourself deceived, do not take him under your protection, but reserve your influence for one you thoroughly know, that if need be you may be able to shelter him from calumny; for when the good are slandered what do you suppose may not happen to yourself?' The Scholiasts say Theon was a man of malignant wit in Horace's time, and Comm. Cruq. says he was a 'libertinus' who provoked his 'patronus,' and was turned out of his house with a small legacy, and told to go and buy a rope to hang himself.

[82. *ecquid—sentis*] The sense is, 'don't you see at all,' &c., as in Terence, Andria, 5. 2. 30, 'ecquid te pudet,' 'have you no shame?' So Livy. 4, c. 3, 'ecquid sentitis in quanto contemptu vivatis?' which Forcellini correctly translates, 'e non v' accorgete?']

91. *Potores bibuli media de nocte*] This verse is omitted in several old MSS., including all the Parisian, except that two of the later ones have it as a correction. But most MSS. have it, and all the editions. Orelli puts it in brackets, and Bentley suspects it to be an interpolation, but he substitutes 'liquidi' for 'bibuli,' and 'luce' for 'nocte,' if the verse is to stand. His emendation may be dispensed with, but the verse must remain till a better can be found, for a subject is required for 'oderunt.' 'De media nocte' is 'after midnight,' as 'media de luce' in Epp. i. 14. 34, of which verse this is a repetition. (See S. ii. 8. 3 n.) ['Falerni' depends on 'bibuli.']

93. *Nocturnos—vapores*] The majority of MSS. and the oldest editions have 'tepores,' which Bentley edits [also Ritter and Krüger]. Most modern editors have, I think rightly, on the authority of some good MSS., though against the best, adopted 'vapores,' which appears in Ascensius' edition of 1519 and most of the sixteenth century. Either word must be taken to signify the feverish heats that follow much drinking.

95. *obscuri*] 'Reserved.'

Inter cuncta leges et percontabere doctos,
Qua ratione queas traducere leniter aevum;
Num te semper inops agitet vexetque cupido,
Num pavor et rerum mediocriter utilium spes;
Virtutem doctrina paret naturane donet;
Quid minuat curas, quid te tibi reddat amicum;
Quid pure tranquillet, honos an dulce lucellum,
An secretum iter et fallentis semita vitae.
Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,

98. *Num te semper inops*] The MSS. and editions vary here again. The readings are 'num,' 'non,' 'ne,' and 'nec.' Bentley has in this verse and in the next, 'ne,' which is the reading of most of the editions of the sixteenth century, and of several MSS. of Lambinus, Cruquius, Fea, and others. 'Non' is the reading of Ven. 1483, and others of that century; but it has no meaning, and I take it to be a corruption of 'num.' 'Ne' I imagine to be later than 'non' (which appears in Porphyrion's commentary), and a substitution for it, in order to make sense of the passage. 'Num' appears in all Orelli's and the Parisian MSS. ['Num' refers to 'percontabere,' 'you will inquire whether,' &c. 'Pavor,' &c.: 'fear and hope about things of small value.' Some critics suppose the 'mediocriter utilia' to be the *ἀδιάφορα*, 'indifferentia,' as Cicero translates the word (de Fin. iii. 16), of the Stoics. (See Diogenes Laert. Zeno, vii.)]

100. *Virtutem doctrina paret*] Whether virtue is a science (*ἐπιστήμη*) and capable of being taught (*διδακτή*) is discussed by Socrates in Plato's dialogue Menon. He held that virtue consists in the science of good; that to be virtuous we must know what is good, for we must do what is good because we know it to be good, or there is no virtue in doing it. He held that we have a moral sense by which good is perceived, but the moral sense, like other faculties, requires to be strengthened and assisted by instruction, and to that extent virtue is *διδακτή*. Practically this appears to have been the doctrine of Socrates. It is expressed in the Memorabilia, in ii. 6. 39: *ὅσαι δ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρεταὶ λέγονται, σκοπούμενος εὑρήσεις πάσας μαθήσει τε καὶ μελέτῃ αὐξανομένας*. Comp. iii. 9. 1, and iv. 1. 3. Antisthenes and the Cynics held the same opinion, in the following out of which Socrates himself was led into some contradictions. The question was a common rhetorical theme in Horace's day: hence Cicero mentions it with other kindred topics in his treatise 'Partitiones Oratoriae,' c. 18: "ut cum quaeritur quemadmodum quidque fiat; ut quonam pacto virtus pariatur, naturane an ratione an usu."

103. *fallentis semita vitae*] See Ep. 17. 10 n., and compare Juvenal (x. 363): "semita certe Tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae."

104. *gelidus Digentia rivus*] The Digentia (Licenza) was a small stream which, rising near Horace's house (Ep. 16. 12 n.), after a course of about six miles, emptied itself into the Anio. De Chaupy (iii. 156) says with reference to the epithet 'gelidus:' "Ses eaux tirent de leur origine une fraîcheur qu'elles conservent dans une vallée aussi close, et que l'air plus libre qu'elles trouvent après elle n'est capable que d'augmenter." There is a village called Bardela, which probably stands on the site of Mandela. It is at the foot of Monte Cantalupo, at the head of the valley of Licenza, and on the banks of the stream which separates it from Vico Varo (Varia, Ep. 14. 3). Walckenaer (Hist. p. 412) says it is about four and two-thirds Roman miles west of Licenza, which he identifies with Ustica (C. i. 17. 11). De Chaupy places it about the same distance. He explains from his own observation how, through its position at the head of the valley, and the winds that blow upon it from the north-east, it was colder than Horace's residence higher up the valley, by way of reconciling the description 'rugosus frigore pagus' with 'temperiem laudes' in Ep. 16. 8. He gives a sepulchral inscription, of date not earlier than the establishment of Christianity, dug up in the last century, near Bardela. It marked a tomb which some person had erected over the remains of his wife and daughter, "IN PRAEDIIS SUIS MASSAE MANDELANAE;" where De Chaupy says

Quem Mandela bibit, rugosus frigore pagus,
Quid sentire putas? quid credis, amice, precari?
Sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus; et mihi vivam
Quod superest aevi, si quid superesse volunt di;
Sit bona librorum et provisae frugis in annum
Copia, neu fluitem dubiae spe pendulus horae.
Sed satis est orare Jovem quae donat et aufert:
Det vitam, det opes: aequum mi animum ipse parabo.

'massa' is equivalent to 'pagus' or hamlet. The word is found in other sepulchral inscriptions, in some of which it cannot bear that meaning, and a different interpretation is given to it by Fabretti (see Forcell.). But the inscription shows the site of Mandela. The expression 'rugosus frigore pagus' may be suggested by pictures and other representations of Hiems, who is exhibited as a wrinkled old man, as Ovid describes him, apparently from a picture also: "Inde senilis Hiems tremulo venit horrida passu" (Met. xv. 212).

111. *Sed satis est*] Some MSS. and editions have "haec satis est." The old editions, without exception, have 'qui donat,' and that is the reading of all Orelli's MSS. but one, which has 'qui ponit.' Bentley reads 'quae ponit' [and also Ritter and Krüger]. The reading of the text is supported by all the Parisian MSS. and many others, and appears to have been that of the Scholiasts. Horace prays for a good supply of books and provisions, and a quiet mind; but retracts the last, and says he will pray to Jove for what he can give and take away, but a quiet mind he will secure himself.

EPISTLE XIX.

It would appear that Horace had imitators among those who abused him; and if we are to understand him to mean what he says, there were those who took his convivial odes literally, and, coupling them with the example of the old Greek poets, conceived that the way to write verses was to propitiate Bacchus and drink a great deal of wine. But perhaps he only means that they took to writing in the same strain all about wine and driving dull care away, and so forth, which at second hand would be very poor stuff. Such servile imitators he speaks of with great disgust; and, while he exposes their shallowness, he accounts for their malevolence towards himself by the fact of his not having sought their company or hired their applause. He at the same time claims to have been the first to dress the lyric measures in the Latin language, while he defends himself for having adopted the metres of another by pointing to the examples of Sappho and Alcaeus, and takes credit for having avoided the virulence of Archilochus while he imitated his verse. This is introduced by the way, the chief purpose of the Epistle being to show the folly of his calumniators and the cause of their abuse.

There is no allusion to any of his poems but the Epodes and Odes; the publication of the latter probably brought out the imitations and the abuse referred to, and I think it probable that this Epistle was written at no great distance of time after that publication. Franke gives A.U.C. 734 for the date. I should be inclined for the above reason to put it a year or two earlier.

ARGUMENT.

Cratinus tells us, Maecenas, that no water drinker can write good verses. Ever since Liber received them into his choir the Muses have taken to drinking. Homer would

not have praised good wine if he had not liked it; and as for father Ennius, he never began to sing till he was drenched. As soon as ever I issued my edict that the Forum was only fit for the sober, and that song was not for the serious, straightway all our poets began to drink night and day. But what, shall a man look stern, and go bare-footed and with scanty toga, like Cato, and then think he is imitating Cato's virtues? Iarbitas broke his heart with envy of Timagenes, and tried in vain to be elegant and eloquent as he.

(v. 17.) An example only to be followed in its defects is sure to mislead; and yet if I by any chance were to look pale, they would all be taking cummin to make them look so too. The servile herd! how their fuss stirs my bile and mirth by turns.

(v. 21.) I was the first to tread new ground, and he who has confidence in himself may always lead the swarm. I was the first to bring the iambic into Latium, imitating the measure but not the subjects and fierce spirit of Archilochus, even as Alcaeus and Sappho mingled his measures but not his temper with their own. I then was the first to make him known to my countrymen; and it is my delight that the good read and handle what I have written. But why do any read me greedily at home and only go abroad to abuse me? Because I do not condescend to canvass the critics and buy their approbation. This is what annoys them. And if I say, "I care not that my poor verses should be recited to crowded audiences;" "Oh! you mock us," say they, "and are keeping your fine things for ears divine; for of course honey only comes from your hive: you are the only fine gentleman, in your own eyes." I am afraid to retort, so I only say, "I don't like your ground, and beg a postponement of the sport;" for such sport only leads to wrath, and wrath to fighting and bloodshed.

Prisco si credis, Maecenas docte, Cratino,
Nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt
Quae scribuntur aquae potoribus. Ut male sanos
Adscripsit Liber Satyris Faunisque poëtas

1. *Maecenas docte, Cratino*] He addresses Maecenas elsewhere as "doctus utriusque linguae" (C. iii. 8. 5). Cratinus, though he lived to a good old age, and kept his powers to the last (S. i. 4. 1 n.), was a drunkard. Aristophanes (Pax 703) says he died of the shock caused by seeing a cask full of wine broken to pieces; on which the Scholiast says: *ὅτι φίλοινος ὁ Κρατῖνος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Πυτίνῃ λέγει σαφῶς.* This play was that which gained him the prize against Aristophanes the year before he died, when he was ninety-seven years old, as Lucian says (Macrob. 25). He kept up his jovial spirit therefore to the last. In Athenaeus (ii. 3, p. 149, Schwg.) there is an epigram of Nicaenetus:

οἶνός τοι χαρίεντι πέλει ταχὺς ἵππος ἀοιδῷ·
ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοι σοφόν.
ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν, Διόνυσε, καὶ ἔπνεεν οὐχ ἑνὸς ἀσκοῦ
Κρατῖνος, ἀλλὰ παντὸς ὠδώδει πίθου.

4. *Adscripsit Liber*] 'Adscribere,' as Porphyrion remarks, is a military term; therefore to 'adscripsit' he adds 'in legionem suam.' [C. iii. 3. 35.] As to his attendants the Fauns, Pans, and Satyrs, see C. ii. 19. 4 n. The poets immediately under the protection of Dionysus were the lyric, the dithyramb having been performed first at the Dionysia. Compare C. i. 1. 31:

"Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
Secernunt populo."

So the poet is called "cliens Bacchi" (Epp. ii. 2. 78). Liber, the Latin divinity, is here, as elsewhere, confounded with the Greek Bacchus or Dionysus, with whom he had only this in common, that he presided over vines. So in C. i. 16. 7 the maddening Dionysus is called Liber, and Alcaeus is said to have sung of 'Liberum et Musas Veneremque' (C. i. 32. 9). In C. iii. 21. 21, Liber is associated with the Graces, who were the earliest attendants

Vina fere dulces oluerunt mane Camenae.
Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus;
Ennius ipse pater nunquam nisi potus ad arma
Prosiluit dicenda. "Forum putealque Libonis
Mandabo siccis, adimam cantare severis:"
Hoc simul edixi non cessavere poëtae
Nocturno certare mero, putere diurno.
Quid, si quis vultu torvo ferus et pede nudo
Exiguaeque togae simulet textore Catonem,
Virtutemne repraesentet moresque Catonis?
Rupit Iarbitam Timagenis aemula lingua,

of Dionysus. (See Pind. Ol. xiii. 18.) In C. i. 12. 21 he is spoken of as 'proeliis audax,' with reference to the wars of Bacchus with the giants and in India. In the ode celebrating the praises of Dionysus (C. ii. 19) we have "Evoe, parce Liber, Parce, gravi metuende thyrso;" and below (Epp. ii. 1. 5) his apotheosis is spoken of (as also in C. iv. 8. 34), where there is the additional confusion that he is called by his essentially Latin title 'Liber pater.' But though the poets confound these names, Liber was a Latin divinity, while Dionysus was entirely Greek; and when the orgies of Dionysus were introduced into Italy they were expelled again, the Liberalia, an innocent and cheerful festival, being substituted for the impure rites of the Dionysia.

5. *Vina fere dulces*] The ancients did not spare the reputation of their poets in this matter; for besides the fame of Cratinus mentioned above, Alcaeus, Anacreon, Aeschylus, Aristophanes, and many others, are said to have indulged freely in wine. As to Homer, there is no foundation in his poetry for Horace's absurd statement. David might as well be charged with excess because he speaks of wine as making glad the heart of man. Ennius said of himself that he only wrote when he had got the gout: "Nunquam poëtor nisi podager."

8. *Forum putealque Libonis*] See S. ii. 6. 35 n. Horace speaks as if he had delivered an 'edictum' that the business of the Forum was only fit for the sober and dull, who had nothing to do with poetry; whereupon all who would be thought poets took to drinking day and night. The old editions, and a large number of MSS. have 'edixit.' Bentley restored 'edixi,' for which there is ample authority. 'Putere' is a stronger word for 'olere,' used above, v. 5.

12. *Quid, si quis vultu torvo*] Cato of Utica is here referred to, of whom Plutarch says that from his childhood he showed in his voice and countenance, and also in his amusements, an immovable, unimpressive, and firm temper. He seldom laughed or even smiled; and, though not passionate, when his anger was roused it was not easy to pacify him. He set himself against the fashions of the times in dress as in other things, and often went out of doors after dinner without his shoes and tunic; and the fashion being to wear a 'lacerna' of bright colour, he chose to wear a dark one. (Cat. c. 1. 6.) He may have worn his toga of smaller dimensions than other people, from the same dislike to the usages of the day. ['If he should imitate Cato by the help of the man who makes for him a scanty toga.' Ritter supposes that the elder Cato is alluded to, which, I think, is not so.]

15. *Rupit Iarbitam Timagenis*] The person here called Iarbitas was a Mauritanian by birth, and his Roman name was Cordus or Codrus. (Scholiast quoted by Cruquius in his Supplement, and by Fea.) Timagenes was a native of Alexandria, where he was taken prisoner by A. Gabinius and sold as a slave. He was sent to Rome and bought by Faustus, the son of Sulla, who gave him his freedom. He afterwards taught rhetoric, and came into favour with Augustus, but was so free with his tongue that he offended his patron, and was forbidden his house. He afterwards ingratiated himself with Asinius Pollio, who gave him a home in his house at Tusculum, where he died. The Scholiasts agree in saying that Cordus, called Iarbitas (whether by Horace in joke or generally by his contemporaries), from Virgil's Numidian king Iarbas, endeavour-

Dum studet urbanus tenditque disertus haberi.
Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile; quodsi
Pallerem casu, biberent exsangue cuminum.
O imitatores, servum pecus, ut mihi saepe
Bilem, saepe jocum vestri movere tumultus!
Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps,
Non aliena meo pressi pede. Qui sibi fidit
Dux regit examen. Parios ego primus iambos
Ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben.
Ac ne me foliis ideo brevioribus ornes
Quod timui mutare modos et carminis artem,
Temperat Archilochi Musam pede mascula Sappho,
Temperat Alcaeus, sed rebus et ordine dispar,
Nec socerum quaerit quem versibus oblinat atris,
Nec sponsae laqueum famoso carmine nectit.

ing to imitate Timagenes, and failing broke his heart with envy. [Ritter has the absurd explanation that the man ruptured himself by his efforts; and quotes Celsus vii. 17. 1 to support his opinion. The construction is, 'Iarbitae lingua aemula Timagenis.'] Weichert (Poet. Lat. Rel. pp. 398 sqq.) identifies Cordus with Virgil's Codrus (Ecl. v. 11): "aut Alconis habes laudes aut jurgia Codri;" and vii. 26: "invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codri."

18. *biberent exsangue cuminum*] The fruit of this plant, which is a pleasant condiment, is described by Pliny (xx. 15) as giving a pallid hue to the complexion. Persius also speaks of "pallentis grana cumini" (S. v. 55). It is a plant of Eastern origin. We are familiar with it through the proverbial use of the name by our Lord in his denunciation of the Pharisees, who gave tithes of mint, anise, and cummin, but neglected the weightier matters of the law. It was used to express littleness or meanness in any shape.

23. *Parios ego primus iambos*] The iambics of Archilochus of Paros, who flourished in the first half of the seventh century B.C. (A. P. 79.) As to his attacks upon Lycambes, see Epod. vi. 13 n. His daughters, who were included in Archilochus' invectives, and one of whom was betrothed to the poet, are said like their father to have hanged themselves.

26. *ne me foliis*] "Ne minore corona me decores" (Comm. Cruq.). Horace says he is not to be blamed for imitating Archilochus in his measure and the structure of his verse, for Alcaeus and Sappho did the same; they tempered their Muse with the measure of Archilochus. The iambics of Archilochus are imitated by Horace in the Epodes. Other measures of Archilochus he has imitated in the Odes. It is not so easy to see from the fragments that remain of the three poets wherein Sappho and Alcaeus imitated Archilochus, who wrote more than half a century before them. There is little left of Archilochus but his iambics. There is a greater variety of metres in the fragments of the other two; but how far the different measures were invented or modified by them it is impossible to say. Alcaeus wrote verses in what is called the Sapphic metre, and Sappho in the Alcaic. The style of Sappho's fragments shows the reason why Horace calls her 'mascula.' There is a vigour in the language and illustrations which is beyond the ordinary power of female passion, the delicacy of which nevertheless is not lost in the boldness of the expression. It is impossible not to see the working of intense feeling in some even of the shortest fragments. (See C. ii. 13. 24 n.) ["'Pede mascula' fuit Sappho quod audaci pede in saxa Leucadia progressa inde se in mare dejecit," Ritter, following and improving on Turnebus and Barthius.]

Hunc ego non alio dictum prius ore Latinus
Vulgavi fidicen; juvat immemorata ferentem
Ingenuis oculisque legi manibusque teneri.
Scire velis mea cur ingratus opuscula lector
Laudet ametque domi, premat extra limen iniquus?
Non ego ventosae plebis suffragia venor
Impensis coenarum et tritae munere vestis;
Non ego nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor
Grammaticas ambire tribus et pulpita dignor:

32. *Hunc ego non alio dictum*] Compare C. iv. 9. 3:

> "Non ante vulgatas per artes
> Verba loquor socianda chordis;"

and 3. 23: "Romanae fidicen lyrae." 'Hunc' Orelli refers to Alcaeus, comparing C. iii. 30. 13:

> "Princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
> Deduxisse modos."

Forcellini only mentions one other example of 'immemoratus' from Ausonius. 'Ingenuis' Orelli thinks is opposed to 'libertinis,' of which class Horace's chief detractors, the grammarians, were. (See below, v. 40 n.) But Horace may have had many friends who, like his father, were not 'ingenui' in this sense. (See S. i. 6. 6 n.) I think he means candid or uncorrupted.

35. *ingratus*] I suppose he means that the reader is ungrateful who receives gratification from his poems at home, and yet abuses them abroad; so that 'ingratus' in fact belongs to the second clause as well as 'iniquus.' The reason Horace gives is, that he does not go about seeking the good opinion of vulgar critics, giving them dinners and cast-off clothes, and so on, but keeps himself to the company of respectable authors, listening to their writings and getting them to listen to his own. The language is taken from the notion of canvassing for votes at an election.

38. *Impensis coenarum*] Persius has imitated this (S. i. 54):

> " —— Calidum scis ponere sumen:
> Scis comitem horridulum trita donare lacerna."

39. *auditor et ultor*] These words are reciprocal. The man who listens to a prosy recitation has his revenge when he recites in return. Here it is meant in a good-humoured way. Juvenal's first Satire begins "Semper ego auditor tantum? nunquamne reponam?" As to the practice of recitation among friends and in public, see C. ii. 1, Int., and S. i. 4. 73 n. [Possibly he may mean 'I who listen to and defend good writers.']

40. *Grammaticus ambire tribus*] Those who made a profession of literature were called 'literati,' 'eruditi,' or 'grammatici.' The last name was applied principally to those who kept schools or gave lectures, of whom there were a great many at this time at Rome. Inferior writers would give a good deal for their favourable opinion, which would help their books into demand among their scholars. Suetonius has given a short notice of the principal teachers, of whom he says the first was Crates of Mallos (a city of Cilicia), who was sent on an embassy to the senate by Attalus, king of Pergamum, between the second and third Punic wars. He broke his leg, and during the confinement this accident caused he gave lectures, *ἀκροάσεις*, which example was followed by others. At first, Suetonius says, they took the works of deceased writers and commented upon these. Afterwards they wrote themselves and descanted upon their own works, then upon those of their contemporaries. The name applied probably to all who kept schools, even for children, in which grammar (that is, literature either Greek or Roman, ancient or modern) was taught, as opposed to the teachers of rhetoric, music, &c. But there were others whose lectures were attended by youths who had left school and by grown up persons. Some of them, Suetonius says, made a great deal of money. Those that he mentions were with few exceptions freedmen. (See above v. 32 n.) Horace speaks of the Grammatici again (A. P. 78). 'Pulpitum' meant any raised platform from which speeches were delivered. Here it applies to that from which the teachers delivered their lectures.

Hinc illae lacrimae. "Spissis indigna theatris
Scripta pudet recitare et nugis addere pondus,"
Si dixi: "Rides," ait, "et Jovis auribus ista
Servas; fidis enim manare poëtica mella
Te solum, tibi pulcher." Ad haec ego naribus uti
Formido, et luctantis acuto ne secer ungui,
"Displicet iste locus," clamo, "et diludia posco."
Ludus enim genuit trepidum certamen et iram,
Ira truces inimicitias et funebre bellum.

41. *Hinc illae lacrimae*] This became a conventional way of speaking after Terence (Andr. i. 1. 99): "Atat hoc illud est: Hinc illae lacrimae, haec illa est misericordia." Cicero, who was very partial to Terence, uses this phrase (pro Caelio, c. 25): "Hinc illae lacrimae nimirum, et haec causa est horum omnium scelerum et criminum." So Juvenal (i. 168): "Inde irae et lacrimae."

— *Spissis indigna theatris*] 'Theatra' here means any audience before which recitations of this kind might take place, though the poetry of popular writers was recited in the theatres by 'mimi' and 'mimae.' ['Ait.' See S. i. 3. 126 n. and S. i. 4. 78 n. Some one says (ait).]

43. *Jovis auribus*] This is the same sort of expression as S. ii. 6. 52: "deos quoniam propius contingis." 'Manare' is not commonly used as a transitive verb. Forcellini gives two instances from Pliny. Juvenal (vi. 623) has "longa manantia labra saliva," and (xv. 136) "cujus manantia fletu Ora puellares faciunt incerta capilli:" and Ovid (Met. vi. 311) "ibi fixa cacumine montis Liquitur et lacrimas etiamnum marmora manant;" in all of which places the best MSS. seem to be in favour of the accusative, though many have the ablative. In this construction we find the like words, 'flere,' 'pluere,' 'stillare,' 'rorare,' &c. The expressions 'nugis,' 'poëtica mella,' 'tibi pulcher,' all seem to apply rather to the lyrical compositions than to the Satires. (See Introduction.)

45. *naribus uti*] See S. i. 6. 5 n., and Persius (i. 40): "nimis uncis Naribus indulges."

47. *diludia posco*] This word occurs nowhere else. Acron explains it as "tempora quae gladiatoribus conceduntur ut intra dies quinque pugnent," an interval of five days allowed to gladiators between their contests. What should have suggested this limitation it is hard to say. But the word explains its own meaning. 'Iste locus' must mean the 'pulpita' or 'spissa theatra' above mentioned. It seems as if the speaker meant to gain time, and without declining the contest made objections to the ground, and asked for a postponement, the language of the arena or palaestra being kept up. The meaning in plain terms is that he does not wish to be brought into competition with others in the way of public recitations or criticism, because such matters, though they may begin in good temper, generally issue in strife and bad passions. 'Iste' is better than 'ille,' the reading of some MSS., which Torrentius prefers. It expresses 'that place which you propose' ("ubi ut carmina mea recitem vos vultis," Orelli). ['Genuit:' like the Greek aorist. Epp. i. 2. 48. Krüger.]

EPISTLE XX.

With this composition addressed to his book (which can hardly be any other than this collection of Epistles) Horace sends it forth to take its chance in the world. He addresses it as a young and wanton maiden eager to escape from the retirement of her home and to rush into dangers she knows nothing of. He tells her it will be too late to repair her error when she discovers it; that she will be caressed for a time and then thrown away, and, when her youth, and the freshness of her beauty are gone, she will end her days in miserable drudgery and obscurity. He concludes with a description of himself, his person, his character, and his age. It is assumed with much confidence by Franke, that the Epistle was written on Horace's birth-day, 8th December, A.U.C. 734, the year after that referred to at the end. I cannot discover on what grounds he rests that opinion, or why Horace writing on his forty-fifth birth-day should tell the world he was forty-four the year before. (See note on v. 28.) He was more likely to do so on any other day than that. [Ritter concludes that this Epistle was not written before A.U.C. 736, because it is intended to accompany the first book of epistles, which he was publishing, and because Epistles 13 and 19 were also written, as he says, in A.U.C. 736. He attempts to explain why Horace says that he was four and forty in the consulship of Lollius, but his explanation is not satisfactory. It seems certain that there was only one M. Lollius, to whom Horace has addressed two of these epistles, and if the poet wished to tell his age, he could not do it in a more complimentary way to Lollius, than by saying what his age was in the consulship of Lollius. No conclusion as to the time when this epistle was written can be derived from that date, except that it was written after A.U.C. 733.]

ARGUMENT.

My foolish book, thou art casting glances at the stalls; thou hatest the safeguards that should keep thee chaste, and wouldst flaunt in the public eye. Well, go whither thou wilt; but return there is none. 'Ah! what have I done?' thou wilt cry when they shall hurt thee, and thy lovers shall be weary and cast thee aside. If I am a true prophet thou shalt be loved while youth is thine, but when thou art old and worn they shall leave thee to decay, or send thee into exile far away. Then shall I laugh at thee as the man who thrust his obstinate beast upon the rocks; for who can save him that is resolved to perish? And thy toothless age shall come to teach the elements to babes. Or if ever the noon-day heat shall have brought thee listeners, thou wilt tell how I stretched my wings for a bolder flight, and won the applause of the great in the city and in the field; I, the humbly born, of mean aspect, grey before my time, fit only for sunny climes, of hasty spirit, but ever ready to forgive. And if perchance they ask the number of my days, thou wilt say that forty winters and four I did accomplish in that year when Lollius got to himself Lepidus for his colleague.

VERTUMNUM Janumque, liber, spectare videris

1. *Vertumnum Janumque*] "Vertumnus Deus est praeses vertendarum rerum, hoc est emendarum ac vendendarum, qui in vico turario sacellum habuit" (Porph.). "Ante quorum templa erant loca in quibus cum caeteris rebus etiam libri venales erant. Per deos autem loca significat" (Acron). Martial says (i. 4):—

"Argiletanas mavis habitare tabernas,
Cum tibi, parve liber, scrinia nostra vacent."

The Vicus Turarius, in which the Scholiasts say Vertumnus had a temple, was part of the Vicus Tuscus (S. ii. 3. 228), and the Argiletum was a street leading out of that street. In the Argiletum Janus had a temple, and therefore it is possible that the shops Martial mentions may have been on or near the same site as that of the Sosii, who were Horace's booksellers. See A. P. (345), "Hic meret aera liber Sosiis." The Scholiasts say they were brothers. The

Scilicet ut prostes Sosiorum pumice mundus.
Odisti claves et grata sigilla pudico;
Paucis ostendi gemis et communia laudas,
Non ita nutritus. Fuge quo descendere gestis.
Non erit emisso reditus tibi. "Quid miser egi?
Quid volui?" dices ubi quis te laeserit, et scis
In breve te cogi cum plenus languet amator.
Quodsi non odio peccantis desipit augur,
Carus eris Romae donec te deserat aetas;
Contrectatus ubi manibus sordescere vulgi
Coeperis, aut tineas pasces taciturnus inertes,
Aut fugies Uticam aut vinctus mitteris Ilerdam.
Ridebit monitor non exauditus, ut ille
Qui male parentem in rupes protrusit asellum
Iratus: quis enim invitum servare laboret?
Hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem
Occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.
Cum tibi sol tepidus plures admoverit aures,

outside skin of the parchment-rolls was polished with pumice stone to make them look well. [Martial, i. 117.]

3. *Odisti claves*] The 'capsae' or 'scrinia' (S. i. 4. 21 n.) were locked, or sealed, or both. He professes to reproach his book for being tired of staying at home, and being shown only to his friends, and wanting to go out to the public, to which purpose he had not trained it. There can be no doubt that what is here distinctly said of the Epistles is true of the other works of Horace, that they were shown to his friends, and circulated privately before they were collected and published.

7. *ubi quis te laeserit*] The MSS. vary between 'quis' and 'quid.' Bentley prefers 'quid.' Comm. Cruq. writes, "postquam te aliquis reprehenderit." He therefore probably had 'quis.' 'In breve te cogi' means that the book will be rolled up and put into a case, and not taken out again. The metaphorical language is kept up in the following words, in 'peccantis,' and in the notion of being thrown aside when the freshness of youth shall have left it.

9. *Quodsi non odio peccantis*] 'But if the prophet is not blinded by his aversion to the offender,' that is, if I am not led by my aversion to your wantonness to prophesy too harshly of your fate. 'Aetas' is used for any time of life according to the context; but more frequently for old age than youth, which is the meaning here.

13. *Aut fugies Uticam*] You will be shipped off to Utica (in the province Africa), or to Ilerda (Lerida) in Spain, or any where else in the remote provinces, tied up as a bundle of goods ('vinctus'), and I shall laugh, for what is the use of trying to save such a wilful thing? as the driver said when his ass would go too near the edge of the precipice, and he drove him over in a passion. It is not known where this fable comes from. Compare A. P. (467), "Invitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti."

18. *balba senectus*] This keeps up the image in v. 10. Horace says his book will be reduced in its old age to the poor people's schools in the back streets (S. i. 10. 75 n.). His writings soon took their place with Homer and Virgil in all the schools. Juvenal (vii. 226):—

"Quot stabant pueri, cum totus decolor esset
Flaccus, et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni."

[Ritter accepts Porphyrion's explanation that 'balba senectus' means 'senes magistri,' and Ritter adds this reason, 'et pronomine (te) et casu liber discretus est a balba senectute;' which is no reason.]

19. *Cum tibi sol tepidus*] In the heat of the day, and before dinner in the baths,

Me, libertino natum patre et in tenui re,
Majores pennas nido extendisse loqueris,
Ut quantum generi demas virtutibus addas;
Me primis Urbis belli placuisse domique;
Corporis exigui, praecanum, solibus aptum,
Irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem.
Forte meum si quis te percontabitur aevum,
Me quater undenos sciat implevisse Decembres
Collegam Lepidum quo duxit Lollius anno.

people read to themselves or one another. See Martial (iv. 8. 7), "Hora libellorum decima est, Eupheme, meorum." It is not easy to see the connexion of this line with what goes before. It is something of a contradiction. With 'Me libertino natum patre,' compare S. i. 6. 6, 46, 47. [There is no connexion between this line and those which precede it. He supposes that his book will be read to listeners, who are represented by 'aures.' The explanation of 'tepidus sol' is not so easy. It may refer to the cooler part of the day, morning or evening.]

23. *Me primis Urbis*] This he considers no small praise, as he says Epp. i. 17. 35, "Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est;" and S. ii. 1. 75, "tamen me Cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque Invidia." He does not scruple at this time to refer to his old generals, Brutus and Cassius. The description he gives of himself corresponds with that in his biographer. See also Epp. i. 4. 15. C. ii. 11. 15. 'Solibus aptum' means that he liked warm weather. See ii. 3. 10 n. ['Belli,' 'domi,' are cases of locality. Ritter connects 'belli domique' with 'principibus,' in order to avoid an allusion to Horace's service under Brutus and Cassius.]

28. *Collegam Lepidum*] Horace was born on the 8th December A.U.C. 689, in the consulship of L. Manlius Torquatus and L. Aurelius Cotta. He completed his 44th year therefore in December A.U.C. 733. In that year M. Lollius (to whom C. iv. 9 is addressed) was elected consul, and the other consulship was offered to Augustus, who was in Sicily, on his way to Samos for his health. Augustus refused it, and after a great deal of intrigue and disturbance between Q. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Silanus, who were summoned by Augustus to answer to him for their conduct, Lepidus was elected. Orelli thinks this after-election is referred to in the word 'duxit,' as if Lollius, being first in the place, drew the other to him, which appears to me rather far-fetched. [But it is not easy to find another explanation, unless we accept Krüger's suggestion that Horace uses 'duxit' in a jocular way, as in the phrase 'uxorem ducere.']

Q. HORATII FLACCI

EPISTOLARUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.

EPISTLE I.

Among other anecdotes connected with Augustus, Suetonius, in his life of Horace, says, "Post Sermones quoque lectos, nullam sui mentionem habitam ita est questus: 'Irasci me tibi scito, quod non in plerisque ejusmodi scriptis mecum potissimum loquaris. An vereris ne apud posteros tibi infame sit, quod videaris familiaris nobis esse?' Expressitque elogium, cujus initium est, 'Cum tot sustineas,'" &c. Porphyrion, upon Epp. i. 20, init., has this note: "Ex his versibus et in principio sequentis libri apparet Horatius hoc volumen quasi novissimum totius operis habuisse. Nam secundum epistolarum coactus adjecit;" and at the beginning of this Epistle he says: "Apparet hunc librum, ut supra diximus, hortatu Caesaris scriptum esse: cujus rei etiam Suetonius auctor est." This Scholiast's authority therefore was probably no other than that which we possess in the above memoir, which as early at least as his day was attributed to Suetonius. But there is no improbability in the story. A similar theory has been advanced in respect to the sixth Ode of the first book, addressed to Agrippa, which, like this Epistle, deprecates the task of attempting the praises of a great man. Assuming the truth of Suetonius' statement, we must place the date of this Epistle after the publication of the first book. It is generally supposed, with some probability, that the Secular Ode was in Horace's mind when he wrote v. 132 sq. If so, the Epistle was not written till after A.U.C. 737. Beyond this there are no safe data for fixing the time of composition. [Ritter concludes that this Epistle was begun at the end of A.U.C. 742, and sent to Augustus about the end of 743. The foundation of his argument is v. 16, 'jurandasque tuum per numen,' as he reads that line; and he fixes the date of the altar of Augustus at Lugdunum in A.U.C. 742 or B.C. 12. Suetonius (Claud. 2) says that the altar was dedicated on the first of August B.C. 10, on the birth-day of Claudius, who was born at Lugdunum. Dion Cassius (54. c. 32) speaks of the festival at the altar of Lugdunum as existing in B.C. 12, and he does not speak of the altar being then dedicated. We should rather infer from him that it was dedicated before B.C. 12. Livy's Epitome 137 places the dedication after the disturbance in Gallia on account of the census, and this appears to be in B.C. 12. Clinton suggests that Suetonius means the anniversary of the dedication; but that is certainly not the meaning of his words.]

Horace begins by excusing himself for not having written before (supposing the truth of the above story) by the great labours and anxieties of Augustus, on whose attention it was not for him to intrude. He goes on to commend the discrimination of the people, who, contrary to that usual practice by which great men are loaded with envy and abuse when alive and with honours only after they are dead, had recognized Augustus' divinity already. But having given the age that credit, he reproaches their

judgment in respect to deceased and living authors, the former of whom they commended only because they were dead and gone, while the latter they abused through envy and spite. There is something in this complaint which corresponds with his censure of Lucilius and his admirers written many years before. But Lucilius does not appear in this poem, in which the dramatic writers are those more particularly noticed. It appears that Augustus was very partial to these himself, and Horace probably means indirectly to remonstrate with the emperor's taste in this matter, and to put in a plea for himself and his brethren, though that this was not necessary is plain from Augustus' generosity to Virgil and Varius, noticed in v. 235, and from the intimacy on the strength of which he was enabled to write to the great man at all in this strain. The parts of the Epistle do not hang together very closely, especially after the first ninety lines. They consist of compliments to Augustus; a remonstrance about the patronage bestowed on the old poets; a description of the rapid growth of art in Greece after the Persian war; a complaint that every body at Rome has taken to writing verses; a commendation of poets as good and useful citizens and contributors to the national piety; a history of the growth of poetry in Italy; a comparison between tragedy and comedy, and a sneer at Plautus and another; an account of the troubles of dramatic authors through the caprice and bad taste of their audience, which at that time is stated to have been especially depraved; an appeal to Augustus on behalf of the poets of the day; and a reproof to such poets as are unreasonable or officious, and attempt themes too exalted for them.

How much foundation there may have been for Horace's remarks about the comparative support given to the old writers and the new it is hard to say. There appears to be a little contradiction between this alleged neglect and the universal rage for scribbling which he describes; or else the profusion of bad verses may itself account for the preference of those, who did not write, for the genius of former days. Horace has not a word to say for Plautus or for Terence, but rather sneers at the popular judgment of them. We may safely say therefore that this Epistle is worth nothing in point of criticism, and that it does not raise Horace very high as a guide to the taste of others. It is possible an affectation of preference for the archaic in language may have prevailed in some quarters; but Horace's censure affects those who on sound principles of taste preferred the vigour of the old writers to the weakness of the new. In short, there is no discrimination in his statement of the case; in which therefore I do not find it easy to follow him.

There is much polish in the versification of this Epistle. The flattery with which it opens is cleverly written, and the verses towards the end, in which Horace compendiously states the military successes of Augustus, are terse and elegant. His commendation of the poet is a fair tribute to his own profession. The description of the vulgar taste for spectacles is natural, and reminds us of our own times; and there is enough in the Epistle to account for the high estimation it is held in by the general reader.

ARGUMENT.

It would be unpardonable in me to detain you, O Caesar, absorbed as you are in the weightiest cares. Romulus and Liber, the sons of Leda and Hercules, those benefactors of mankind, received not while alive the honour due to their great deeds: they were envied then, but are worshipped now, for greatness scorches those below it; but when its light is removed, then it is admired. To you, on the other hand, we render our homage, even while you are with us, and acknowledge that your equal has not been, and never shall be.

(v. 18.) But they who are herein so wise, are not wise in this, that they like nothing but what is gone. Such admirers are they of what is old that they declare the XII Tables of the laws, the old kings' treaties, the pontifical books, and the volumes of

the ancient bards, to have been inspired by the Alban Muse. But if the same rule is to be applied to the Romans as to the Greeks, whose oldest poets no doubt are their best, then farewell to our senses. No doubt our painting, our music, our wrestling, are better than the Greeks'!

(v. 34.) But if time acts on poetry as it does on wine, what number of years are required to give it worth? Shall one who has been dead a hundred years be counted old or new? He is old and good. Well, take away a month or a year from the hundred. Still he may be counted old. Then I accept this admission, and take away one by one, like the hairs from the horse's tail, till at last he shall fall to the ground who estimates merit by a scale of years, and only admires what death has consecrated.

(v. 50.) Ennius is a sage, and bold, and another Homer, in the eyes of our critics. He cares nothing now for his dreams and his metempsychosis. Is not Naevius in our hands and in our memories? Such sanctity does age give to poetry. Men dispute about the merits of these old people. Pacuvius is called learned; Accius sublime; Afranius' toga would fit Menander; Plautus is rapid as Epicharmus; Caecilius beats all in severity; Terence in dramatic skill. These we learn; these we crowd the theatre to see. These are the only poets from Livius downwards.

(v. 63.) Sometimes the vulgar judgment is right, sometimes it is wrong. If it prefers these writers to all others it errs; if it admits that there is a good deal that is antiquated, much that is harsh, much that is slovenly in them, it is wise, and I agree with it, and Jove approves. I have no wish to see Livius and his poetry banished (I remember too well Orbilius and his cane); but that any one should think them perfection is to me surprising. If a single word starts up here and there better than the rest it carries off the whole. On the other hand I am indignant that any thing should be found fault with, not because it is bad but because it is new, and that not indulgence but honour should be demanded for the old. If I express a doubt about a play of Atta's, all the old men cry out against my impudence for venturing to find fault with that which Aesopus and Roscius acted. But the real reason is that they consider nothing can be right but what satisfies them, or they cannot bear to throw away in their age what they got by heart as boys. But he who praises the songs of the Salii, which he understands no better than I do, does so not from love to them but out of envy to us. If Greece had always hated novelty as we do, what should we have had that is old? When she began to turn from war, and to degenerate with her new fortunes, she went from athletes to horses, from sculpture to painting, from music to tragedy, like a spoilt child. But it was to be expected when peace and prosperity came; every thing that delights is apt to pall.

(v. 103.) Once at Rome we used to see men rising early to expound the law to clients, or learning how to make money and to be thrifty. Now it is all changed, and every body is for writing poetry. I myself, when I declare I shall write no more, lie like a Parthian, and begin scribbling before sun-rise. No man undertakes to steer a ship who knows not how; none administer medicines but physicians, or handle tools but workmen; and yet, learned or unlearned, we all write poetry. This little error however has its advantages. The poet loves not money, fears not loss of property, cheats not his partner or his ward, lives plainly; and though he is of no use in war, he is of use at home, if you allow that small things may help the great. The poet forms the lips and chastens the minds of the young; he records great deeds, furnishes great examples, consoles the poor and sick. Where would be our choirs but for the Muse? How should we pray to the gods? The homely rustics of the olden time, after harvest, used to gather themselves together and offer sacrifice to Tellus and Faunus and their genius. Through them came in the Fescinnine verse, which then was innocent of offence, till the liberty was turned into licence, and the law stepped in to arrest it. When Greece became our prisoner she enslaved her captors, and brought in among

us new arts, and drove out that rough old Saturnian measure, though even now there remain traces of the old rusticity. It was not till after the Punic wars that we began to turn our minds to the writings of Greece, and tried if we could translate their tragedies. We were successful, for we have a spirit lofty and bold and tragic enough, but our style needed correction.

(v. 168.) Comedy is supposed to have less labour than tragedy, because the subjects are common; but the fact is it has more difficulty because it has less indulgence. Don't you see how clever Plautus is in rakish youths, stingy fathers, tricksy bawds? How great is Dossennus in parasites, and how slip-shod he walks over the stage? All he cares for is to put money in his purse; while those who take to writing for fame rise and fall with the mere caprice of the spectator. Farewell the stage for me, if applause is to make me fat and the refusal of it lean. The boldest poet is sometimes disconcerted when the mob in the middle of the play call for bears and boxers. And even the educated have turned to shows; for hours the curtain is down for the exhibition of processions and beasts, such as would make Democritus laugh, not at the scene but the spectators. As to the noise that goes on in the theatres, the forests of Garganum and the roaring of the sea are nothing to it. And what is it all about? Has the actor spoken? Not a word. They are applauding his fine clothes!

(v. 208.) But lest you should think I bestow grudging praise on an art I cannot practise, I declare there is nothing that man is not capable of, in my opinion, who can move my soul with fiction and magician-like transport me from place to place.

(v. 214.) But I pray you bestow some patronage on those who write, not for spectators but for readers; so shall you worthily fill Apollo's library, and give us poets a spur of encouragement, though we do a great many wrong things I must admit; for instance, when we intrude upon you out of season; are offended at being told of a blemish; repeat our verses again and again without being asked; mourn that our difficulties are not appreciated; expect you to send for us instantly, and bid us write, and make our fortunes. But we ought to consider who is worthy to be entrusted with the recording of such virtues. Choerilus got gold from Alexander for his wretched verses; but such, like ink, only stain the deeds they profess to praise. Alexander judged better when he ordered that none should paint him but Apelles, or make his statue but Lysippus. But in the matter of poetry his taste was Boeotian. Virgil and Varius do no disgrace to your generosity; and no statue ever expressed the face of heroes more vividly than the poet's craft their souls. Much rather would I sing of your noble deeds, of conquered lands, and rivers, and lofty heights, and barbarian realms; of peace restored and Parthians terrified, if what I would I could. But I may not venture beyond my strength. Officiousness often stupidly torments the object of its love, especially when it is allied with verse. Men easily remember what gives them mirth, and for my part I have no mind for such oppressive attentions. I don't wish to have my features murdered in a bust of wax, or to be celebrated in clumsy verse, lest I be carried out along with my poet like a corpse on the poor man's bier, and consigned with him to his tomb in the grocer's shop.

Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,
Res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes, in publica commoda peccem
Si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar.

2. *moribus ornes*] See Introduction to C. ii. 15, and the odes there referred to.

3. *Legibus emendes*] There is an inscription found at Merida (Emerita) in Spain (Grut. p. 194. 4): "ORBE. MARI. ET. TERRA. PACATA. TEMPLO. JANI. CLUSO. ET. REP. PO. ROM. OPTIM. LEGIB. SANCTIS. INSTIT. REFOR."

Romulus et Liber pater et cum Castore Pollux,
Post ingentia facta deorum in templa recepti,
Dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aspera bella
Componunt, agros assignant, oppida condunt,
Ploravere suis non respondere favorem
Speratum meritis. Diram qui contudit hydram
Notaque fatali portenta labore subegit,
Comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.
Urit enim fulgore suo qui praegravat artes
Infra se positas; exstinctus amabitur idem.
Praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores,

5. *Romulus et Liber pater*] All these heroes are joined in C. iii. 3. 9 sqq. As to 'Liber' see Epp. i. 19. 4 n. Suetonius, in his life of Augustus (c. 7), says, that when the question of his name was debated some would have had him called Romulus as the second founder of the city, but that the judgment of Munatius Plancus prevailed and he was called Augustus. Dion Cassius (53. 16) says he wished very much to be called Romulus, but was afraid people would think he was aiming at being king, and therefore took the name of Augustus. Dion's stories of this sort are not always to be trusted, and this is no doubt untrue. Augustus had too much sense to desire such a name as Romulus. The four here named were the favourite heroes of the Greeks, who attributed chiefly to their labours the civilization of the world. Of the labours of Hercules Virgil says, Aen. viii. 291:—

"—— ut duros mille labores
Rege sub Eurystheo, fatis Junonis iniquae,
Pertulerit."

[8. *assignant*] The word 'assignare' expresses, according to Roman usage, the fixing of boundaries to the allotments granted out of the public land to Roman settlers.]

12. *Comperit invidiam*] C. iii. 24. 31:—

"Virtutem incolumem odimus,
Sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi."

In Q. Curtius' history of Alexander (viii. 5. 8), the author, speaking of his flatterers, says: "Hi tum caelum illi aperiebant; Herculem et Patrem Liberum et cum Polluce Castorem novo numini cessuros esse jactabant;" and one of them named Cleo, a Sicilian: "merita percensuit, quibus uno modo referri gratia posset, si quem intelligerent Deum esse confiterentur.—Nec Herculem quidem et Patrem Liberum prius dicatos Deos quam vicissent secum viventium invidiam." Either Curtius copied Horace or there was some book which both imitated.

13. *Urit enim fulgore suo*] 'For that man scorches with his brightness who overpowers capacities inferior to his own:' that is, inferior minds are galled by the consciousness of their inferiority, and extinguished by his greatness. 'Artes' here means attainments or powers of any kind.

15. *Praesenti tibi maturos*] See note on C. iv. 5. 29, and C. iii. 5. 1:—

"Caelo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare: praesens divus habebitur
Augustus."

Suetonius says of Augustus: "Templa quamvis sciret etiam proconsulibus decerni solere, in nulla tamen provintia nisi communi suo Romanoque nomine recepit. Nam in urbe quidem pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore, atque etiam argenteas statuas olim sibi positas conflavit omnes" (c. 52). Among the coins represented in Patini's notes on Suetonius (Burmann's ed. Tab. xi) is one of silver, which he calls "rarissimus maximi moduli nummus," and on the reverse of which is a temple with the inscription "ROM. ET AVG." The date is A.U.C. 735. (Compare the inscription with Clinton's F. H. for that year.) From the words "COM. ASI." (Commune Asiae) it may have been the temple of Pergamum alluded to by Tiberius in his speech to the senate when he declined a similar honour offered to him in Spain. (Tac. Ann. iv. 37.) It is also mentioned by Dion Cass. (51. 20), together with one in Nicomedia (Bithynia). See also Ann. iv. 55. But a temple in the provinces was an honour which, as Suetonius says, and as appears from Cicero's letters, from coins, and other sources, the governors often enjoyed. Josephus men-

Jurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras,
Nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes.
Sed tuus hic populus, sapiens et justus in uno,
Te nostris ducibus, te Graiis anteferendo,
Cetera nequaquam simili ratione modoque
Aestimat, et nisi quae terris semota suisque
Temporibus defuncta videt, fastidit et odit;
Sic fautor veterum ut tabulas peccare vetantes
Quas bis quinque viri sanxerunt, foedera regum

tions a temple of great beauty built in honour of Rome and Augustus by Herod the Great at Caesarea, with a colossal statue of Augustus as large as that of the Olympian Zeus after which it was modelled; and another of Rome like that of Here at Argos. This was built of course during his life; but Suetonius' testimony that he refused a temple at Rome is confirmed in part by Tiberius (Ann. iv. 38): "Optimos quippe mortalium altissima cupere. Sic Herculem et Liberum apud Graecos, Quirinum apud nos deum numero additos. Melius Augustum qui speraverit." During his life he desired to be accounted the son of Apollo, and was represented on coins in the character of that god playing on a harp; and Acron (on Epp. i. 3. 17) says he set up a statue of himself in the library on the Palatine in the dress and likeness of Apollo. There is also a coin in Patini's collection representing him with Jove's 'fulmen.' But it may be assumed that he was not worshipped in the city till he was dead (when several temples were erected to him, and his worship was regularly established), and that the altars Horace speaks of were those which were raised in the provinces.

16. *Jurandasque tuum per nomen*] The oldest Blandinian MS. and a few others have 'numen,' which Bentley defends. [Ritter has 'numen.'] 'Nomen' is the reading of all editions before his. He would also alter the text in Tac. (Ann. i. 73), where it is said "Rubrio crimini dabatur violatum perjurio nomen Augusti." He also quotes an altar inscription (Gruter, p. 229): "Numini Augusti votum susceptum a plebe Narbonensium in perpetuum," the date of which was A.U.C. 764, while Augustus was alive. Horace uses 'numen' in C. iv. 5. 35: "et Laribus tuum Miscebit numen;" and Ovid constantly uses it in the way of flattery. Horace might have written 'numen' here, but I do not see why he should not have said 'nomen,' or why nearly all the copyists should have substituted the latter less likely word for the other, both in this place and that of Tacitus above. The person who swore by the altar laid his hand upon it and invoked the name of the divinity to whom it was consecrated. The act is represented on a gem in Gorlaeus' collection, part ii. 63.

17. *Nil oriturum alias*] C. iv. 2. 37:—

"Quo nihil majus meliusve terris
Fata donavere bonique divi
Nec dabunt."

20. *simili ratione modoque*] This is the third time Horace uses this combination. See S. ii. 3. 266, 271. ['Temporibus defuncta:' 'quae sua tempora compleverint ac finierint,' Porphyrion.]

23. *Sic fautor veterum*] Suetonius, commending the simplicity of Augustus' style of language (c. 86), adds: "Cacozelos et antiquarios, ut diverso genere vitiosos, pari fastidio sprevit." Κακόζηλον signifies affectation of any kind (Quint. Inst. viii. 3). He would therefore, as Orelli says, be pleased with these remarks of Horace.

24. *Quas bis quinque viri sanxerunt*] In A.U.C. 303, ten patricians were appointed for one year to draw up a code of laws, of which the greater part was finished in that year, and engraved upon ten tables. In the following year the decemvirate was renewed, with the difference that three plebians were elected among them, and two more tables were added. These tables contained the fundamental principles of Roman law. Cicero speaks with more respect than Horace does of the language in which they were written (de Re Pub. iv. 8): "Admiror nec rerum solum, sed verborum etiam elegantiam." In his time, as observed before (S. i. 6. 77 n.), they were committed to memory by boys at school; but before his death the practice had ceased, probably because of the archaic forms employed. He says: "discebamus XII ut

Vel Gabiis vel cum rigidis aequata Sabinis,
Pontificum libros, annosa volumina vatum,
Dictitet Albano Musas in monte locutas.

carmen necessarium;" showing that the word 'carmen' was used for any set form in prose or verse. (C. i. 2. 28 n.) Elsewhere he recommends the XII Tables to those who are given to antiquarian studies: "Sive quem aliena studia delectant, plurima est et in omni jure civili et in pontificum libris et in XII tabulis antiquitatis effigies; quod et verborum prisca vetustas cognoscitur," &c. (de Orat. i. 43.) He calls them (c. 44) "legum fontes et capita," and says they contain more wisdom than whole libraries of philosophical works. As to 'sanxerunt' see S. ii. 1. 81 n.

24. *foedera regum*] The cunning way in which Sex. Tarquinius got possession of Gabii for his father Tarquinius Superbus is related by Livy (i. 54). Dionysius Halicarn. (iv. 58) says he had read an inscription on a shield covered with the hide of an ox sacrificed on the occasion and hung up in the temple of Zeus Fidius at Rome, which inscription contained the terms of a treaty between Tarquinius Superbus and the people of Gabii (Epp. i. 11. 7 n.). The language was archaic, ἀσπὶς—γράμμασιν ἀρχαϊκοῖς ἐπιγεγραμμένη. Niebuhr says the two stories are not compatible, and he does not believe Livy's. Gabiis and Sabinis are both governed by 'cum.' Compare C. iii. 25. 2: "quae nemora aut quos agor in specus." Niebuhr, speaking of the Sabellian race, says (i. 105, Eng. trans.): "The strictness of their morals and their cheerful contentedness were the peculiar glory of the Sabellian mountaineers, but especially of the Sabines and the four northern cantons, and they preserved it long after the virtues of ancient times had disappeared at Rome from the hearts and the demeanour of men. The Sabines were simple-hearted and honest." The contrast between them and the men of Rome in his own time is described by Horace in C. iii. 6. 37. See also Epod. ii. 41:—

> "Sabina qualis aut perusta solibus
> Pernicis uxor Apuli;"

and the description of his Sabine neighbours (S. ii. 6. 65, &c.; Epp. i. 14. 3). The treaty Horace alludes to (Sabinis) may be that between Romulus and Tatius, by which the two nations became one (Livy i. 13).

'Aequatus,' in this sense of treaties or agreements made on equal terms, does not occur elsewhere.

26. *Pontificum libros*] These are mentioned by Cicero (de Or. i. 43). The College of Pontiffs had books containing the regulations by which they were guided, and all matters pertaining to their office and the worship of the gods, the general supervision of which was their principal duty. The original books were, according to tradition, given to them by Numa at their first creation; but they were added to from time to time, and they must have been numerous when Horace wrote. Some parts were no doubt very antiquated in expression and ideas.

26. *annosa volumina vatum*] Suetonius says of Augustus (c. 31) that after he became Pontifex Maximus, "quicquid fatidicorum librorum Graeci Latinique generis, nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgo ferebatur, supra duo millia contracta undique cremavit; ac solos retinuit Sibyllinos: hos quoque delectu habito; condiditque duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi." Augustus did not succeed to the office of Pontifex Maximus till after the death of Lepidus in A.U.C. 741. Porphyrion explains the 'volumina' as those "Marcii vatis, aut Sibyllae." The 'carmina' of Marcius, or the Marcii, were old writings in a prophetic strain and half metrical form, of which Livy has quoted two specimens (xxv. 12), but not apparently with all the archaisms complete. According to Suetonius, Augustus burnt all books of this sort except the 'Sibyllini libri,' as they were called, which were written in Greek. But Servius (on Aen. vi. 72) says that along with these books were preserved the books of Marcius. Other prophetic books were kept in the Capitol, such as "the Etruscan prophecies of the nymph Begoe, and those of Albuna or Albunea of Tibur (C. i. 7. 12). These were all books of fate, and every Etruscan city seems to have possessed such" (Niebuhr i. 507). Niebuhr (i. 259 n.) thinks that Horace may be alluding to the old historical lays from which the history of the Roman kings has been forged, as well as to prophetical books like those of the Marcii, which Niebuhr says, "in spite of his contemptuous glance at them, were extremely poetical. Of this," says he, "we may judge even from the passages preserved by Livy. We must not let Horace determine our opinion on these poems any more than on Plautus."

27. *Dictitet Albano*] There is force in 'dictitet:' 'would persist in affirming,'

Si quia Graecorum sunt antiquissima quaeque
Scripta vel optima Romani pensantur eadem
Scriptores trutina, non est quod multa loquamur:
Nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri;
Venimus ad summum fortunae; pingimus atque
Psallimus et luctamur Achivis doctius unctis.
Si meliora dies ut vina poëmata reddit,
Scire velim chartis pretium quotus arroget annus.
Scriptor abhinc annos centum qui decidit inter
Perfectos veteresque referri debet, an inter
Viles atque novos? Excludat jurgia finis.
Est vetus atque probus centum qui perficit annos.
Quid, qui deperiit minor uno mense vel anno,
Inter quos referendus erit? veteresne poëtas,
An quos et praesens et postera respuat aetas?
Iste quidem veteres inter ponetur honeste
Qui vel mense brevi vel toto est junior anno.
Utor permisso caudaeque pilos ut equinae
Paulatim vello et demo unum, demo et item unum,

that the muses themselves had uttered them (not on Parnassus, but) on the Alban Mount; that the Muses had changed their habitation to dwell in Latium. Doering and some others think that by the Muses on the Alban Mount Horace means Egeria, who was counted a tenth Muse.

29. *pensantur eadem scriptores trutina*] See S. i. 3. 72 n.

31. *Nil intra est oleam*] This may be a proverb. The meaning is not difficult to see. 'If we are to believe that as the oldest poets of Greece (Homer at the head of them) are the best, therefore Roman poets must be judged by the same rule, there is no use in talking; we are to believe any absurdity, to disbelieve our eyes, and deny the most palpable truths; the olive is hard without and the nut is soft; we may congratulate ourselves; of course our painters, our musicians, our athletes, are better than those of Greece,' which every one knows is not the case.

35. *quotus arroget annus*] See C. iv. 14. 40 n. Horace uses 'decidere' (v. 36) in the same sense in C. iv. 7. 14. [Epp. i. 5. 3: 'tu quotus esse velis, rescribe.']

[39. *Est vetus*] This is the supposed answer to the indirect question; as 'Iste quidem . . . junior anno' is the answer to the second question.]

45. *caudaeque pilos ut equinae*] When the soldiers of Sertorius insisted on attacking the enemy against his wish, and were beaten, he took the following means of showing them their error and the policy he chose to pursue. He put before them two horses, one old and infirm, the other young and fresh with a remarkably fine tail. A strong man stood by the old horse, a small man by the young one. They were desired to pull the hair out of the tails of the animals, and the strong man pulled at his with great force, while the little man proceeded to pull out the hairs of the other one by one. The weak man soon accomplished his work, while the strong man of course failed. (Plutarch, Sert. c. 16.) Horace appears to refer to this story, which was probably well known. The application here is plain, though it has no very close analogy to the original.

46. *demo et item*] 'Etiam' is the reading of all the old editions and of some modern (Doering, Ritter, and Krüger). Bentley, on the authority of several MSS., since confirmed by others, including two of the oldest Parisian, introduced 'et item,' as being less likely to have been invented than 'etiam.' He quotes Terence, Andria (i. 1. 49): "Sed postquam amans accessit pretium pollicens Unus et item alter;" and Lucretius (iv. 551):—

"Asperitas autem vocis fit ab asperitate
Principiorum, et item levor levore creatur."

Dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acervi
Qui redit in fastos et virtutem aestimat annis,
Miraturque nihil nisi quod Libitina sacravit.
Ennius et sapiens et fortis et alter Homerus,
Ut critici dicunt, leviter curare videtur
Quo promissa cadant et somnia Pythagorea.
Naevius in manibus non est, et mentibus haeret
Paene recens? Adeo sanctum est vetus omne poëma.

47. *ratione ruentis acervi*] This seems to be an allusion to what Cicero (de Divinat. ii. 4) calls 'argumentatio acervalis,' from the Greek σωρίτης (from σωρός, 'acervus,' a heap), a logical term signifying a series of propositions linked together and depending each upon the one before it, till a conclusion is come to which connects the first proposition with the last; but it may go on for ever without any conclusion at all. Persius uses the same illustration (S. vi. 78 sqq.):

"Rem duplica. Feci. Jam triplex; jam mihi quarto;
Jam decies redit in rugam. Depunge ubi sistam,
Inventus, Chrysippe, tui finitor acervi."

The invention of the σωρίτης is attributed to Chrysippus the Stoic. ['Cadat elusus:' he who takes one grain from a heap, still leaves a heap; but if he goes on, the heap is finally reduced to nothing, and so if he should assert that there is always a heap, he is finally confuted by 'the reckoning of the diminishing heap.' Thus it appears, as Krüger says, that such words as 'great,' 'small,' 'many,' 'few,' have no exact meaning.]

48. *Qui redit in fastos*] The word 'fasti,' as applied to records, belonged properly to the sacred books or tables in which the 'fasti' and 'nefasti dies' were distinguished, that is, the Calendar. When these were made public (Livy ix. 46) calendars became common, and in these (which were usually engraved on tables of stone) remarkable events were inserted, so that they became a source of historical information. There were also consular annals, or registers of the consuls and other chief magistrates, kept among the records of the state, and these were also called 'fasti,' or 'annales,' either of which words came, in consequence, to be used generally for historical registers of any kind, particularly by the poets. Horace applies it to the family genealogies of the Lamia family. (C. iii. 17. 4.) See also C. iv. 13. 15; 14. 4; and S. i. 3. 112, where it is applied in the most general way to the history of the world.

49. *Libitina*] See S. ii. 6. 19 n.

50. *Ennius et sapiens*] Ennius was born at Rudiae, in Calabria, B.C 239. Besides his great historical epic poem called Annales, and plays, and satires, he wrote philosophical poems of which the titles of some and very slender fragments have been preserved. He followed the opinions of Pythagoras, and in the beginning of his epic poem he declared that the spirit of Homer had passed into his body, having meanwhile inhabited, among others, that of a peacock; whence Persius says (vi. 10):—

"Cor jubet hoc Enni, postquam destertuit esse
Maeonides, Quintus pavone ex Pythagoreo;"

which means that he had woke up from his dream of being Homer, and having passed through the body of a peacock, he had become Quintus Ennius. He says however that Ennius need not care what was thought of his professions and his dreams, since he was certainly worshipped as if he were a second Homer. As to 'critici' see Epp. i. 19. 40 n. Ennius is called 'fortis' not for his personal bravery (though he saw some service), but for the boldness of his style.

53. *Naevius in manibus non est*] Cn. Naevius was born about the middle of the third century B.C., and wrote plays and an epic poem on the first Punic war, in which he served (Gell. xvii. 21). To this epic poem Virgil seems to have owed some of his ideas. Terence ranks him with Plautus and Ennius as one of his models; and, comparing these three with his own contemporaries, he says:—

"Quorum aemulari exoptat negligentiam
Potius quam istorum obscuram diligentiam." (Prol. Andria, 20 sq.)

Naevius was perhaps rather the oldest of the three.

54. *Paene recens*] Bentley made this sentence interrogative. A few editors have

Ambigitur quotiens uter utro sit prior, aufert
Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti,
Dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro,
Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi,

declined to follow him (Fea, Doering, and Ritter), but I think he is right. Cicero has often 'non est' in interrogative sentences. 'Paene recens' means 'as if he were almost modern.' [Ritter omits the ?, and takes 'et' to be equivalent to 'tamen.' Comp. v. 124, 'utilis urbi.' Perhaps he is right.]

56. *Pacuvius docti famam senis*] Pacuvius was nephew to Ennius, and was born, like his uncle, in Calabria, about B.C. 220. Quintilian (x. 1. 97) says of him and Accius that they were "clarissimi gravitate sententiarum, verborum pondere, et auctoritate personarum. Ceterum nitor et summa in excolendis operibus manus magis videri potest temporibus quam ipsis defuisse. Virium tamen Accio plus tribuitur; Pacuvium videri doctiorem qui esse docti affectant volunt." In the Dialogue de Oratoribus it is said (c. 20) that an orator is required to have poetical grace, "non Accii aut Pacuvii veterno inquinatus; sed ex Horatii et Virgilii et Lucani sacrario prolatus;" and of Asinius (Pollio) it is said (c. 21): "Pacuvium certe et Accium non solum tragoediis sed etiam orationibus suis expressit, adeo durus et siccus est." Cicero (Orat. c. 11) says that some persons think that Pacuvius' verses are "ornati elaboratique;" but in the Brutus (c. 74) he says that he and Caecilius wrote bad Latin. Varro (ap. Gell. vii. 14) mentions him as an example of a rich style ('ubertas'). The chief compositions of Pacuvius were tragedies, and they were nearly all translated from the Greek. A scene from his Orestes is referred to by Cicero (de Amicit. c. 7). Persius (i. 76) mentions his Antiopa in no very flattering terms:—

"Est nunc Brisei quem venosus liber Acci,
Sunt quos Pacuviusque et verrucosa moretur
Antiopa, aerumnis cor luctificabile fulta."

But Cicero places him at the head of the Roman tragedians: "Licet dicere et Ennium summum epicum poëtam si cui ita videtur, et Pacuvium tragicum, et Caecilium fortasse comicum" (de Opt. Gen. Oratorum, c. 1).

In respect to Accius, see S. i. 10. 53 n.

As to 'senis' see S. ii. 1. 34 n.

57. *Dicitur Afrani toga*] Comedies written after a Greek model, with Greek scenes and characters, were called 'palliatae;' those of which the incidents and persons were Roman were called 'togatae,' from the dress of the actors, the Greek 'pallium' corresponding to the Roman 'toga.' Afranius wrote principally 'togatas,' and Horace says that, according to the judgment of the critics, his toga would have suited Menander; that is, that Menander need not have been ashamed of his plays. Quintilian says: "Togatis excellit Afranius: utinamque non inquinasset argumenta puerorum foedis amoribus, mores suos fassus" (x. 1. 100), which gives the character of the plays and of their author. Cicero (de Fin. i. 3) says he borrowed from Menander. He calls him elsewhere "homo perargutus, in fabulis quidem etiam disertus" (Brut. c. 45). Suetonius (Nero c. 11) mentions a 'togata' of Afranius, the title of which was 'Incendium,' but he does not say what it was about. Gellius quotes two lines from another entitled 'Sella:'—

"Usus me genuit, mater peperit Memoria;
Sophiam vocant me Graii, vos Sapientiam" (xiii. 18).

Gellius also (x. 11) quotes from another play of the same description, the name of which, if the text is right, was Titulus, which Festus says is equivalent to 'miles.' Other fragments have been preserved in Cicero and other writers. L. Afranius was some years younger than Caecilius and Terence.

Of Menander, who wrote at Athens during the latter part of the fourth century B.C., mention has been made on S. i. 4. 1 n. Horace seems to have studied Menander. (See S. ii. 3. 11 n.)

58. *Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi*] See below (170 sqq.). What his critics meant when they said what Horace here attributes to them I do not know; and, since we have no means of comparing the writings of Plautus and Epicharmus, I do not see how the question can be decided. Epicharmus, a native of Cos, lived from B.C. 540 to the age of ninety. He went to Sicily, according to Diogenes Laertius (viii. 78), at the age of three months, while from statements of other writers it is inferred that he was

Vincere Caecilius gravitate, Terentius arte.

much older. The chief part of his literary life was spent at the Court of Gelon, and his successor Hiero at Syracuse, with Pindar, Aeschylus, and other poets who were patronized at that court, where he composed comedies, thirty-five of which are known by their titles and some by fragments. They are partly mythological and partly political and historical. He is called by Theocritus the inventor of comedy (*ὁ τὰν κωμῳδίαν εὑρὼν* Ἐπίχαρμος, Epig. xvii.), and Plato places him at the head of that branch of poetry as Homer was at the head of tragedy. Speaking of those *σοφοί* who maintained the doctrine of perpetual motion or flux, he mentions *Πρωταγόρας τε καὶ* Ἡράκλειτος *καὶ* Ἐμπεδοκλῆς· *καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ἄκροι τῆς ποιήσεως ἑκατέρας, κωμῳδίας μὲν* Ἐπίχαρμος, *τραγῳδίας δὲ* Ὅμηρος (i 152, Steph,). His writings were well known to Cicero, who speaks of him as "vafer ille Siculus Epicharmus" (ad Att. i. 19. 8); "astutus nec insulsus homo" (Tusc. Disp. i. 8). Aristotle (Poet. c. 5) says that Epicharmus and Phormis were the inventors of comedy. Bentley (Epp. of Phalaris, p. 199) takes the fact to be that the comedies of Epicharmus were the first that were written. ['Ad exemplar properare,' may mean 'strives to imitate his model Epicharmus.']

59. *Vincere Caecilius gravitate*] This comic poet was born at Mediolanum (Milan). He was a slave, and while in that condition received the name of Statius ("Statius autem servile nomen fuit," Gell. iv. 20, where he is giving an account of Caecilius), and when he recovered his freedom he retained this name as a cognomen: "Sed postea versum est quasi in cognomentum appellatusque Caecilius Statius." He died A.U.C. 586, the year after Ennius. His contemporaries held him in high estimation. According to the text of Suetonius' life of Terence as it now stands, Caecilius was the person to whom Terence was directed by the Aediles to carry his Andria for his judgment. He found him at dinner, and because he was shabbily dressed he was directed to sit down on a stool and read what he had got. After he had read a few verses Caecilius was so struck with what he had heard, that he made the author come to table among the guests and finish his play. This anecdote shows Caecilius' position. Cicero places him, not without some hesitation, at the head of the comic poets (sup. v. 56 n.). Also in the canon, as it is called, of Volcatius Sedigitus, a critic of or near the Augustan age, Caecilius is assigned the first place among the comic poets (Gellius, xv. 24). But as he puts Terence in the sixth rank, there is no dependence to be placed on his judgment. Varro says he was best in his plots, and that he moved the feelings. Cicero, though he puts him so high, speaks ill of his Latin (Brut. 74, quoted above, v. 56, and ad Att. vii. 3. 10). ['Gravitate:' 'gravitatem Caecilii refero ad sententias senum,' Ritter.]

— *Terentius arte*] I will give the judgment of a modern critic (Spence, Polymetis, p. 11 sq.) upon Terence, which I should think represents the opinion of his sensible contemporaries. It appears to me very just as far as it goes:—"We may see by that (the Eunuchus) and the rest of his plays which remain to us to what a degree of exactness and elegance the Roman comedy was arrived in his time. There is a beautiful simplicity which reigns through all his works. There is no searching after wit, and no ostentation of ornament in him. All his speakers seem to say just what they should say and no more. The story is always going on, and goes on just as it ought. This whole age, long before Terence and long after, is rather remarkable for strength than beauty in writing. The Roman language itself in his hands seems to be improved beyond what one could ever expect, and to be advanced almost a hundred years forwarder than the times he lived in." This he accounts for by his intercourse with Laelius and the younger Scipio Africanus, by both of whom Terence was supposed to have been assisted in writing his plays: "licet Terentii scripta ad Scipionem Africanum referantur, quae tamen sunt in hoc genere elegantissima" (Quintil. x. 1. 100). "Terentium cujus fabellae propter elegantiam sermonis putabantur a C. Laelio scribi" (Cic. ad Att. vii. 3. 10). Donatus, in his life of Terence, quotes the authorities of Q. Memmius, the orator, and Nepos for the same fact; and he himself alludes to it as a matter cast in his teeth by his adversaries, but as one of which, if it were true, he should have more reason to be proud than ashamed. (Prologus to Adelph. and Heautont.) But there is no patchwork in Terence's plays. No help he could have had from any one would account for the uniform elegance of language, pathos, good taste, wit, and humorous pictures of real life and nature, that appear throughout his writings. Afranius (in Suetonius' life,

Hos ediscit et hos arcto stipata theatro
Spectat Roma potens; habet hos numeratque poëtas
Ad nostrum tempus Livi scriptoris ab aevo.
Interdum vulgus rectum videt, est ubi peccat.
Si veteres ita miratur laudatque poëtas
Ut nihil anteferat, nihil illis comparet, errat:
Si quaedam nimis antique, si pleraque dure

c. 5) says, "Terentio non similem dices quempiam." There are few like him now. His name was P. Terentius Afer. He was a slave in the family of one P. Terentius Lucanus, whose praenomen and gentile name he took on his manumission, retaining as a cognomen the name which he derived from the place of his birth, Carthage, if the accounts we have of his life be correct. All his extant plays are 'palliatae' founded more or less on the Greek, and chiefly Menander.

60. *arcto stipata theatro*] The plays of Terence and all the earlier and more celebrated poets were performed at first either on scaffoldings erected in the Circus and afterwards taken down, or in temporary wooden theatres, usually on a very large scale; the notion being that a systematic encouragement of plays by the erection of permanent buildings was injurious to public morals. The first permanent stone theatre at Rome (for they had them in the country towns some time before) was built by Cn. Pompeius after the Mithridatic war outside the walls, near the Campus Martius, on the spot, as is supposed, now called Campo di Fiore (Cramer). It held 40,000 people. There are no remains of it. Augustus erected another near the Pons Fabricius, just outside the walls, to the memory of his nephew Marcellus (of which some remains are still visible), and by his desire a third was built in the Campus Martius by L. Cornelius Balbus. It is to these three, the only theatres of the time, that Ovid alludes (A. A. iii. 394), "Visite conspicuis terna theatra locis." See also Suetonius (vit. Aug. 45), "Per trina theatra virgis caesum relegaverit" (Stephanionem, an actor).

62. *Livi scriptoris ab aevo*] T. Livius Andronicus is spoken of by Quintilian as the first Roman poet, and without much respect:—"Quid erat futurum si nemo plus effecisset eo quem sequebatur? Nihil in poëtis supra Livium Andronicum, nihil in historiis supra Pontificum annales haberemus" (x. 2. 7). The date of his birth is uncertain, but he wrote in the middle of the third century B.C., and died A.U.C. 533, or thereabouts. His first play was represented the year before Ennius was born, A.U.C. 514, as Cicero says on the authority of Ennius (Brutus, c. 18). He also says this was the first play put upon the stage (all before had been extempore performances). He is said to have been born at Tarentum, which Niebuhr (iv. 260) says is "probably for no other reason but because he was confounded with Livius Macatus, who maintained himself at Tarentum" (Livy xxiv. 20; xxvii. 34). "Livius Andronicus translated the Odyssey, which from its relation to Latium, had greater attractions for the Romans than the Iliad: he did not however translate the whole of the Odyssey, but made an abridgment of it in the national Italian rhythm, and not in a Greek metre. All that Livius wrote besides his Odyssey are tragedies which, like the Atellanae, were not performed in standing theatres, but on a kind of scaffolding in the Circus" (Niebuhr, l. c.). It has been affirmed that he also wrote comedies (see his life in Dict. Biog.); and Livy (xxvii. 37) mentions a hymn composed by him. He probably composed others. (I do not know on what authority Niebuhr says the Odyssey had greater attractions for the Romans than the Iliad. The reason he assigns is hardly sufficient.) "Livius Andronicus (Niebuhr adds) was the client of one Livius." It is generally supposed he was a freedman, having been taken prisoner at Tarentum. His dramas were all, as far as we know, 'palliatae,' from the Greek. Cicero says they were not worth a second reading: "Nam et Odyssea Latina est sic tanquam opus aliquod Daedali, et Livianae fabulae non satis dignae quae iterum legantur." (Brutus, c. 18.)

66. *dure—ignave*] The first represents the harshness of the style, the second I suppose the dulness of the matter. There was a want of life he means about this old poetry; unless we prefer understanding 'ignave,' 'carelessly.' A. P. 445. 'Jove aequo' is the opposite of 'Jove non probante' (C. i. 2. 19).—['Credit:' 'cedit,' Bentley.]

Dicere credit eos, ignave multa fatetur,
Et sapit et mecum facit et Jove judicat aequo.
Non equidem insector delendaque carmina Livi
Esse reor, memini quae plagosum mihi parvo
Orbilium dictare; sed emendata videri
Pulchraque et exactis minimum distantia miror;
Inter quae verbum emicuit si forte decorum, et
Si versus paulo concinnior unus et alter,
Injuste totum ducit venditque poëma.
Indignor quidquam reprehendi, non quia crasse
Compositum illepideve putetur, sed quia nuper;
Nec veniam antiquis sed honorem et praemia posci.
Recte necne crocum floresque perambulet Attae

70. *plagosum mihi parvo Orbilium dictare*] Orbilius Pupillus was a native of Beneventum. He early lost his parents, who had given him a good education, and being left destitute, became an apparitor to the magistrates in his native town. He afterwards served in the army, and then returned home and taught. In his fiftieth year (A.U.C. 691) in the consulship of Cicero, he came to Rome and set up a school, which brought him more fame than profit. He wrote a book on the ill-treatment that teachers experienced from the parents of their pupils. Perhaps they had reason to find fault with him if Horace's epithet gives a right notion of his character. He seems to have held the rod as the principle of school government; wherefore the following line was written on him by one Domitius Marsus, "Si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidit." He lived in great poverty in a garret (Epp. i. 1. 91 n.) to nearly a hundred years of age, having long lost his memory. His townspeople were proud of him and erected a marble statue to his memory. These particulars are from Suetonius' treatise De Illustr. Grammaticis, c. 9. Orbilius was in his forty-eighth year when Horace was born. He was therefore not young when the poet went to his school. Perhaps Horace's judgment of Livius may have been influenced by his early recollections, and "what it then detested still abhorred," as a modern poet has said of Horace himself, "the drill'd dull lesson forced down word by word." The author of the Dialogue de Oratoribus complains (c. 23) that in his time the old writers were preferred to the new: "Vobis utique versantur ante oculos qui Lucilium pro Horatio et Lucretium pro Virgilio legunt," &c. Orelli thinks the boys learnt the Latin Odyssey to enable them to understand the Greek. If so Orbilius deserved an application of his own cane. He appears to have been one of the old school, and perhaps he thought that pleasant learning was not good for young minds; but Bentley, thinking it improbable a schoolmaster of repute would teach boys of noble birth such language as that of Livius, has changed Livi into Laevi, with the support of one MS. Laevius (if he ever existed) was a writer of small love verses and a contemporary of Cicero. He has therefore no place here. As to 'dictare,' see S. i. 10. 75 n.

73. *verbum emicuit*] "Ex insperato apparuit," Comm. Cruq.

75. *ducit venditque poëma*] The meaning of 'vendit' is the same as in Juvenal (vii. 135), "purpura vendit Causidicum, vendunt amethystina." It commends the whole poem. [Krüger quotes Cicero (ad Att. xiii. 22) where 'vendidisti' means 'commendasti.' Compare ad Att. xiii. 19, 'commendavit.'] 'Ducit' seems to mean, 'brings it forward,' or 'carries the poem with it.' A great many interpretations have been given, and Bentley can find no sense in this word. He therefore, on the authority of one MS., which he calls "egregius codex," changes 'vendit' to 'venit,' and makes 'poëma' the nominative to the verbs, and 'ducit' he interprets "decipit, fuco fallit, palpo percutit," 'takes in purchasers,' as "emptorem ducat hiantem" (S. i. 2. 88).

79. *crocum floresque perambulet Attae fabula*] Atta was a writer of comedies ('togatae'), of which a few fragments remain. He died A.U.C. 676. The title of

Fabula si dubitem, clament periisse pudorem
Cuncti paene patres, ea cum reprehendere coner
Quae gravis Aesopus, quae doctus Roscius egit:
Vel quia nil rectum nisi quod placuit sibi ducunt,
Vel quia turpe putant parere minoribus, et quae
Imberbes didicere senes perdenda fateri.
Jam Saliare Numae carmen qui laudat, et illud
Quod mecum ignorat solus vult scire videri,

this play which Horace alludes to, all the Scholiasts say was Matertera; and in respect to 'crocum floresque perambulet,' Comm. Cruq. says, "i.e. in scenam recepta sit quae floribus et croco spargitur." It is not clear that Horace had any particular play in mind, but it may have been an affectation of Atta's to have flowers scattered on the stage, on which it was usual to sprinkle a perfume extracted from the crocus. Propert. (iv. 1. 15):—

"Nec sinuosa cavo pendebant vela theatro;
Pulpita sollennes non oluere crocos,"

which verses are repeated almost word for word by Ovid (A. A. i. 103). This is what Martial alludes to in "Lubrica Corycio quamvis sint pulpita nimbo" (ix. 39) [, and Lucretius, ii. 416]. The perfume was mixed with water and thrown up through pipes, so as to sprinkle not only the stage, but the spectators. The most famous crocus was that of Mount Corycus in Cilicia (S. ii. 4. 68 n.).

[81. *Cuncti—patres*] Ritter supposes the 'patres' to be the senators. I think with Krüger that Horace means the older people (v. 85. Comp. v. 109).]

82. *Quae gravis Aesopus*] Claudius Aesopus, the tragic actor, was an intimate friend of Cicero and most of the distinguished men of that time. He was older than Cicero, but the date of his birth or death is not known. He was a freedman of some person belonging to the Clodia gens. Speaking of enunciation Quintilian applies the same epithet to Aesopus that Horace does: "Plus autem affectus habent lentiora: ideoque Roscius citatior, Aesopus gravior fuit, quod ille comoedias, hic tragoedias egit" (xi. 3. 111). Cicero makes Quintus compare Aesopus' delivery with his own, and speaks of him as showing "tantum ardorem vultuum atque motuum ut eum vis quaedam abstraxisse a sensu mentis videretur" (de Div. i. 37). 'Gravis' is a good epithet for a tragic actor.

— *quae doctus Roscius egit*] Q. Roscius, the comic actor, was also an intimate friend of Cicero, who often speaks of him, and pleaded for him in a speech still in part extant. Cicero speaks of "Roscii gestus et venustas" (de Orat. i. 59), and illustrates the description of Quintilian given above, "Roscius citatior," by saying (de Legg. i. 4) that when he was growing old, "numeros in cantu ceciderat ipsasque tardiores fecit tibias." His enunciation was rapid when he was young, but he was obliged to slacken it in his old age. The meaning of 'doctus' can only be explained of the study he gave to his profession, and the accurate knowledge he acquired of the principles of his art. He died about A.U.C. 692, and was enormously rich, like Aesopus (S. ii. 3. 239 n.).

86. *Jam Saliare Numae carmen*] The Salii consisted of two colleges of twelve priests each; one said to have been established by Numa on the Palatine hill to attend on Mars Gradivus; the other by Tullus Hostilius on the Quirinal for the service of Quirinus. The first were especially appointed to preserve the ancilia or shields of Mars which at his festival at the beginning of March every year they carried in procession: "Canentes carmina cum tripudiis sollemnique saltatu" (Liv. i. 20. See C. iv. 1. 28 n.). These hymns were in honour of Mars (as seems probable), under the name Mamurius Veturius. The other gods were also celebrated. The hymns were called by the name 'axamenta,' of which the etymology is unknown. Their meaning appears to have been very obscure in later times. Quintilian speaks of "Saliorum carmina vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta" (i. 6. 40). But there appear to have been those who thought themselves clever enough to make them out, which Horace doubts. It may be that popular belief attributed the composition of these verses to Numa, though that need not be inferred from what Horace says. Virgil gives the name of Salii to the priests of Hercules (Aen. viii. 285), and describes their hymns in terms apparently drawn from the Salii of Mars.

Ingeniis non ille favet plauditque sepultis,
Nostra sed impugnat, nos nostraque lividus odit.
Quod si tam Graecis novitas invisa fuisset
Quam nobis, quid nunc esset vetus? aut quid haberet
Quod legeret tereretque viritim publicus usus?
Ut primum positis nugari Graecia bellis
Coepit et in vitium fortuna labier aequa,
Nunc athletarum studiis, nunc arsit equorum,
Marmoris aut eboris fabros aut aeris amavit,
Suspendit picta vultum mentemque tabella,
Nunc tibicinibus, nunc est gavisa tragoedis;
Sub nutrice puella velut si luderet infans,
Quod cupide petiit mature plena reliquit.
Quid placet aut odio est quod non mutabile credas?
Hoc paces habuere bonae ventique secundi.
Romae dulce diu fuit et sollemne reclusa

[92. *viritim—usus*] 'Publicus usus' is equivalent to the 'people who use;' 'viritim,' 'severally,' 'individually.']

93. *Ut primum positis*] Here follows a description of the Athenians as they quickly became after the Persian War, and especially under the administration of Pericles and afterwards. It is only to Athens that Horace's language will accurately apply. During the age of lyric poetry which preceded that war, she had not a poet of distinction. Her public buildings, destroyed by Xerxes, were replaced by others far more splendid a few years after the defeat of the Persians. Temples and theatres were erected at enormous cost, and ornamented by the genius of Pheidias and others (architects and sculptors) of great renown. The coincidence which, according to the general belief, associates the names of the three great tragedians with the date of Salamis, marks that day as the commencement of a new career of intellectual activity and social degeneracy on the part of the Athenians. With the progress of the drama came habits of idleness; with the possession of wealth rose the taste for litigation and habits of extravagance; with the thirst for knowledge came in the teaching of sophistry; and with political power arose the passions of the people and the influence of demagogues. Little more than a century saw the birth and extinction of this greatness. Thirlwall's Greece, vol. iii. 62 sq.; 70 sq.; iv. 256.

95. *athletarum studiis*] The term ἀθλητής (from ἆθλα, the prizes of victory) was applied by the Greeks only to those who contended in the great games (the Olympian, Isthmian, Nemean, and Pythian) for prizes in exercises of personal strength, as wrestling, running, boxing, leaping, throwing the quoit or javelin. Great honour was paid to successful 'athletae.' They were introduced at Rome about two centuries B.C., and under the emperors were a privileged class and formed a 'collegium.' (See Dict. Ant. arts. 'Athletae,' 'Pancratium,' 'Pentathlum.')

96. *Marmoris aut eboris fabros aut aeris*] All the great artists of this period, as Pheidias, Polycleitus, Myron, wrought in bronze as well as marble, and were scarcely less distinguished for engraving and chasing, than in the higher departments of art. The most celebrated works in ivory were the statues of Jupiter Olympius at Elis, and of Minerva in the Parthenon, executed by Pheidias. They were chryselephantine.

101. *Quid placet aut odio est*] Horace's argument against the favourers of the old poets is this: 'If the Greeks had been as averse to what was new as some of us appear to be, where would have been the improvements that took place after the Persian wars?' Peace and prosperity brought with it tastes of a high order; and though there was fickleness in the pursuit of these things, this was to be expected, and may be excused, seeing what human nature is.

Mane domo vigilare, clienti promere jura,
Cautos nominibus rectis expendere nummos,
Majores audire, minori dicere, per quae
Crescere res posset, minui damnosa libido.
Mutavit mentem populus levis et calet uno
Scribendi studio; pueri patresque severi
Fronde comas vincti coenant et carmina dictant.
Ipse ego qui nullos me adfirmo scribere versus
Invenior Parthis mendacior, et prius orto
Sole vigil calamum et chartas et scrinia posco.
Navim agere ignarus navis timet; abrotonum aegro
Non audet nisi qui didicit dare; quod medicorum est
Promittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri:
Scribimus indocti doctique poëmata passim.
Hic error tamen et levis haec insania quantas
Virtutes habeat sic collige: vatis avarus

104. *Mane domo vigilare*] See S. i. 1. 10 n. Horace compares the change which had come upon the character of the Romans through their new taste for poetry, with that which passed upon the Athenians when they turned from arms to the arts of peace, and he justifies the change. ['Clienti—jura:' to bring forth, that is, to declare to a client, the rules of law; the same as 'de jure respondere.']

105. *Cautos nominibus rectis*] 'Expendere' is equivalent to 'expensum referre,' which means to debit a person in one's books with money lent (S. ii. 3. 69 n.). 'Cavere' is the usual word for giving or taking security. 'Nominibus rectis' means good debtors. 'Nominibus' may depend upon 'expendere,' or 'cautos,' or both, for a debtor is said 'cavere alicui,' to give security to his creditor, and the creditor is said 'expensum referre alicui.' 'Nomen' signifies an item or entry in a book of accounts, and 'referre nomina' to make such entries. It also is used for a debt, and 'nomen solvere' is to pay a debt; 'nomen facere,' either to incur a debt or to lend money; for 'facere' is used in both senses: but 'nomen' is also used for the debtor himself, as in Cicero (ad Fam. v. 6. 2), "Meis rebus gestis hoc sum assecutus ut bonum nomen existimer." Porphyrion explains 'nominibus rectis' as 'de legibus factis non de foenerando debitoribus.' He therefore read 'rectis' not 'certis,' which appears in most of the early editions (not all, as Fea says, for Ascensius, 1519, has 'rectis') till Cruquius restored 'rectis' from every one of his MSS. It appears in all Orelli's, and all but four late ones of Pottier's, and many others. Bentley from one doubtful MS. reads 'scriptos' for 'cautos,' appealing to "scribe decem Nerio" (S. ii. 3. 69).

[106. *Majores, &c.*] The younger came to hear the wisdom of the elder, and the elder taught the younger ('minori dicere'). See Cic. de Am. c. 1.]

111. *carmina dictant*] 'Dictare' is equivalent to 'scribere,' because they did not usually write themselves, but dictated to a slave who wrote. See S. i. 10. 92 n. ['Fronde,' &c.: C. i. 7. 7.]

113. *Parthis mendacior*] This expression, which seems as if it were proverbial, savours of the jealousy the Romans of this day felt towards the Parthians. Elsewhere Horace calls them 'infidi,' C. iv. 15. 23. As to 'calamus' and 'charta,' see S. ii. 3. 2, 7, and for 'scrinia' see S. i. 4. 21 n.

114. *abrotonum*] This is the plant which we call southern-wood, and I understand it is used in our pharmacopeia as a remedy for worms. Pliny (xxi. 21) describes its use for medical purposes.

[115. *medicorum — medici*] Bentley conjectured, but did not print 'melicorum —melici,' a signal instance of want of judgment.]

117. *indocti doctique*] See C. i. 1. 29 n.

119. *avarus non temere est animus*] Ovid takes credit to poets for this same quality: "Nec nos ambitio, nec amor nos tangit habendi" (A. A. iii. 541). 'Non

Non temere est animus; versus amat, hoc studet unum;
Detrimenta, fugas servorum, incendia ridet;
Non fraudem socio puerove incogitat ullam
Pupillo; vivit siliquis et pane secundo;
Militiae quamquam piger et malus, utilis urbi,
Si das hoc parvis quoque rebus magna juvari.
Os tenerum pueri balbumque poëta figurat,
Torquet ab obscoenis jam nunc sermonibus aurem,
Mox etiam pectus praeceptis format amicis,
Asperitatis et invidiae corrector et irae;
Recte facta refert, orientia tempora notis
Instruit exemplis, inopem solatur et aegrum.
Castis cum pueris ignara puella mariti
Disceret unde preces vatem ni Musa dedisset?
Poscit opem chorus et praesentia numina sentit,
Caelestes implorat aquas docta prece blandus,
Avertit morbos, metuenda pericula pellit,
Impetrat et pacem et locupletem frugibus annum.
Carmine di superi placantur, carmine Manes.

temere avarus' seems to mean 'not readily given to avarice.' In S. ii. 2. 116 he says, "non temere edi luce profesta Quidquam praeter olus" (see note), and in Epp. ii. 2. 13, "non temere a me Quivis ferret idem," where the sense is much the same as here.

[120. *hoc studet unum*] 'Studere' is often used with a neuter accusative. Cic. Philip. vi. 7, 'unum studetis.']

122. *Non fraudem socio puerove*] See C. iii. 24. 60 n., and as to 'pupillo' see Epp. i. 1. 21 n.

123. *siliquis et pane secundo*] 'Siliqua' is the pod of any leguminous vegetable: but it was applied particularly to a plant, the 'siliqua Graeca,' which is still found in Italy and Spain. The Italian name is 'carruba,' and the Spanish 'algarroba.' It produces long pods filled with a sweetish pulp. The name is derived from *χαρουβίς*, which Forcellini says is derived from *κυράβιον*, a horn. 'Panis secundus,' or 'secundarius' (Sueton. Aug. c. 76), is bread made from inferior flour.

127. *jam nunc*] See C. iii. 6. 23 n. As to 'formare,' see C. iii. 24. 54; S. i. 4. 121; A. P. 307, and other places. For 'corrector,' see Epp. i. 15. 37. 'Orientia tempora' seems to mean the time of youth, as we say, the dawn of life. Orelli says it does not mean this, but each season of life as it begins. ['Orientia tempora:' 'the coming times,' 'tempora instantia,' Ritter. 'Coming generations,' Krüger.]

132. *Castis cum pueris*] The Carmen Saeculare was sung by a choir, consisting of twenty-seven boys, and as many girls, of noble birth (see Introduction); and such choruses were usual on special occasions of that sort. The vestal virgins addressed their prayers to their goddess 'docta prece,' the equivalent for which is 'carmine:'

"prece qua fatigent
Virgines sanctae minus audientem
Carmina Vestam?" (C. i. 2. 26)

where 'prece' is opposed to 'carmina,' though the latter too were prayers, and perhaps in verse, but in a set form, 'doctae preces.'

138. *carmine Manes*] The great annual festival at which the Manes, the souls of the departed, were worshipped, was the Lemuria, which was celebrated in May, on the 9th, 11th, and 13th days of the month. They were also worshipped shortly after a funeral at the 'feriae denicales,' when the family of the deceased went through a purification. The Lares being also the spirits of the dead, differed only in name from the Manes, which were ordinarily inserted in sepulchral inscriptions, as the Dii Manes of the departed. The name is derived from a

Agricolae prisci, fortes parvoque beati,
Condita post frumenta levantes tempore festo
Corpus et ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,
Cum sociis operum, pueris et conjuge fida,
Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,
Floribus et vino Genium memorem brevis aevi.
Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem

root signifying 'good,' for none but the good could become Manes. But Augustin (de Civ. Dei, ix. 11) quotes the authority of Plotinus (for whom it appears he should have said Apuleius de Socratis Daemone) for saying "animas hominum daemonas esse, et ex hominibus fieri Lares si boni meriti sunt; Lemures si mali seu Larvas; Manes autem deos dici si incertum est bonorum eos seu malorum esse meritorum." This the name itself disproves. Their existence was a matter of some scepticism, as observed on C. i. 4. 16. Here the name seems to embrace all the infernal deities, as Dis, Proserpina, Tellus, the Furiae, &c.

143. *Tellurem porco*] The temple of Tellus in the Carinae has been mentioned before, Epp. i. 7. 48 n. She was worshipped among the 'dii inferi' or Manes. Her annual festival, the Fordicidia, was celebrated on the 15th of April. 'Forda' in the old language signified a cow. See Ovid (Fast. iv. 629 sqq.):—

"Tertia post Veneris cum lux surrexerit Idus,
Pontifices forda sacra litate bove.
Forda ferens bos est fecundaque, dicta ferendo:
Hinc etiam foetus nomen habere putant.
Nunc gravidum pecus est; gravidae nunc semine terrae;
Telluri plenae victima plena datur."

Sacrifices were also offered after harvest, and the victim was a hog, which was commonly offered to the Lares (C. iii. 23. 4, where the feminine is used. S. ii. 3. 165. C. iii. 17. 5. Epp. i. 16. 58).

— *Silvanum lacte piabant*] In Epod. ii. the offerings to Silvanus are fruits, and there he is spoken of as 'tutor finium:' in Tibullus (i. 5. 27) he is called 'deus agricola,' and the offerings are different for wine, corn, and flocks, all of which he protected.

"Illa deo sciet agricolae pro vitibus uvam,
Pro segete spicas, pro grege ferre dapem."

Juvenal (vi. 447) mentions a hog as an offering to this god, to whom women were not allowed to sacrifice, as appears from that passage. He is represented with a pruning hook in one hand, and a basket of fruit and a cypress bough in the other. The last is connected with a story of his killing a hind which belonged to Cyparissus, who died of grief in consequence.

144. *Genium memorem brevis aevi*] Epp. i. 7. 94 n.

145. *Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia*] Bentley, on no authority but on the suggestion of Barthius, reads 'invecta.' All the MSS. have 'inventa.' There was a sort of rude jesting dialogue carried on in extempore verse at these rustic festivals, full of good-tempered raillery and coarse humour. These were called 'Fescennina carmina,' as is generally supposed from the town Fescennia or Fescennium, belonging to the Falisci (Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. i. 136). Other etymologies have been given (Forcell.). From these verses others took their name, which were more licentious and scurrilous. Epithalamia, usually of an obscene character, were called 'Fescennini versus' (Catullus lxi. 126, in Nuptias Juliae et Manlii:—

"Neu diu taceat procax
Fescennina locutio"),

and satires got the same name, but the sort of poetry with which it originated was harmless, as Horace says (compare Virgil, Georg. ii. 385):—

"Necnon Ausonii, Troja gens missa, coloni
Versibus incomptis ludunt risuque soluto;
Oraque corticibus sumunt horrenda cavatis;
Et te, Bacche, vocant per carmina laeta, &c."

Tibullus (ii. 1. 51) refers to the songs of the rustics at harvest time:—

"Agricola assiduo primum satiatus aratro
Cantavit certo rustica verba pede;
Et satur arenti primum est modulatus avena
Carmen, ut ornatos diceret ante deos.
Agricola et minio suffusus, Bacche, rubenti
Primus inexperta duxit ab arte choros."

['Accepta:' 'welcomed,' 'agreeable.']

Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit,
Libertasque recurrentes accepta per annos
Lusit amabiliter, donec jam saevus apertam
In rabiem coepit verti jocus et per honestas
Ire domos impune minax. Doluere cruento
Dente lacessiti; fuit intactis quoque cura
Conditione super communi; quin etiam lex
Poenaque lata malo quae nollet carmine quemquam
Describi; vertere modum, formidine fustis
Ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti.
Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes
Intulit agresti Latio; sic horridus ille
Defluxit numerus Saturnius et grave virus

152. *quin etiam lex poenaque lata*] See S. ii. 1. 80 n. 'Lata' properly belongs to 'lex:' when a penalty was inserted in the 'lex' it was 'lex sancta,' as stated in the note just referred to. The authority in respect to the XII Tables is Cicero (De Re Pub. iv. 10): "Nostrae contra duodecim Tabulae cum perpaucas res capite sanxissent, in his hanc quoque sanciendam putaverunt, si quis occentavisset, sive carmen condidisset quod infamiam faceret, flagitiumve alteri: praeclare, judiciis enim magistratuum disceptationibus legitimis propositam vitam non poëtarum ingeniis habere debemus; nec probrum audire nisi ea lege ut respondere liceat et judicio defendere." This he says with particular reference to the licence of the Greek comedy. "Occentare est infame carmen nominata persona edere: contrarium canticum cantare" (Scholiast on the above in August. de Civ. Dei, ii. 9. Benedictine edition).

154. *Describi*] Compare S. i. 4. 3: "Si quis erat dignus describi." 'Fustuarium' was a mode of putting to death by beating with sticks, usually but not only, as this passage shows, inflicted on soldiers.

156. *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*] Ovid (Fast. iii. 101):—

"Nondum tradiderat victas victoribus artes
Graecia, facundum, sed male forte genus;"

and Livy makes Cato say, speaking in favour of the Lex Oppia (xxxiv. 4): "Haec ego, quo melior laetiorque in dies fortuna rei publicae est imperiumque crescit, et jam in Graeciam Asiamque transcendimus omnibus libidinum illecebris repletas, et regias etiam attrectamus gazas; eo plus horreo ne illae magis res nos ceperint quam nos illas. Infesta mihi, credite, si qua ab Syracusis illata sunt huic urbi. Jam nimis multos audio Corinthi et Athenarum ornamenta laudantes mirantesque, et antefixa fictilia Deorum Romanorum ridentes." Compare also what Livy says (xxv. 40) respecting the spoils imported by Marcellus from Syracuse, which city was taken A.U.C. 542, the seventh year of the second Punic war, after which Horace dates the study of Grecian literature at Rome. In A.U.C. 608, the last year of the third Punic war, Corinth was taken by Mummius. Horace had probably both these periods in his mind, as well as the conquest of Southern Italy, in the towns of which were some of the finest works of Grecian art. Gellius (xvii. 21) quotes two trochaic verses of Porcius Licinius, a poet whose age is unknown:—

"Poenico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu
Intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram."

The reader may refer to Spence's Polymetis (pp. 36 sqq. fol. edit.) for an account of the progress of the Romans in the appreciation of Greek Literature and arts. A reference to the note on v. 62 will show that the first play copied from the Greek was not exhibited at Rome till after the first Punic war, which ended in A.U.C. 513.

158. *Defluxit numerus Saturnius*] The Saturnian verse, according to Niebuhr (i. 259 n.), continued in use to the middle of the seventh century of the city. It consisted of a great variety of lyrical metres, which he says were carried to a high degree of perfection (but see his specimens

Munditiae pepulere; sed in longum tamen aevum
Manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris.
Serus enim Graecis admovit acumina chartis,
Et post Punica bella quietus quaerere coepit
Quid Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus utile ferrent.
Tentavit quoque rem, si digne vertere posset,
Et placuit sibi, natura sublimis et acer;
Nam spirat tragicum satis et feliciter audet,
Sed turpem putat inscite metuitque lituram.
Creditur ex medio quia res arcessit habere
Sudoris minimum, sed habet comoedia tanto
Plus oneris quanto veniae minus. Adspice, Plautus

below). According to this it survived Lucilius, and was not extinct when Cicero was born. Horace says traces of the old rudeness remained in his day, probably in the less polished 'mimes,' and in the 'Fescennina carmina,' which were not extinct. Niebuhr quotes the "lex horrendi carminis," given in Livy (i. 26) as a specimen of this measure:—

"Duúmviri pérduelliónem júdicent
Si a duúmviris provocávit,
Provocátióne certáto:
Si víncent caput óbnúbito:
Infélici árbore réste suspéndito:
Vérberato intra vel éxtra pomoérium."

I have given the verses according to Niebuhr's arrangement and accentuation, but they appear to be quite arbitrary, and show no trace of rhythm. It was with reference to the Saturnian verses that Ennius said:—

"Scripsere alii rem
Versibus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant,
Quum neque Musarum scopulos quisquam superarat,
Nec dicti studiosus erat."

This verse, Niebuhr says (ii. 592 n.), was always used in inscriptions; as that in which T. Quinctius, the dictator, recorded his capture of nine towns, A.U.C. 375 (Livy vi. 29), the earliest inscription on record. It has been thus restored:—

"Júppiter átque Divi omnés hoc dedérunt
Ut Titus Quínctius dictátor (Románus)
Oppida nóvem (diebús novem) cáperet."

To such specimens of Saturnian verse Horace's epithet is not misapplied; but I believe, with all deference to Niebuhr, that they afford no idea of the structure of the Saturnian verse. Any nation, with any pretension to poetry, would have something better than this. ['Grave virus:' this seems to refer not to the matter, but to the form of the Saturnian verse, which was driven out of fashion by an improved versification (munditiae).]

161. *Serus enim*] 'Romanus' must be understood here.

163. *Quid Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus*] Thespis is here introduced as the reputed founder of Greek tragedy, but there is, we believe, no authority for his having left any thing written. (See A. P. 275 n.)

167. *metuitque lituram*] That is, they were bold enough in their style, and had the spirit of tragedy in them, but they did not look sufficiently to the correction and polishing of their language; they admitted words which were out of taste, and thought too much care in composition beneath them. This is pretty much what he says of Lucilius (S. i. 10. 56 sqq.).

168. *arcessit*] Epp. i. 5. 6 n. 'Ex medio' is from common life. Horace says comedy is supposed to be very easy, because the matter is common; but, in fact, it gives more trouble in proportion to the readiness with which it is criticized and faults are detected and condemned.

170. *Plautus*] Orelli thinks he sees in this place remarkable pleasantry ('singularem festivitatem a nullo adhuc animadversam'). Suetonius (Aug. c. 89) says: "Augustus plane poëmatum quoque non imperitus delectabatur etiam comoedia veteri, et saepe eam exhibuit publicis spectaculis." He thinks therefore Horace is joking the emperor upon his taste for the old comic writers. Horace had no great opinion of Plautus, whose greatness, he says, lay in the drawing of small parts. Niebuhr judges otherwise: he calls him one of the greatest poetical geniuses of an-

Quo pacto partes tutetur amantis ephebi,
Ut patris attenti, lenonis ut insidiosi;
Quantus sit Dossennus edacibus in parasitis,
Quam non adstricto percurrat pulpita socco;
Gestit enim nummum in loculos demittere, post hoc
Securus cadat an recto stet fabula talo.
Quem tulit ad scenam ventoso Gloria curru
Exanimat lentus spectator, sedulus inflat:
Sic leve, sic parvum est, animum quod laudis avarum
Subruit aut reficit. Valeat res ludicra si me
Palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum.
Saepe etiam audacem fugat hoc terretque poëtam,
Quod numero plures, virtute et honore minores,

tiquity. "He shows his great talent in his bold and free, though somewhat singular, manner of dealing with his characters. He takes Greek pieces with Greek 'dramatis personae,' and treats them with a perfect irony. The Greeks in his plays speak out, and are witty as Romans would be. What makes Plautus such a wonderful poet is, that on this slippery ground he always shows the most extraordinary skill in hitting the right point. His language is no less admirable than his poetical skill. If we compare his language with that of his predecessors, we find it greatly altered, enriched, and refined, which is a proof that the language was much cultivated at that time; for had this not been the case, it would certainly be very different from what it is in the comedies of Plautus" (v. iv. p. 261 sq.). The language of Plautus would be rough to the ears of Horace, and his jokes and allusions, drawn principally from low life, or taken from the Greek and adapted to the common sort of people, did not interest him. Horace's taste was not of a very masculine order, and it is not difficult to understand his failing to appreciate Plautus.

[172. *attenti*] 'Attentus quaesitis,' S. ii. 6. 82.]

173.] *Quantus sit Dossennus*] Because this person is not known from other quarters it is assumed by some that the name is not that of a writer, but of a character in a play of Plautus. This appears as a gloss in the margin of one of Orelli's MSS.: "*Dossennus:* persona comica." Comm. Cruq., on the other hand, says he was a writer of Atellane plays. There can be little doubt, from the position of the name here, that it represents a comic writer of the day. Pliny (H. N. xiv. 13) mentions one Fabius Dossennus; but the verses quoted as his by Pliny are supposed by some persons to be from Plautus; and the man himself Orelli thinks was a grammarian or a jurisconsultus, not a poet. Seneca (Epp. 89) quotes the epitaph of one Dossennus, whom Estré and many others suppose to be the person that Horace mentions. Some MSS. and editions have Dorsennus. ['Dossennus, persona certa in fabulis Atellanis,' Ritter.]

174. *percurrat pulpita socco*] The front part of the stage where the actors spoke was called 'pulpitum,' by the Greeks λογεῖον. As to 'soccus' see S. i. 3. 127 n. It was worn by comic actors, as being a less dignified order of covering for the feet than the 'cothurnus.' There is a good representation of it in the Dict. Ant. Other shoes worn in comedy were 'baxeae' and 'crepidae,' for the same reason, each being a loose sort of slipper, and the latter not materially different, as observed before, from the 'soccus.' Horace means that Dossennus is careless in the composition of his plays, which he expresses by his running about the stage with loose slippers. His only care, he says, is to make money. The aediles, or any one who cared to put a new play upon the stage, paid for it. According to Suetonius, Terence got 8000 sesterces for his Eunuchus, which he says was a larger sum than had ever been given for a comedy before.

[176. *cadat*] 'Falls,' that is 'fails:' 'stands,' that is 'succeeds. See S. i. 10. 17, 'stabant.']

177. *ventoso Gloria curru*] See S. i. 6. 23 n.

Indocti stolidique, et depugnare parati
Si discordet eques, media inter carmina poscunt
Aut ursum aut pugiles; his nam plebecula plaudit.
Verum equitis quoque jam migravit ab aure voluptas
Omnis ad incertos oculos et gaudia vana.
Quattuor aut plures aulaea premuntur in horas,
Dum fugiunt equitum turmae peditumque catervae;
Mox trahitur manibus regum fortuna retortis,
Esseda festinant, pilenta, petorrita, naves,

185. *Si discordet eques*] See S. i. 10. 76 n.

186. *Aut ursum aut pugiles*] Augustus himself had a liking for boxers (Epp. i. 1. 49 n.). The interruptions to the regular drama which Horace here mentions appear to have been of common occurrence. Terence complains that the representation of the Hecyra was interrupted in this way (Prol. 25). At that time the plays were represented on a temporary platform in the circus, where also gladiators and shows of wild beasts were exhibited (Epp. i. 1. 6 n.). An amphitheatre for the purpose of wild-beast shows was built for the first time by Statilius Taurus in A.U.C. 725 in the Campus Martius (Suet. Aug. 29). The beasts were hunted by dogs or fought by men. But though the acting of plays was in Horace's time carried on in a theatre (v. 60 n.) erected for this special purpose, it appears that the people insisted sometimes on having a bear-bait or a boxing match there to amuse them, in spite of the remonstrances of the equites in the front rows, who however, Horace says, were themselves taken too much with processions and shows that appealed more to the eye than to the ear. ['Plaudit:' 'gaudet,' Ritter, Krüger; the true reading.]

187. *Verum equitis*] Here Bentley, 'satis pro imperio' as Orelli says, and 'frustra reclamantibus librariis,' as he says himself, substitutes 'equiti' for 'equitis' against all the MSS. Also on his own conjecture he substitutes 'ingratos' for 'incertos' in the next verse: "ingratos vero oculos vocat quod cito voluptatis obliviscantur nullumque ex ea fructum percipiant aut reddant." The eye is easily dazzled and deluded. The ear takes in what it receives and conveys it to the mind without error; and though Horace seems elsewhere to commend the eye as a means of instruction above the ear, the case is different. (A. P. 180 n.). Cicero, writing to M. Marius (ad Fam. vii. 1. 2), speaks with contempt of the representations at the opening of the theatre of Cn. Pompeius, in which he says: "Apparatus spectatio tollebat omnem hilaritatem.—Quid enim delectationis habent sexcenti muli in Clytaemnestra? (a play of Attius) aut in Equo Trojano (a play of Livius) craterarum tria millia, aut armatura varia peditatus et equitatus in aliqua pugna? quae popularem admirationem habuerunt, delectationem tibi nullam attulissent."

189. *aulaea premuntur*] At the back of the stage was the 'scena,' or wall on which was painted some scene suitable to the performance. Before this 'scena' was a curtain, which was let down (premuntur) below the stage when the acting began, and raised (tolluntur) when it was over. This curtain was called 'aulaeum.' The raising of the curtain at the end of the play is referred to in A. P. 154:—

"Si plausoris eges aulaea manentis et usque
Sessuri donec cantor, Vos plaudite, dicat."

[Compare Ovid, Met. iii. 11,

"Sic, ubi tolluntur festis aulaea theatris,
Surgere signa solent, primumque ostendere vultum,
Caetera paulatim, placidoque educta tenore
Tota patent, imoque pedes in margine ponunt."]

191. *regum fortuna*] This is equivalent to 'fortunati reges.' The expression is like those noticed at S. i. 2. 32; ii. 1. 72.

192. *Esseda festinant*] The 'essedum' was originally the name of a British or Gaulish war chariot, derived from a Celtic root. The name was also applied to a travelling carriage on two wheels and drawn by two horses. The 'pilentum' was a carriage used in processions, and appears to have been of a luxurious kind,

Captivum portatur ebur, captiva Corinthus.
Si foret in terris rideret Democritus, seu
Diversum confusa genus panthera camelo,
Sive elephas albus vulgi converteret ora;
Spectaret populum ludis attentius ipsis,
Ut sibi praebentem mimo spectacula plura;
Scriptores autem narrare putaret asello
Fabellam surdo. Nam quae pervincere voces
Evaluere sonum referunt quem nostra theatra?
Garganum mugire putes nemus aut mare Tuscum,
Tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur et artes
Divitiaeque peregrinae, quibus oblitus actor
Cum stetit in scena concurrit dextera laevae.
Dixit adhuc aliquid? Nil sane. Quid placet ergo?
Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.
Ac ne forte putes me quae facere ipse recusem

with well-stuffed cushions, and used by women. It was also a travelling carriage. As to 'petorritum' see S. i. 6. 104 n., and Epp. i. 11. 28 n.

[193. *ebur*] May mean either tusks of ivory or works of art decorated with 'ivory.' 'Captiva Corinthus' is an allusion to the capture of Corinth by Mummius, and to the bronzes of Corinth.]

194. *Democritus*] See Epp. i. 12. 12 n. Democritus had the character of a laughing philosopher, who turned things habitually into ridicule. Juvenal (x. 33) says, "Perpetuo risu pulmonem agitare solebat Democritus;" having just before compared him with the sad philosopher Heraclitus.

[195. *Diversum*] 'A panther, an animal of a different kind (diversum genus), mixed with a camel.' This is the 'camelopardalis' or giraffe, which was first seen at the Circenses ludi of the Dictator Caesar (Plin. N. H. 8. c. 18, 27).

196. *Sive elephas albus*] The king of Ava has for one of his many titles the Lord of the White Elephant; and it has been usual for the British Government, when an elephant of this colour was caught in their territories, to send it with due ceremony as a present to his majesty. White elephants are merely lusus naturae: they are not a distinct species, as some have supposed. They have pink eyes, like other albinos, but do not differ from the brown in other respects. They are not common.

198. *mimo*] See S. i. 10. 6 n.

202. *Garganum mugire putes*] See C. ii. 9. 7. "Next morning we took a pleasant ride into the heart of the mountains (of Gargano), through shady dells and noble woods, which brought to our minds the venerable groves that in ancient times bent with the loud winds, sweeping along the rugged sides of Garganus. There is still a respectable forest of evergreen and common oak, pitch-pine and hornbeam, chestnut and manna-ash; still

'——Aquilonibus
Querceta Gargani laborant
Et foliis viduantur orni.'"
(Swinburne i. 155.)

207. *Lana Tarentino*] The different shades of the purple dye were obtained by different mixtures of the juice of the 'murex' with that of the 'purpura.' The violet colour was much in fashion at this time, together with the scarlet peculiar to Tarentum, 'rubra Tarentina' (Pliny N. H. ix. 39. 63). The Tarentines imitated all the foreign varieties. The Tyrian purple, which was of the colour of congealed blood, was got by steeping the wool in pure unboiled juice of the 'purpura,' and then letting it lie and simmer with that of the 'murex.' But these imitations never came up to the original dyes, and were easily detected. (Epp. i. 10. 26 n.)

208. *quae facere ipse recusem*] That is, what he has no capacity for. Horace denies that he is disposed to detract from the merits of good dramatic poets; on the con-

Cum recte tractent alii laudare maligne,
Ille per extentum funem mihi posse videtur
Ire poëta, meum qui pectus inaniter angit,
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
Ut magus, et modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis.
Verum age et his qui se lectori credere malunt
Quam spectatoris fastidia ferre superbi
Curam redde brevem, si munus Apolline dignum
Vis complere libris et vatibus addere calcar,
Ut studio majore petant Helicona virentem.
Multa quidem nobis facimus mala saepe poëtae,
(Ut vineta egomet caedam mea,) cum tibi librum
Sollicito damus aut fesso; cum laedimur unum
Si quis amicorum est ausus reprehendere versum;
Cum loca jam recitata revolvimus irrevocati;
Cum lamentamur non apparere labores
Nostros et tenui deducta poëmata filo;
Cum speramus eo rem venturam ut simul atque
Carmina rescieris nos fingere commodus ultro
Arcessas, et egere vetes, et scribere cogas.
Sed tamen est operae pretium cognoscere, quales
Aedituos habeat belli spectata domique
Virtus, indigno non committenda poëtae.
Gratus Alexandro regi Magno fuit ille

trary, he considers that he who could succeed in exciting his feelings with fictitious (inaniter) griefs and fears, and transport him in imagination to distant places, could do any thing he chose to try, dance on a tight rope if he pleased, in which there is a little jocular irony perhaps. The Greek name for a rope-dancer was σχοινοβάτης, and those who exhibited at Rome were usually Greeks. [‘Laudare maligne,’ ‘to give scant praise.’ Comp. ‘malignus,’ C. i. 28. 23.]

216. *Curam redde brevem*] From one MS. (Trinity College) Bentley substitutes ‘impende’ for ‘redde,’ the reading of all other MSS., and all but a few editions which have followed his own. [‘Curam . . . brevem:’ ‘to these also (et his) pay some little attention which is their due.’] ‘Munus Apolline dignum’ is the library mentioned C. i. 31, Int. Epp. i. 3. 17.

220. *Ut vineta egomet caedam mea*] The man who damages his own vines hurts himself more than any one else, and this is the meaning of the proverb.

223. *revolvimus irrevocati*] The compounds of ‘volvere’ are used for reading, from the shape of the books rolled up. ‘Revolvere’ is to read again. One of the ways therefore that he says authors get themselves into trouble is by reading over again and again passages they think very fine, but which their patron has not taken the trouble to ask for again.

225. *deducta poëmata filo*] S. i. 10. 44 n.

[227. *rescieris*] ‘Found out,’ ‘heard.’ Caesar, B. G. i. 28, ‘Quod ubi Caesar resciit.’]

230. *Aedituos*] As to the orthography of this word see the authorities quoted by Mr. Long on Cic. in Verrem, ii. 4. 44. It means the keeper of a temple. Horace says it is worth while to see what kind of persons should be entrusted with the keeping of Augustus’ fame, what poets should be allowed to tell of it.

Choerilus, incultis qui versibus et male natis
Rettulit acceptos, regale nomisma, Philippos.
Sed veluti tractata notam labemque remittunt
Atramenta, fere scriptores carmine foedo
Splendida facta linunt. Idem rex ille poëma
Qui tam ridiculum tam care prodigus emit,
Edicto vetuit ne quis se praeter Apellen
Pingeret, aut alius Lysippo duceret aera
Fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia. Quodsi
Judicium subtile videndis artibus illud
Ad libros et ad haec Musarum dona vocares,
Boeotum in crasso jurares aëre natum.

233. *Choerilus*] Choerilus of Iasos, according to Acron, was "poëta qui Alexandrum Magnum secutus bella ejusdem descripsit: cui Alexander dixisse fertur malle se Thersitem Homeri esse quam hujus Achillem." He adds: "Choerilus Alexandri poëta depactus est cum eo ut si versum bonum faceret aureo numismate donaretur, si malum colaphis feriretur; qui saepe male dicendo colaphis nectus est." This poet has been confounded with a native of Samos, who wrote an epic poem on the Persian wars of Darius and Xerxes. He is mentioned again A. P. 357. 'Male natis versibus:' ['neque arte neque natura bonos versus facientem,' Porphyrion. 'Versibus' is the dative dependent on 'rettulit acceptos,' S. ii. 3. 69 n.] means verses made by a poet who was not born such, seeing that 'poëta nascitur non fit.' 'Philippi' were gold coins with Philip's head on them, the Macedonian 'stater,' of which many specimens are in existence. The value is reckoned at 1*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* of our money. (See Dict. Ant.)

236. *Atramenta*] Pliny (H. N. xxxv. 6, 25) gives an account of the way in which ink was made by the ancients. The Greeks called it *μέλαν*, the Romans 'atramentum scriptorium,' or 'librarium,' to distinguish it from shoemaker's dye, also called 'atramentum,' and a paint which had the same name. See Dict. Ant. Horace says it is a common thing for poets to defile great deeds with bad verses, as the fingers are defiled when they handle ink.

239. *ne quis se praeter Apellen*] Apelles painted during the latter half of the fourth century B.C. at the court of Philip, and in the camp of Alexander. This story is referred to by Cicero in his letter to Lucceius (ad Fam. v. 12. 7: "Neque enim Alexander ille gratiae causa ab Apelle potissimum pingi et a Lysippo fingi volebat; sed quod illorum artem cum ipsis tum etiam sibi gloriae fore putabat." See also Pliny (vii. 37) and Plutarch (Alex. c. 4). His reputation as a painter stood higher than that of any other ancient painter. His most celebrated painting was that of Aphrodite rising from the sea, which was placed by Augustus in the temple of C. Julius Caesar.

Lysippus was a younger contemporary of Apelles, and a native of Sicyon. He wrought almost entirely in bronze. [See Sillig, Catalogus Artificum, Apelles and Lysippus.] Plutarch (de Fort. et Virt. Alex. ii. 2) says *ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἀπελλῆς ὁ ζωγράφος καὶ Λύσιππος ὁ πλάστης κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον· ὧν ὁ μὲν ἔγραψε τὸν κεραυνόφορον οὕτως ἐναργῶς καὶ κεκραμένως ὥστε λέγειν, ὅτι δυοῖν Ἀλεξάνδρων ὁ μὲν Φιλίππου γέγονεν ἀνίκητος, ὁ δὲ Ἀπελλοῦ ἀμίμητος.* And of Lysippus he says: *Λυσίππου δὲ τὸ πρῶτον Ἀλέξανδρον πλάσαντος ἄνω βλέποντα τῷ προσώπῳ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν (ὥσπερ αὐτὸς εἰώθει βλέπειν Ἀλέξανδρος ἡσυχῇ παρεγκλίνων τὸν τράχηλον) ἐπέγραψέ τις οὐκ ἀπιθάνως,—*

αὐδασοῦντι δ' ἔοικεν ὁ χάλκεος εἰς Δία λεύσσων·
γᾶν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ τίθεμαι, Ζεῦ σὺ δ' Ὄλυμπον ἔχε.

He also says that Alexander ordered that Lysippus alone should make his statues, because he was the only artist who represented his character, and while adhering to his features did not fail to bring out his virtues. ['Alius Lysippo:' 'any other than Lysippus.' See Epp. i. 16. 20.]

244. *Boeotum in crasso*] Respecting the proverbial dulness and sensuality of the Boeotians, which Polybius said was unparalleled in Grecian history, see Thirlwall

At neque dedecorant tua de se judicia atque
Munera, quae multa dantis cum laude tulerunt
Dilecti tibi Virgilius Variusque poëtae;
Nec magis expressi vultus per aënea signa,
Quam per vatis opus mores animique virorum
Clarorum apparent. Nec sermones ego mallem
Repentes per humum quam res componere gestas,
Terrarumque situs et flumina dicere, et arces
Montibus impositas, et barbara regna, tuisque
Auspiciis totum confecta duella per orbem,
Claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia Janum,
Et formidatam Parthis te principe Romam,
Si quantum cuperem possem quoque; sed neque parvum
Carmen majestas recipit tua nec meus audet
Rem tentare pudor quam vires ferre recusent.

(Hist. Greece, i. 13), who attributes it, not to "the dampness and thickness of their atmosphere," but to the productiveness of the country. But it is hard to fix the causes of national character, especially after the lapse of centuries. [Alexander's taste was sharp in judging of works of art (videndis artibus), but if you had asked his opinion of books and poetry (ad libros . . . vocares) you would have sworn that he was as stupid as a Boeotian.]

245. *tua de se judicia atque munera*] Respecting Virgil and Varius, and the presents they are said to have received from Augustus, see S. i. 5. 40 n. ['Dantis cum laude:' 'with much credit to the giver.' Ritter prefers 'tua munera multa laude in te collata remunerati sunt.']

248. *aënea signa*] The word 'signum' applies generally to all carved or cast figures, while 'statua' applies only to full length figures (Cic. in Verr. ii. 4. 7, Long's note).

251. *Repentes per humum*] This is expressed by 'pedestris.' See C. ii. 12. 9 n.

252. *arces montibus impositas*] See C. iv. 14. 12, and 33 n. Suetonius (Aug. 21) says, "Domuit partim ductu, partim auspiciis suis Cantabriam, Aquitaniam, Pannoniam, Dalmatiam cum Illyrico omni: item Raetiam et Vindelicos ac Salassos." The 'auspicia,' or power of taking the auspices, the emperors scarcely ever delegated to any one. The commanders of their armies were 'duces.' They had not 'imperium,' and therefore could not have the 'auspicia.'

255. *Claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia*] The Temple of Janus was built, according to tradition, by Numa (Livy i. 19). The gates were open in war and closed in peace, but according to Livy they were only shut once between the reign of Numa and the battle of Actium. Ovid makes the god explain the practice thus (Fast. i. 279):—

"Ut populo reditus pateant ad bella profecto
Tota patet dempta janua nostra sera.
Pace fores obdo, ne qua discedere possit:
Caesareoque diu nomine clausus ero."

Horace's explanation is that the gates were shut during peace to prevent the guardian from leaving the city. The first time the gates were shut during the republic was A.U.C. 519. By Augustus they were closed three times (C. iv. 15. 9 n.) after the battle of Actium and taking of Alexandria A.U.C. 725, and after the Cantabrian war A.U.C. 729. The third occasion is not known; Casaubon (note on Suetonius, Aug. c. 22) says it was the year of Christ's birth, on the authority of Orosius, which is not to be trusted. They remained closed till the defeat of Varus A.D. 9, after which they were open for nearly fifty years, being closed by Nero A.D. 58. They were immediately opened again, and not closed till A.D. 71 after the taking of Jerusalem. There is no other record of the closing of these gates till A.D. 353, when, according to Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. xvi. 10), Constantius II. closed them after the defeat and death of Magnentius. [See the note in Gronovius' ed.] The practice then remained under the Christian emperors.

256. *Et formidatam Parthis*] See Epp. i. 12. 27 n.

Sedulitas autem stulte quem diligit urget,
Praecipue cum se numeris commendat et arte:
Discit enim citius meminitque libentius illud
Quod quis deridet quam quod probat et veneratur.
Nil moror officium quod me gravat, ac neque ficto
In pejus vultu proponi cereus usquam,
Nec prave factis decorari versibus opto,
Ne rubeam pingui donatus munere, et una
Cum scriptore meo, capsa porrectus aperta,
Deferar in vicum vendentem thus et odores
Et piper et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis.

[260. *Sedulitas*] 'Officiousness.' See Epp. i. 7. 8. 'Officium' v. 264 has a like meaning. 'Urget' corresponds to 'gravat.']

262. *Discit enim citius*] 'Quis' belongs both to 'discit' and to 'deridet.' Horace says men are more apt to remember what is ridiculous than that which is good and serious; and therefore it is not pleasant to have one's name associated with silly verses or an ugly wax image, such as the admirers of public men might think to honour them with. Busts of literary and other distinguished men were put up in the public libraries (S. i. 4. 21 n.), and were probably multiplied for sale. They were sometimes made of wax, of which material were made the family busts preserved in the 'atria' of private houses.

268. *capsa porrectus aperta*] As to 'capsa,' see the note last referred to. Horace speaks of being stretched out in an open box as if he were a corpse carried on a 'vilis arca' (S. i. 8. 9 n.) to the common burial ground, that is, to the grocer's shop. 'Vicum' may mean the 'Vicus Thurarius,' which was a part of the Vicus Tuscus mentioned S. ii. 3. 228. 'Porrectus' is used commonly for corpses. Catullus uses it absolutely for 'mortuo' (67. 6): "Postquam ex porrecto facta marita sene." Most of the old editions have 'operta,' 'covered,' and many MSS. have it. That was the reading also of Porphyrion, and Bentley adopts it. Ascensius (1519) has 'aperta,' which has also good authority. 'Aperta' keeps up the notion of a 'sandapila' or common bier on which the poor were carried out to burial. In plain language Horace says he might expect his panegyrist's verses to be carried to the grocer, and himself to be held up to ridicule with the author. Compare Catullus (95. 8): "At Volusi annales—Et laxas scombris saepe dabunt tunicas;" and Persius (i. 43), "nec scombros metuentia carmina nec thus." [Ritter, who has 'operta,' says:—'capsa libri cum clausa feratur, etiam qui libro celebratus est sic efferetur.']

EPISTLE II.

This Epistle is addressed to Julius Florus, to whom also the third of the first book was written. (See Introduction.) The professed purpose is to excuse Horace for not having sent Florus any verses. He says he had warned him before he went that he should not be able to write; that he had grown lazy. He reminds him too that he had originally only written verses to bring himself into notice because he was poor, and now he had not the same motive. Besides he was getting on in years, and people's tastes were so various, and the noise and engagements of the town so distracting, and the trouble of giving and receiving compliments so great, that he had abandoned poetry in disgust. It was better to study philosophy, in pursuance of which he reads himself a lecture of nearly a hundred lines, the substance of which is that he had better be content with what he has got by his profession, set to work to purge his mind, and leave jests and wantonness to younger men. It seems that Florus wished him to write

some more lyrics, 'carmina' (vv. 25, 59), for which he had no mind. Whether he had already published the fourth book of Odes is not certain, for there are no sure means of determining the date of the Epistle. But there is no appearance of its having been written about the same time with the other Epistle. As Kirchner says, there is no reason to suppose Horace would have kept a poem of so much merit locked up in his desk while he was putting forth the first book. Besides which Horace wrote to Florus on that journey, whereas here he supposes him to complain of his not having written either letter or verses. I am not sure that the first verse does not betray a later date, though it has led many into dating the two Epistles at the same time. Florus was evidently a young man when he went with Tiberius into Armenia, A.U.C. 734. He might even at that time have been called his 'fidelis amicus;' but the words seem to imply a longer and more matured friendship; and the epithet 'clarus,' which would have been mere flattery when Tiberius was twenty-two and had done nothing, would suit him very well after his successes against the Raeti celebrated in C. iv. 14. [In A.U.C. 742, Tiberius was sent by Augustus against the Pannonians (Dion Cass. 54. 31); and in A.U.C. 743 he was again engaged with the Dalmatians and the Pannonians (Dion Cass. 54. 34). In B.C. 744 Tiberius was sent from Gallia against the Dalmatians once more (Dion Cass. 54. 36). In A.U.C. 745 he brought home the remains of his brother Drusus from Germany (Dion Cass. 55. 2). Florus may have accompanied Tiberius either in 742, 743, or 744] Tiberius also went with Augustus to Gaul A.U.C. 738 (Dion Cass. 54. c. 19), and Florus may have been with him then. The objection to that earlier date is that Horace did certainly write verses about that time, of the kind Florus asked for; and though this is not conclusive, for he wrote with no great love for the task, on the whole I think a later date is more probable *.

Though there does not profess to be much substance in the Epistle, I think it the most agreeable of all. The stories in illustration are very well told; the description of the town and its annoyances has the force without the harshness of Juvenal; the vanity of authors is ridiculed in a happy and humorous way, and the advice given them is good; and though as usual the sermon at the end about money and philosophy is perhaps a little tedious, and not very convincing, as a whole the Epistle is written in a popular style, and the language and versification are easy and correct. It is always pleasant likewise to hear Horace speaking of himself, the events of his life, and the peculiarities of his character. This Epistle furnishes materials for a considerable part of his biography, and makes us acquainted with his poetical career in particular. It represents him as writing more from necessity than out of love to poetry, and it would not be difficult to trace the force of a pressure from without in many parts of his works.

ARGUMENT.

(v. 1.) Florus, if any one were to offer you a slave for sale, and say, 'Here is a handsome accomplished boy, you shall have him cheap: I have no wish to puff my property, and am not obliged to part with him; but you will find him, I assure you, a bargain: no dealer would give him you for the money, and there is no one but yourself I would give him to so cheap: but I must tell you he once shirked duty (as boys will), and hid himself in the staircase,'—if you bought the boy you would do so with your eyes open and at your own risk. You could not bring an action against the man if your slave ran away again.

(v. 20.) When you were going away I told you I was too lazy to answer your letters

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[* In A.U.C. 737, Lucius the son of Agrippa was born, and Augustus immediately adopted him and his elder brother Caius (Dion Cass. 54. c. 18); which I ought to have added (p. 572) at the end of the Introduction. This fact disproves what I have there said that Ritter has not proved.]

when you should write. What was the use of my doing so if now you are to reproach me as if I had broken my word?

(v. 26.) An officer of Lucullus' one night while he was asleep had all his money and equipments stolen. He became furious in consequence with himself as well as the enemy, and while his blood was up stormed and took one of the king's strongest places full of treasure, for which he was promoted and rewarded. About the same time the general wanted to get possession of a certain fortress, and calling the officer he says to him, 'Go, my brave friend, go where thy valour calls thee, and great shall be thy reward.' 'Nay,' replies the cunning man, 'send some one who has lost his purse.'

(v. 41.) It was my lot to begin my education at Rome and to finish it at Athens. From thence I was hurried off to the disastrous wars, and when I got my discharge at Philippi, with my wings cropped, shorn of my inheritance, I was driven by my poverty to write verses. But now that I have enough, I should be mad past recovery if I did not count my ease better than scribbling. Time is stealing every thing from me,—mirth, love, wine, and sport, and now it is taking poetry too. Besides people's tastes differ so much. You like song, another likes iambics, a third coarse satire. How can I please you all? Then again how can I write among all the distractions of the town? Here a man calls me to be his surety; there to quit my business and listen to his books; one man is sick on the Quirinal, another at the extremity of the Aventine, and I must see them both, a pretty good distance you must allow. 'Oh! but the streets are so broad and clear you can think as you go along.' Why there is every sort of obstruction, contractors with their mules and porters, cranes swinging stones and beams over your head, funerals, mad dogs, filthy swine; I should like you to make verses in such a scene as that. The poet loves retirement and the woods; the student who has been for years poring over his books is rather awkward in the world; how can I write verses while the waves and storms of the city are roaring about me?

(v. 87.) Besides, these poets do nothing but praise one another. 'A wonderful work! surely all the Muses had a hand in it!' How we hold up our heads and strut past the library which is one day to have a copy of our works! We contest it like two gladiators, and I come off an Alcaeus in his judgment, and he a Callimachus, nay a Mimnermus if he likes, in mine. I could bear a good deal when I was canvassing for applause; but now that I have retired I shut my ears to them all.

(v. 106.) Though the public may laugh at bad verses, their authors are well satisfied, and if you do not praise them, they will praise themselves. But he who would write a real poem, must act his own censor, and cut out what is bad, even if he keeps it still locked up at home. He will not fail to reproduce obsolete but expressive words as well as new; he will pour along like a rapid river, and enrich the land with the copious stream of his eloquence; pruning, smoothing, erasing, the result will seem as easy as sport, like the mime who twists his limbs in the dance.

(v. 126.) I had rather, says one, be looked upon as a fool, and be satisfied with my own performances, than be ever so learned and tormented to boot. He is like the gentleman at Argos, who used to fancy himself sitting in the theatre, and clapping the performers. He was perfectly sane in other respects, and when his friends recovered him from this mania, he bitterly complained that they had taken away his pleasant illusion.

(v. 140.) But, after all, the best thing is to put away child's play and poetry, and take to philosophy. Therefore I reason with myself thus: "If you had a fever in your veins you would speak to the physician. But if the more you have, the more you want, will you keep that to yourself? If you found a particular remedy did you no good, you would avoid that remedy. Well, you have heard men say that if a man had money he had wisdom: but if you find yourself no wiser now you are richer, will you stick tc

those advisers? If wealth could make a wise man and good, you would be ashamed if any were richer than yourself. If what a man pays for is his own, and there are some things which become ours by possession, then your neighbour's farm which supplies you with all you want is yours. What does it matter whether you paid for it yesterday or long ago? If a man buys land, all he gets from it is bought, though he calls it all his own, and puts up boundaries to mark it off, as if that could be one's own which may change hands in a moment. What is the use of villas and barns if heir succeeds heir as wave succeeds wave? What are broad pastures to us if death lays all low alike? As for jewels and all fine things, there are some who have them not, but the wise man cares not to have them. Why one man prefers his ease to the riches of Herod, while his brother is slaving all day, their genius alone can tell, the companion of their birth, their life, and their death, never the same, now fair, now dark. I shall use my small means as I please, without fear of what my heir may say; yet I am not disposed to forget the difference between a cheerful liver and a profligate, a frugal man and a miser. It is one thing to squander, another to spend it liberally, to seek no more than you want, and to enjoy like the school-boys the short holiday that is left you.

(v. 199.) "Let me be free from the squalor of poverty, and I care not whether I be embarked in a big ship or a little: if the gale of prosperity does not fill full my sail, the foul wind of adversity does not accompany my course. I may be last of those who are first, but I am ever ahead of those who are last. You are no miser? Go to: is that all? Are you free from ambition, fear of death, passion, superstition? Are you content to see life passing from you? Does age find you more forgiving, amiable, and good? What is the use of removing but one thorn out of many? If you cannot live well, give place to those who can: you have eaten, and drank, and played enough. It is time you depart, lest younger wantons mock and drive you from the scene."

Flore, bono claroque fidelis amice Neroni,
Si quis forte velit puerum tibi vendere natum
Tibure vel Gabiis, et tecum sic agat: "Hic et
Candidus et talos a vertice pulcher ad imos
Fiet eritque tuus nummorum millibus octo,

1. *Flore, bono claroque*] See Introduction, and as to the character of Tiberius, Epp. i. 9. 4 n. Tiberius after his adoption by Augustus, A.D. 4, became Tib. Claudius Nero Caesar.

2. *natum Tibure vel Gabiis*] That is, 'any where you please.' "Poëtis certa imagine opus est;" the poets like to give reality to their illustrations by being specific. This is Dillenburger's remark, and I agree with him. Orelli thinks Italian towns are mentioned with reference to the fact of the slave being a 'verna' (Epod. ii. 65 n.).

As to Gabii, see Epp. i. 11. 7 n.

5. *nummorum millibus octo*] About 65*l.* sterling. Much larger sums were given for handsome slaves; and this boy's accomplishments, if they were real, would make him worth a good price. There would be reason therefore to suspect in such a case that the owner was anxious to get rid of him. (S. ii. 7. 42 n.) The 'literati' were a separate class in the slave family, and were subdivided into 'anagnostae' or 'lectores' (who read to their masters, chiefly at their meals, or if their masters were authors they read their productions aloud for the benefit of the guests), and 'librarii' or 'scribae,' used for writing from dictation, taking care of the library, keeping accounts, &c., and hence called 'pueri' or 'servi a studiis,' 'ab epistolis,' 'a bibliotheca,' 'notarii,' &c. There were also architects, sculptors, painters, engravers, and other artists, who all came under the same general head of 'literati.' The boy in this place might also be put among the 'cantores' or 'symphoniaci,' the choir or band who sang and played to their master at meals. In short, he was fit for any of the above employments

Verna ministeriis ad nutus aptus heriles,
Litterulis Graecis imbutus, idoneus arti
Cuilibet; argilla quidvis imitaberis uda;
Quin etiam canet indoctum sed dulce bibenti:
Multa fidem promissa levant, ubi plenius aequo
Laudat venales qui vult extrudere merces.
Res urget me nulla; meo sum pauper in aere.
Nemo hoc mangonum faceret tibi; non temere a me
Quivis ferret idem. Semel hic cessavit et, ut fit,
In scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenae.
Des nummos, excepta nihil te si fuga laedat:"—
Ille ferat pretium poenae securus, opinor;
Prudens emisti vitiosum; dicta tibi est lex:
Insequeris tamen hunc et lite moraris iniqua?
Dixi me pigrum proficiscenti tibi, dixi

according to his owner's estimate; which he professes to put in a modest way, for fear he should seem to be puffing his property, and so depreciate its value.

[9. *canet indoctum*] 'You will find that he can sing, though he has not been taught.']

12. *meo sum pauper in aere*] 'Aes alienum' is used for a debt, and 'aes proprium,' 'suum,' &c. is therefore money not borrowed. Cicero opposes them (in Verr. ii. 4. 6): "At hominem video auctionem fecisse nullam; vendidisse praeter fructus suos nihil unquam; non modo in aere alieno nullo, sed in suis nummis multis esse et semper fuisse." [So Cicero says, Pro Ros. Com. c. 8.] "Aes alienum est quod nos aliis debemus; aes suum est quod alii nobis debent" (Dig. 50. 16. 213, quoted by Mr. Long on the foregoing passage). The man here says he is not rich, but he has no debts.

13. *Nemo hoc mangonum faceret tibi*] He professes to deal as a friend. The 'mangones' were slave-dealers, a class in no favour, but often very rich. The principal person in this line of business in Augustus' time was one Thoranius (Suet. Aug. c. 69). The name is derived from the Greek *μάγγανον, μαγγανεύειν*, to juggle, cheat. They were distinguished from 'mercatores,' being called 'venaliciarii' (Dig. 50. 16. 207). Hence in Plautus (Trin. ii. 2. 53 sq.) we have—

"Ph. Quid is, egetne? Ly. Eget. Ph. Habuitne rem? Ly. Habuit. Ph. Qui eam perdidit?—
Mercaturamne an venales habuit, ubi rem perdidit?"

where 'venales' means 'servos.'

14. *Semel hic cessavit*] He once was behind his time, and hid himself under or on the staircase for fear of a flogging. 'Cessator' and 'erro' were synonymous words. (See S. ii. 3. 286 n., and ii. 7. 100, 113 n.) The stairs may have been dark sometimes, and, as in most houses the principal accommodation was on the ground floor, it is probable that so much regard was not paid to the lighting of the staircase as we pay now. Cicero, speaking of Clodius (pro Mil. c. 15), says: "cum se ille fugiens in scalarum latebras abdidisset," Milo might have put him to death; and again of the same person in another speech (Philipp. ii. 9) he says M. Antonius would have killed him, "nisi ille se in scalas tabernae librariae conjecisset." It appears that a whip was hung up in some conspicuous place to frighten the slaves. Comm. Cruq. says it hung in the middle of the house, and that slaves were tied to the stairs to be flogged.

16. *Des nummos*] This line Orelli gives to Horace. I think it is the conclusion of the dealer's speech.

17. *poenae securus*] Among the faults the seller of a slave was bound to tell was running away. (See S. ii. 3. 285 n.)

[18. *Prudens*] 'With full knowledge.' Comp. S. i. 10. 88, and ii. 5. 58. 'Lex:' 'the terms of the bargain.' Dig. 18. 1. 40: 'Qui fundum vendebat, in lege ita dixerat ut &c.:' 'in lege,' in the conditions of sale, as we name them.]

Talibus officiis prope mancum, ne mea saevus
Jurgares ad te quod epistola nulla rediret.
Quid tum profeci mecum facientia jura
Si tamen attentas? Quereris super hoc etiam, quod
Exspectata tibi non mittam carmina mendax.
Luculli miles collecta viatica multis
Aerumnis, lassus dum noctu stertit, ad assem
Perdiderat; post hoc vehemens lupus et sibi et hosti
Iratus pariter, jejunis dentibus acer,
Praesidium regale loco dejecit, ut aiunt,
Summe munito et multarum divite rerum.
Clarus ob id factum donis ornatur honestis,
Accipit et bis dena super sestertia nummum.
Forte sub hoc tempus castellum evertere praetor

21. *ne mea saevus jurgares*] 'Mea' belongs to 'epistola,' and is out of place. 'Jurgo,' which Varro derives from 'jure ago,' is used as a forensic word by the law writers. It is intransitive. (See Forcell.) The reading of the best MSS. and the editions of the fifteenth century is 'rediret.' Later editions, including Bentley, have 'veniret,' which also has MS. authority. Orelli, Dillenburger, Pottier, and some others of the latest editors, have gone back to the old reading. It is not easy to understand how 'rediret' should have got into such MSS. as the four Blandinian, the Berne, and Parisian, if 'veniret' were the true reading. Nearly all Torrentius' MSS. had 'rediret,' and he approves, but does not edit, that reading. His text and his notes are constantly at variance, and on this account he is often quoted as an authority for readings he does not approve. As his judgment was good, this is to be regretted. Florus had written probably more than once, expostulating with Horace on his silence, and had received no answer.

24. *Si tamen attentas*] This word Forcellini explains "labefactare et convellere conaris:" and he quotes Dig. 12. 6. 23. 1: "Quum de sententia indubitata, quae nullo remedio attentari potest, transigitur."

— *super hoc*] It is doubtful whether this means 'besides this,' as in S. ii. 6. 3, "Et paulum silvae super his," or 'about this,' as "Pallescet super his" (A. P. 429). Orelli takes it the former way.

26. *Luculli miles collecta viatica*] As to Lucullus, see Epp. i. 6. 40 n. The soldier of whom this story is told Porphyrion calls Valerianus Servilianus, and he makes him an officer of rank, 'praefectus,' perhaps one of those who had command of the auxiliary troops, though the title was not confined probably to these. (Caesar, B. G. i. 39, Long's note.) The office of 'praefectus castrorum,' which Orelli supposes Porphyrion to mean, is not mentioned so early as the time of Lucullus. Whatever groundwork of truth there may be in it, Horace has evidently altered the story to suit his purpose. 'Viatica' would include money as well as baggage and 'kit' as our soldiers call it. Cicero uses the word metaphorically for money (de Senect. c. 18): "Avaritia vero senilis quid sibi velit non intelligo. Potest enim quidquam esse absurdius quam quo minus viae restat eo plus viatici quaerere?"

30. *Praesidium regale*] A fortress in which Mithridates kept part of his treasures.

33. *bis dena super sestertia*] The 'sestertium' was a sum equal to about 8*l*. 17*s*. of our money, twenty of which (166*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.) would not be a large sum for an officer of rank. But he must be supposed, from his exploits, to have held some command. ['Super' is used as an adverb, 'besides.']

34. *Forte sub hoc tempus*] 'Soon after this time' (Epod. ii. 44 n.). Lucullus had been 'praetor urbanus,' but he went into Asia at the expiration of his consulship, and therefore with the title of 'proconsul.' A 'praetor' taking a province generally went with the title of 'propraetor,' as Brutus did into Macedonia. (S. i. 7. 18.)

[36. *addere mentem*] 'Give spirit to.' Comp. Epp. i. 2. 60 n.; and C. iii. 21. 18, 'addis cornua.']

Nescio quod cupiens hortari coepit eundem
Verbis quae timido quoque possent addere mentem:
"I, bone, quo virtus tua te vocat, i pede fausto,
Grandia laturus meritorum praemia. Quid stas?"
Post haec ille catus quantumvis rusticus: "Ibit,
Ibit eo quo vis qui zonam perdidit," inquit.
Romae nutriri mihi contigit, atque doceri
Iratus Graiis quantum nocuisset Achilles.
Adjecere bonae paulo plus artis Athenae,
Scilicet ut vellem curvo dignoscere rectum,
Atque inter silvas Academi quaerere verum.
Dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato,
Civilisque rudem belli tulit aestus in arma
Caesaris Augusti non responsura lacertis.

40. *qui zonam perdidit*] The Romans wore a girdle when walking or actively occupied, to hold up the ends of their tunic. Hence the expressions 'praecinctus,' 'succinctus,' for those who were hastening or engaged in active work. (S. i. 5. 6 n.) In this girdle ('zona' or 'cingulum') they often carried their money, as Vitellius when he fled for his life, 'zona se aureorum plena circumdedit" (Suet. Vitell. c. 16). Hence 'zona' came to be used generally for a purse, as C. Gracchus in his speech delivered when he returned from his province of Sardinia boasts thus: "Itaque, Quirites, quum Romam profectus sum zonas quas plenas argenti extuli eas ex provincia inanes retuli" (Gell. xv. 12). The more common word 'crumena' was a bag, generally of leather, hung on the arm or round the neck, or sometimes perhaps to the 'zona.'

[41. *Romae nutriri*] See S. i. 6. 72.]

42. *Iratus Graiis*] See Epp. i. 2. 2 n.

43. *Adjecere bonae*] The knowledge acquired at Athens, and which Cicero says was valued not by the natives, but only by foreigners, who were "capti quodammodo nomine urbis et auctoritate" (de Orat. iii. 11), was not only philosophy in all its branches, but Greek literature, with which Horace became familiar, especially with the lyric poets, whose works were probably never taught in the schools at Rome. But he here only refers to his dialectical studies, which he pursued in the school of the Academy. The doctrines taught in Horace's day were those of the fifth Academy as it is called, established by Antiochus of Ascalon, whose teaching Cicero attended and whom he praises very highly. The different modifications of Plato's doctrine, introduced by Arcesilas, Carneades, Philo, and Antiochus, who were heads of his school at different periods, may be learnt from Ritter's Hist. Anc. Phil. The latest, which Horace studied, was an eclectic form, in which Stoic and Peripatetic doctrines were incorporated with the Academic. The head of the Academy at this time was Theomnestus, whose lectures Brutus attended (Plut. Brut. c. 24). Aristus succeeded his brother Antiochus ('quid illa vetus Academia atque ejus heres Aristus?' Cic. Brut. c. 97), and Horace may have been at Athens while he was teaching. But he could not have been alive when Horace left; for Brutus was his intimate friend (Plut. Brut. c. 2), and would not have attended Theomnestus if Aristus had been still teaching. Academus was an Attic hero, and there was a spot of ground about three quarters of a mile from the city, on the banks of the Cephisus, which was dedicated to him and planted with olives (Aristophanes, Clouds, 1005), and called after his name, Academia. Here Plato taught, and from hence his school was named.

44. *curvo dignoscere rectum*] 'Curvum' is used here like 'pravum' for 'falsehood.' Persius uses it in the same derived way (iv. 11), "rectum discernis ubi inter Curva subit vel cum fallit pede regula varo."

48. *non responsura lacertis*] Not destined to match the strength of Caesar Octavianus, afterwards Augustus. (S. ii. 7. 85 n.) In the first engagement at Philippi (A.U.C. 712), Brutus defeated the forces of Caesar Octavianus and got possession of his camp, while M. Antonius on the other hand defeated Cassius, who destroyed himself.

Unde simul primum me dimisere Philippi,
Decisis humilem pennis inopemque paterni
Et laris et fundi, paupertas impulit audax
Ut versus facerem: sed quod non desit habentem
Quae poterunt unquam satis expurgare cicutae,
Ni melius dormire putem quam scribere versus?
Singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes;
Eripuere jocos, venerem, convivia, ludum;
Tendunt extorquere poëmata; quid faciam vis?
Denique non omnes eadem mirantur amantque:
Carmine tu gaudes, hic delectatur ïambis,
Ille Bioneis sermonibus et sale nigro.

But twenty days afterwards a second engagement went against Brutus, and he likewise put an end to himself. How Brutus attached to his cause the young Romans studying at Athens, and the battles and wanderings he led them through are related by Plutarch in his life (c. 24, sqq.).

51. *Et laris et fundi*] 'Laris' is equivalent to 'domus.' As to the difference between 'domus' and 'fundus,' see S. ii. 5. 108 n. Horace's patrimony at Venusia was forfeited because he was of the republican party. Others in his neighbourhood lost theirs in consequence of the distribution of lands to the soldiers (see S. ii. 2, Introduction). He says nothing of the scribe's place, which Suetonius says he bought (with what means does not appear), nor does he mention how he got his pardon and permission to return to Rome. He only says he was driven by poverty to write verses, which therefore he first wrote for fame, that is to bring himself into the notice of those who were able to relieve his wants, as Maecenas did. It is impossible to tell what he wrote at first. The language of the text does not necessarily imply that he was paid for what he wrote; but though Horace never appears in a mercenary character, there is no knowing what poverty may have led him to accept for severe personal satires, of which there are specimens in the Epodes, showing what he could do in that way. I have no doubt he suppressed much of his early poetry.

[52. *quod non desit habentem*] 'While I have sufficient;' literally, 'while I have what I hope I may never want.']

53. *Quae poterunt unquam*] The 'cicuta,' *κωνεῖον*, hemlock, was used as an antifebrile medicine (Pliny, H. N. xxiii. 13. 95). Horace asks what amount of 'cicuta' would be sufficient to cool his veins if he were so feverishly bent upon writing, as to do so when he could live without it. Persius employs the same idea (v. 144):—

"Quid tibi vis? Calido sub pectore mascula bilis
Intumuit, quam non exstinxerit urna cicutae."

[57. *quid faciam vis*] S. ii. 1. 24, 'quid faciam?' This is a way of saying 'I cannot do otherwise than I am doing.']

60. *Ille Bioneis sermonibus*] Bion was born on the Borysthenes, and was hence called Borysthenites. He wrote about the middle of the third century B.C. He studied philosophy at Athens under Theophrastus, and after passing through various sects became at last a Peripatetic. Acron says of him in his note on this place: "Sunt autem disputationes Bionis philosophi, quibus stultitiam arguit vulgi, cui paene consentiunt carmina Luciliana. Hic autem Bion, qui Sophistes cognominatus est, in libro quem edidit, mordacissimis salibus ea quae apud poëtas sunt, ita laceravit, ut ne Homero quidem parceret." Some of his sayings are preserved in Diog. Laert. (iv. 7. 47 sqq.), Cicero (Tusc. Quaest. iii. 26), and Seneca (de Tranq. An. viii. 2; xv. 3; de Benef. vii. 7). As 'sal' is put for wit (S. i. 10. 3), 'sale nigro' means coarse wit, of which the saying quoted by Cicero is a specimen: "stultissimum regem (Agamemnonem) in luctu capillum sibi evellere, quasi calvitio maeror levaretur." If Lucilius, as Acron says, imitated Bion, that is, borrowed some of his coarse wit, Horace probably was well acquainted with his sayings.

Tres mihi convivae prope dissentire videntur,
Poscentes vario multum diversa palato.
Quid dem? quid non dem? renuis tu quod jubet alter;
Quod petis id sane est invisum acidumque duobus.
Praeter caetera me Romaene poëmata censes
Scribere posse inter tot curas totque labores?
Hic sponsum vocat, hic auditum scripta relictis
Omnibus officiis; cubat hic in colle Quirini,
Hic extremo in Aventino, visendus uterque;
Intervalla vides humane commoda. Verum
Purae sunt plateae, nihil ut meditantibus obstet.—
Festinat calidus mulis gerulisque redemptor,
Torquet nunc lapidem, nunc ingens machina tignum,
Tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustris,
Hac rabiosa fugit canis, hac lutulenta ruit sus:
I nunc et versus tecum meditare canoros.
Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbem,

61. *Tres mihi convivae*] He treats his friends, all asking him for different sorts of verse, as guests at a dinner each liking different fare, so that he does not know what to give them. Gellius (xiii. 11) quotes a treatise of Varro on the proper numbers, dress, and behaviour of guests at a dinner party, in which he says the number should begin with that of the Graces, and go up to that of the Muses; that is, there should never be less than three or more than nine.

67. *Hic sponsum vocat*] S. ii. 6. 23: "Romae sponsorem me rapis."

68. *cubat hic in colle Quirini*] As to 'cubat,' see S. i. 9. 18 n. Mons Quirinalis was in the sixth, or most northern division of the city; Mons Aventinus in the opposite quarter, the thirteenth region.

70. *Intervalla vides humane commoda*] 'A pretty convenient distance you see.' I cannot find that 'humane' is used in this ironical way elsewhere.

71. *Purae sunt plateae*] This is a supposed answer to Horace's remarks, and the rejoinder of Horace begins v. 72. 'Platea' is a less general name than 'vicus.' It applies only to the broader streets. The word being derived from the Greek πλατεῖα, would properly have the penult long. It suits Horace to shorten it. As to the obstructions in the streets of Rome, see Epp. i. 6. 51 n.; and compare the reasons Ausonius gives for leaving Burdigala (Bordeaux), in a letter (x.) to his friend Paullus nearly 400 years after this, when the streets of this city were not very different from what Rome now was:

"Nam populi coetus et compita sordida rixis
Fastidientes cernimus
Angustas fervere vias, et congrege vulgo
Nomen plateas perdere.
Turbida congestis referitur vocibus Echo,
Tene, feri, duc, da, cave:
Sus lutulenta fugit, rabidus canis impete saevo,
Et impares plaustro boves.
Nec prodest penetrale domus et operta subire;
Per tecta clamores meant."

'Purae' means unobstructed. ['Purae . . . nihil ut:' 'but you will say the roads are clear enough to present no obstacle.' See Ep. xvi. 31, 'mirus . . . ut.']

72. *redemptor*] See C. ii. 18. 18 n.; iii. 1. 35 n. 'Calidus' only strengthens 'festinat,' he is in hot haste: the substantives are in the ablative, 'cum' being omitted.

73. *machina*] Probably a pully raising a large stone or beam for the upper part of a building, and swinging it over the heads of the passengers. As to 'funera,' see S. i. 6. 43 n.

[76.] 'I nunc:' Epp. i. 6. 17.]

77. *amat nemus*] See C. i. 1. 30 n. Compare Juvenal (vii. 53 sqq.):

"Sed vatem egregium, cui non sit publica vena—

Rite cliens Bacchi somno gaudentis et umbra:
Tu me inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos
Vis canere et contracta sequi vestigia vatum?
Ingenium sibi quod vacuas desumpsit Athenas,
Et studiis annos septem dedit insenuitque
Libris et curis, statua taciturnius exit
Plerumque et risu populum quatit; hic ego rerum
Fluctibus in mediis et tempestatibus urbis
Verba lyrae motura sonum connectere digner?
Frater erat Romae consulti rhetor, ut alter
Alterius sermone meros audiret honores,
Gracchus ut hic illi, foret huic ut Mucius ille.

Anxietate carens animus facit, omnis acerbi
Impatiens, cupidus silvarum, aptusque bibendis
Fontibus Aonidum."

[There is a reading 'urbes,' which Ritter has. 'Urbem' means Rome.]

80. *contracta sequi vestigia*] Some of the best MSS. have 'contacta,' which Comm. Cruq. reading interprets "hoc est vis me aliena dicere: nam contacta pro detritis et divulgatis dixit; et ita vis me scribere ut ad vates antiquos accedam proxime." It is not easy to get all this out of 'contacta.' I think the other is the true reading, and that it means that the road to fame is not what we call a royal road; that the poets walk in a path narrowed by fixed rules; and that it requires thought and diligence to tread in their steps, as Propertius says (iii. 1. 14): "Non datur ad Musas currere lata via." Bentley, with no authority, substitutes, 'non tacta.'

81. *vacuas desumpsit Athenas*] See Epp. i. 7. 45 n. for 'vacuas.' Horace says the man who has retired to study, as he had done at Athens, and has shut himself up for several years, and grown dull over his books and his meditations, cannot open his lips when he comes to Rome, and is only laughed at by the people for his sobriety. This is an odd defence for one who had written so much as he had done at Rome. It is meant for a joke. 'Septem annos' is not to be taken literally, as if Horace had been seven years at Athens, which is very improbable. He was only twenty-two when he joined Brutus, A.U.C. 711.

[83. *statua taciturnius*] Comp. S. ii. 5. 40.]

87. *Frater erat Romae*] Who these brothers were Horace does not tell us, and it does not matter. One was a jurisconsultus (S. i. 1. 9 n.) and the other a teacher of rhetoric. The lawyer said the rhetorician was a perfect Gracchus for eloquence, and he returned the compliment by declaring that his brother was a second Scaevola for legal learning. And this sort of mutual flattery goes on Horace says among poets, and he cannot keep pace with their passion for praise. Tiberius Gracchus and his brother Caius were both in Cicero's opinion great orators. We need not therefore attempt to decide to which of them Horace alludes. Q. Mucius Scaevola the augur, son-in-law of C. Laelius, and an early instructor of Cicero (Lael. c. 1), was learned in the law; but his namesake and younger contemporary, the Pontifex Maximus, was more celebrated still. Cicero (de Orat. i. 39) calls him "homo omnium et disciplina juris civilis eruditissimus et ingenio prudentiaque acutissimus, et oratione maxime limatus atque subtilis, atque ut ego soleo dicere juris peritorum eloquentissimus, eloquentium juris peritissimus." This name therefore, like that of Gracchus for oratory, stands for a consummate jurist. [Cicero may allude to P. Mucius Scaevola, consul B.C. 133.]

[— *ut alter*] Krüger compares 'dives ut metiretur nummos' (S. i. 1. 95 n.) with 'Frater erat . . . ut,' and there is no other explanation: 'an orator a brother of a lawyer, and so brotherly that each in the other's talk received nothing but compliments.' 'Frater' in fact in this confused construction serves two purposes.]

88. *meros audiret honores*] Compare (Epp. i. 7. 84) "vineta crepat mera."

89. *foret huic ut Mucius ille*] There does not appear to be any extant MS. with this reading. Fea mentions two editions

Qui minus argutos vexat furor iste poëtas?
Carmina compono, hic elegos. "Mirabile visu
Caelatumque novem Musis opus!" Adspice primum
Quanto cum fastu, quanto molimine circum-
Spectemus vacuam Romanis vatibus aedem!
Mox etiam, si forte vacas, sequere et procul audi,
Quid ferat et quare sibi nectat uterque coronam.
Caedimur et totidem plagis consumimus hostem
Lento Samnites ad lumina prima duello.
Discedo Alcaeus puncto illius; ille meo quis?
Quis nisi Callimachus? Si plus adposcere visus,
Fit Mimnermus et optivo cognomine crescit.
Multa fero ut placem genus irritabile vatum,
Cum scribo et supplex populi suffragia capto;
Idem, finitis studiis et mente recepta,
Obturem patulas impune legentibus aures.

of 1516 and 1520, by Giovanni Britannico which have it. Lambinus has it, and says nothing of the other reading ('foret hic ut Mucius illi'), "quem tamen vel duo vel nemo secutus est" (Bentley); "immo ita extat in quadraginta editionibus Lambini-ana recentioribus" (Cunningham Animadv. p. 77). But I cannot discover that any editions have it between Lambinus and Bentley. Since Bentley nearly all editors have 'huic ut Mucius ille.' This is probably the true reading: at least the other is uncouth and unusual: but how this should have got into all the known MSS., and nearly every edition, I do not understand. [Ritter has 'hic ut Mucius illi.']

90. *argutos*] Compare C. iv. 6. 25: "Doctor argutae fidicen Thaliae." It means melodious, and is a sort of mock compliment.

92. *Caelatumque novem Musis opus*] It is likened to a perfect piece of carved work in which all the Muses had a hand. Bentley has invented 'sacratum.'

93. *quanto molimine*] This expresses the pompous strut with which they pass the library of Apollo, in which they take it for granted a place is reserved for them. As to 'aedem,' see S. i. 10. 38.

95. *procul*] This word signifies any distance, great or small. Here it means hard by, as in S. ii. 6. 105; Epp. i. 7. 32. 'Quid ferat' means what each has to say.

97. *Caedimur et totidem plagis*] They carry on such a contest of mutual flattery, that they are like two gladiators, each trying to get the better of the other. 'Samnites' were a particular class of gladiators, so called because they wore the same arms as that people, particularly an oblong shield. See S. ii. 6. 44 n. 'Ad lumina prima' would be usually till the second course, when the lights were brought in. Among the amusements that rich men had at their dinners were gladiators who fought with blunt weapons; and here the contest is said to be protracted ('lento') till the lights came in. It was a long trial of skill. [Livy, ix. 40.]

99. *puncto illius*] 'In his judgment or by his vote.' When an election took place, there were certain persons called 'custodes' appointed to take the votes and prick off the number given for each candidate. From this process votes came to be called 'puncta.' See A. P. 343 n.

101. *Fit Mimnermus*] See Epp. i. 6. 65 n. Horace seems to think him superior to Callimachus, who, Quintilian on the other hand says, "elegiae princeps habetur" (x. 1. 58). He was a grammarian, a voluminous prose writer and a poet, a native of Cyrene, and established at Alexandria in the reigns of the Ptolemies, Philadelphus and Euergetes, in the third century B.C.

— *optivo*] This word, signifying 'desired,' does not occur elsewhere. But it was applied in later times to those 'tutores' "qui ex optione sumerentur" (Epp. i. 1. 21 n.; and Gaius, i. 154).

105. *impune legentibus*] He says when he has done writing and recovered his senses (which was the same thing), he

Ridentur mala qui componunt carmina; verum
Gaudent scribentes et se venerantur, et ultro,
Si taceas, laudant quidquid scripsere beati.
At qui legitimum cupiet fecisse poëma
Cum tabulis animum censoris sumet honesti;
Audebit quaecunque parum splendoris habebunt
Et sine pondere erunt et honore indigna ferentur
Verba movere loco, quamvis invita recedant
Et versentur adhuc intra penetralia Vestae.
Obscurata diu populo bonus eruet atque
Proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum,
Quae priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis
Nunc situs informis premit et deserta vetustas;
Adsciscet nova quae genitor produxerit usus.
Vehemens et liquidus puroque simillimus amni
Fundet opes Latiumque beabit divite lingua;
Luxuriantia compescet, nimis aspera sano

should stop his ears, and they might recite without fear of reprisals. Compare "nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor," Epp. i. 19. 39 n.

[107. *et ultro*] 'And further; they praise whatever they have written, lucky fellows;' that is self-satisfied.]

113. *Verba movere loco*] The notion of the censor is kept up. S. i. 6. 20 n.

114. *Et versentur adhuc*] This is a way of saying that the verses, though they may be expunged, still are kept in the author's desk, because he has a regard for them and cannot make up his mind to destroy them. Porphyrion explains 'penetralia Vestae' thus: "Id est, domi; per quam metaphoram ostendit, quae in animo nostro fixa versentur, tamen excludenda esse." The sanctuary of Vesta could only be entered by her own priestesses.

116. *speciosa vocabula rerum*] 'Expressive terms;' words which make themselves intelligible at once: "quae prima specie probantur" (Forcell.). So in A. P. 319 a play is said to be 'speciosa locis,' that is 'plain in its points,' its common-places or sentiments clearly put.

117. *Catonibus atque Cethegis*] As to the use of the plural see S. i. 7. 8 n. M. Porcius Cato Censorius was born about A.U.C. 520, and was therefore contemporary with Ennius, with whom he is associated, A. P. 56, as successfully importing new words into the language. Fragments remain of his treatise de Re Rustica, embracing a variety of instructions on husbandry and subjects connected with domestic economy; and of his Origines, an account of the early history of Italy. There are also fragments of his numerous orations, which Cicero appears to have studied (Brutus, c. 17). He had the highest opinion of Cato, and complains that he was not studied enough even in his day, adding "refertae sunt orationes et verbis et rebus illustribus—omnes oratoriae virtutes in eis reperientur. Jam vero Origines ejus quem florem aut quod lumen eloquentiae non habent?" M. Cornelius Cethegus was older than Cato, since he was curule ædile when Cato was no more than twenty. His eloquence was such that Ennius called Cethegus "Suadae medulla, orator suaviloquenti ore" (Cic. Brut. c. 15; Cat. Maj. c. 14; see Epp. i. 6. 38 n.). But it does not appear that any of his orations were extant in Cicero's time, for he only mentions them on the authority of Ennius who had heard him speak. His reputation was sufficient at the time Horace wrote for him to name him twice as an authority on the language (A. P. 50 n.).

119. *quae genitor produxerit usus*] 'Usus' is 'custom,' which has always been the parent of novelties in language. Compare A. P. 70.

120. *Vehemens*] The two first syllables are pronounced as one. S. i. 5. 67: "Nihilo deterius dominae jus esse." [Ritter and Krüger write 'vemens.']

Levabit cultu, virtute carentia tollet,
Ludentis speciem dabit et torquebitur, ut qui
Nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur.
Praetulerim scriptor delirus inersque videri,
Dum mea delectent mala me vel denique fallant,
Quam sapere et ringi. Fuit haud ignobilis Argis,
Qui se credebat miros audire tragoedos,
In vacuo laetus sessor plausorque theatro;
Caetera qui vitae servaret munia recto
More, bonus sane vicinus, amabilis hospes,
Comis in uxorem, posset qui ignoscere servis
Et signo laeso non insanire lagenae,
Posset qui rupem et puteum vitare patentem.
Hic ubi cognatorum opibus curisque refectus
Expulit elleboro morbum bilemque meraco
Et redit ad sese: "Pol me occidistis, amici,
Non servastis," ait, "cui sic extorta voluptas
Et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error."
Nimirum sapere est abjectis utile nugis,
Et tempestivum pueris concedere ludum;

123. *virtute carentia tollet*] Dillenb. and Orelli interpret 'tollet' as 'extollet,' like Quintilian's "premere tumentia, humilia extollere" (x. 4. 1): and Cicero (de Orat. iii. 26): "Summa laus eloquentiae est amplificare rem ornando, quod valet non solum ad augendum aliquid et tollendum altius dicendo, sed etiam ad extenuandum et abjiciendum." In these passages there is no ambiguity in the word. In the text I think if Horace had meant what these commentators suppose, he would have expressed it more plainly. The words mean 'he will remove what lacks merit.' He will work hard (torquebitur) to produce a result which shall appear playful and easy, the turns being as easy as those of the 'mimus,' who dances either the light measure of the nimble Satyr or the clumsy dance of the Cyclops (on which see S. i. 5. 63 n.). The poet's art is to conceal his art, and to make that appear easy which has cost him trouble.

126. *Praetulerim scriptor*] This is supposed to be the remark of one who would be a poet without the necessary trouble. He would rather be pleased with his own bad verses, even though he might be deceiving himself, than be so learned and be perpetually vexed with himself. 'Ringi' is properly applied to the grinning of a dog when it snarls.

128. *Fuit haud ignobilis Argis*] Sir Henry Halford furnishes a parallel story (Essays, p. 61): "One case, that of the gentleman of Argos, whose delusion led him to suppose that he was attending the representation of a play as he sat in his bed-chamber, is so exact, that I saw a person of exalted rank (George III.) under those very circumstances of delusion, and heard him call upon Mr. Garrick to exert himself in the performance of Hamlet."

131. *Caetera qui vitae servaret*] 'Though he observed all the other duties of life.'

134. *Et signo laeso*] The 'amphorae' or 'lagenae' were sealed with the owner's seal when they were filled. Horace says that the man was not one who would be furious if he found the slaves had opened a 'lagena' and drunk the contents. See C. iii. 8. 11, 12.

135. *puteum vitare patentem*] Wells were usually surrounded with a wall ('puteal') two or three feet high.

136. *cognatorum*] See S. ii. 3. 217 n., and as to 'elleborum' see v. 83 of that Satire. [Opibus: see Epp. i. 10. 36.] 'Meracus' is generally applied only to wine. Persius (iv. 16) also applies it to hellebore: "Anticyras melior sorbere meracas."

Ac non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis,
Sed verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitae.
Quocirca mecum loquor haec tacitusque recordor:
"Si tibi nulla sitim finiret copia lymphae,
Narrares medicis; quod quanto plura parasti
Tanto plura cupis, nulline faterier audes?
Si vulnus tibi monstrata radice vel herba
Non fieret levius, fugeres radice vel herba
Proficiente nihil curarier. Audieras, cui
Rem di donarent illi decedere pravam
Stultitiam; et cum sis nihilo sapientior ex quo
Plenior es, tamen uteris monitoribus isdem?
At si divitiae prudentem reddere possent,
Si cupidum timidumque minus te, nempe ruberes
Viveret in terris te si quis avarior uno.
Si proprium est quod quis libra mercatur et aere,
Quaedam, si credis consultis, mancipat usus;
Qui te pascit ager tuus est, et villicus Orbi,
Cum segetes occat tibi mox frumenta daturas,
Te dominum sentit. Das nummos, accipis uvam,
Pullos, ova, cadum temeti: nempe modo isto

[151. *Audieras, cui* &c.] 'You had heard, I suppose, that if the gods gave a man wealth, perverse folly quitted him;' and you find by experience that it is not so.]

[157. *uno*] 'Than you especially,' 'you of all others.']

158. *quod quis libra mercatur et aere*] The mode of sale 'per aes et libram' is described by Gaius (i. 119). A third person held a pair of scales ('libra') which the purchaser touched with a piece of money, at the same time laying his hand on the thing purchased. According to a set form of words he claimed the thing as his own, and handed the money to the seller as a token of the sum agreed upon. This form of purchase was called 'mancipatio.' The seller was said 'mancipio dare' (to which 'mancipare' in this place is equivalent), and the purchaser was said 'mancipio accipere.' When property of the nature of 'res mancipii' came into a man's possession without the regular forms of 'mancipatio' or 'in jure cessio' (both of which are explained in the Dict. of Antiquities), he was not owner 'ex jure Quiritium' until he became so by 'usucapio,' that is, by having been in possession for a certain time, varying according as the things were 'res mancipi' or not. If no one claimed ownership in it before the expiration of that time, he who had it became owner, as much as if he had received it by 'mancipatio.' Hence 'usus' is said 'mancipare,' because the effect is the same whether a man 'possidendo usucapiat' or 'mancipio accipit.' Before 'quaedam' 'si' must be supplied again. ['Consultis:' S. i. 1. 9.]

160. *villicus Orbi*] Orbius is any body who had land and sold the produce. As to 'villicus' see Epp. i. 14. 1 n.

161. *Cum segetes occat*] Cicero says (Cat. Maj. c. 15): "quae (terra) cum gremio mollito ac subacto sparsum semen excepit, primum id occoecatum cohibet, ex quo occatio quae hoc efficit nominata est." This is a bad attempt at etymology. The place which this process of harrowing had in the year's work is marked in a passage of Plautus (Capt. iii. 5. 3 sqq.), where Hegio calls Tyndarus—

"Sator sartorque scelerum et messor maxume;"

and he answers:

"Non occatorem dicere audebas prius?
Nam semper occant prius quam sarriunt rustici."

'Sarrire' is 'to weed.'

163. *cadum temeti*] 'Temetum' is an

Paulatim mercaris agrum fortasse trecentis
Aut etiam supra nummorum millibus emptum.
Quid refert vivas numerato nuper an olim?
Emptor Aricini quondam Veientis et arvi
Emptum coenat olus, quamvis aliter putat; emptis
Sub noctem gelidam lignis calefactat aënum;
Sed vocat usque suum qua populus adsita certis

old word, signifying 'wine.' "Qui de victu atque cultu populi Romani scripserunt mulieres Romae atque in Latio aetatem abstemias egisse, hoc est vino semper, quod temetum prisca lingua appellatur, abstinuisse dicunt" (Gell. x. 23). Hence Cicero says: "carent temeto omnes mulieres," though the word was probably not common in his day. Plautus uses it, and Juvenal.

164. *trecentis—nummorum millibus*] 'Three hundred sestertia.' Taking the value of the 'sestertium' at 8*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.*, this sum would be 2656*l.* 5*s.* of our money.

167. *Emptor Aricini quondam*] The MSS. have different readings, 'quoniam,' 'quondam,' 'quando,' 'cum jam,' of which the first appears to have most authority from MSS. All those of Cruquius, Torrentius, and Orelli, have 'quoniam,' and some of Fea's. The old editions, as far as I have seen, all have 'quondam' (Ven. 1483, 'condam'), and that is the reading generally received. 'Emptor quondam,' as Orelli says, is equivalent to 'is qui quondam emit.' As to Aricia see S. i. 5. 1 n. Veii, the town which was taken by Camillus, had long ceased to exist. (See Lucan. vii. 392, quoted on Epp. i. 11. 6, and Propert. iv. 10. 27 sqq.) It had been replaced (whether on the same site or not is uncertain) by a new city, which when Horace wrote was almost in ruins, having suffered in the late civil wars. C. Julius Caesar divided its lands among his soldiers. In the year A.D. 1811, on the eastern side of a hill in the neighbourhood of the place now called Isola Farnese, eleven miles north of Rome, there were discovered the remains of this town, columns, and indications of large buildings and temples, with marble statues of Augustus, Tiberius, Germanicus, and others, and several public and private inscriptions, from which Fea quotes "MVNICIPES. MVNICIPI. AVGVSTI. VEIENTIS. INTRAMVRANI." From this it may be inferred that the restoration of the town was due to Augustus. ['Sub noctem:' see Epod. ii. 44 n.]

170. *qua populus adsitā certis limitibus*] 'Usque' in this verse is an adverb of place, not of time. It means 'all the way up to where the poplar stands.' The Roman term 'limitatio' properly implied a religious ceremony by which in earlier times the augurs, in the times of the emperors officers called 'Agrimensores,' marked off lands assigned in perpetuity by the state to private persons. The process by which this 'limitatio' was effected is described by Niebuhr very elaborately in the two appendixes to the second volume of his Roman History. "Every field which the republic separated from the common domain was marked out by boundaries. No separation could take place without such a demarcation; and wherever there were any traces of the latter, although particular estates within the region subjected to it might still be part of the domain, it was yet a certain proof that such a separation had taken place." "The principle of the Roman 'limitatio' was to draw lines toward the four quarters of the heavens parallel and crosswise, in order to effect a uniform division of the lots of land which were transferred from the public domain to private property, and to fix immutable boundaries for them. Hence these boundaries ('limites') were marked by a slip of land left for the purpose untouched by cultivation, as balks or ways, as their extremities were by a row of stones inscribed with numerals" (p. 624). Niebuhr conjectures "that a fundus assigned by the state was considered as one entire farm, as a whole the limits of which could not be changed." But though this should be true, and though each fundus as a whole might bear the name of the first grantee, "this did not preclude the division of estates, nor even the sale of duodecimal parts of them; but the original boundaries circumscribed them as one integral whole, and all the parts were pledged for the conditions of the first assignment." "Hence the termini comportionales" (p. 633). These are such 'termini' or conventional boundaries as Horace here refers to: a stone perhaps or an image of the god Terminus, with a tree or a clump planted near

Limitibus vicina refugit jurgia; tamquam
Sit proprium quidquam, puncto quod mobilis horae
Nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc vi, nunc morte suprema
Permutet dominos et cedat in altera jura.
Sic quia perpetuus nulli datur usus, et heres
Heredem alterius velut unda supervenit undam,
Quid vici prosunt aut horrea? quidve Calabris
Saltibus adjecti Lucani, si metit Orcus
Grandia cum parvis non exorabilis auro?
Gemmas, marmor, ebur, Tyrrhena sigilla, tabellas,
Argentum, vestes Gaetulo murice tinctas,
Sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curat habere.
Cur alter fratrum cessare et ludere et ungi
Praeferat Herodis palmetis pinguibus, alter

it. But there were many different kinds of private boundaries. Cicero (pro Caecina, c. 8) mentions a row of olives. "Finis enim multis documentis servabitur, terminibus et arboribus notatis, et fossis, et viis, et rivis, et vepribus, et saepe normalibus, et ut comperi aliquibus locis inter arva marginibus quibusdam tanquam pulvinis, saepe etiam limitibus, item petris notatis; quae in finibus sunt pro terminis habebitis" (quoted from Aggenus Urbicus by Torrentius, who also refers to Varro, de Re Rust. i. 15: "Praeterea sine saeptis fines praedii sationis notis arborum tutiores fiunt, ne familiae rixentur cum vicinis ac limites ex litibus judicem quaerant"); and to Virgil, Ecl. ix. 7. The quotation from Varro explains 'vicina refugit jurgia,' where Bentley, with little authority, reads 'refigit:' "cum non unam aliquam litem sed plurative 'jurgia' dixerit," which is just what the aoristic use of the perfect tense expresses. [See Gromatici Veteres, p. 12. ed. Lachmann.]

[173. *Nunc prece*] 'Prece' may refer to that which one man gives to another; and a gift is a sufficient title to a thing, if the giver has full legal capacity, and there is no fraud in the matter. 'Pretio,' of course, means the title by purchase. 'Vi' is possession by force, which gives no title. We read of forcible occupation frequently in country places. 'Morte' means the title which a man obtains by the testament and death of a testator, or by the death and intestacy of an owner, added to the kinship of him who claims as heres. Horace has however rather confused the matter. In the doctrine of possession there are three illegal modes of obtaining possession, and Horace has enumerated two. See Terence, Eunuch. ii. 3. 27. Savigny, Das Recht des Besitzes, p. 6.—'Cedat &c.:' 'pass into another man's ownership.' Comp. Tacit. Annal. i. 1, 'Lepidi . . . . arma in Augustum cessere.']

177. *Quid vici prosunt*] 'Vicus' is used for any collection of houses. 'Vicus urbanus' was a street in the city; 'vicus rusticus,' a village. Here it appears to mean a villa with the adjoining cottages. 'Vites' has been substituted by some, in answer to which Torrentius quotes Cicero (ad Att. i. 4. 3): "Supero Crassum divitiis atque omnium vicos et prata contemno." [Comp. S. i. 9. 13: "vicos, urbem laudaret."]

— *Calabris saltibus adjecti Lucani*] 'Saltus' expresses 'pastures,' wooded or otherwise, on hills or in valleys and plains. Those of Calabria were low and without wood; those of Lucania were among the hills. See Epod. i. 27 n.

180. *Tyrrhena sigilla*] Small images of the gods, of Etrurian workmanship, in bronze, which Niebuhr says (i. 133), "is the material of all the master-pieces that shed lustre on Etruscan art."

181. *Gaetulo murice*] See C. ii. 16. 35 n.

182. *Sunt qui non habeant*] See C. i. 1. 3 n. ['Est qui:' 'the wise man;' or Horace may mean himself, as Krüger suggests. 'Importunus:' 'restless.']

184. *Herodis palmetis pinguibus*] Herod the Great derived a large revenue from the woods of palm which abounded in Judaea. They were most thickly planted about Jericho and on the banks of the Jordan. The date-palm is that which most abounded there.

Dives et importunus ad umbram lucis ab ortu
Silvestrem flammis et ferro mitiget agrum,
Scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,
Naturae deus humanae, mortalis in unum
Quodque caput, vultu mutabilis, albus et ater.
Utar et ex modico quantum res poscet acervo
Tollam, nec metuam quid de me judicet heres,
Quod non plura datis invenerit; et tamen idem
Scire volam quantum simplex hilarisque nepoti
Discrepet et quantum discordet parcus avaro.
Distat enim spargas tua prodigus an neque sumptum
Invitus facias neque plura parare labores,
Ac potius, puer ut festis Quinquatribus olim,
Exiguo gratoque fruaris tempore raptim.
Pauperies immunda *domus* procul absit: ego, utrum
Nave ferar magna an parva, ferar unus et idem.
Non agimur tumidis velis aquilone secundo;
Non tamen adversis aetatem ducimus austris,
Viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re,
Extremi primorum, extremis usque priores.
Non es avarus: abi; quid, caetera jam simul isto

187. *Scit Genius*] Epp. i. 7. 94 n. 'Albus et ater,' 'cheerful and gloomy.'

192. *Quod non plura datis*] 'Because he finds that I have not left him more:' lit. 'because he finds not more than what I have left him;' in short, he gets less than he expected.

193. *simplex hilarisque*] 'A guileless, cheerful man,' and so liberal. He says he is anxious to learn the difference between such a one and a prodigal, and between the thrifty and covetous, and of course to act the part of the former of the two in either case. 'Plura' means 'more than enough.' ['Scire volam:' 'I will try to learn.']

197. *festis Quinquatribus olim*] The Quinquatria or Quinquatrus was a festival in honour of Minerva held on the 19th of March. Ovid (Fast. iii. 809) says the name is taken from the duration of the feast, five days. Other etymologies have been given (see Dict. Ant.). Ovid also says it was in honour of Minerva's birthday. Boys had holidays during this festival, that they might pay their devotions to Minerva, the goddess of learning. Hence Juvenal, speaking of the eagerness with which people sought the reputation of eloquence, says (x. 114 sqq.):

"Eloquium et famam Demosthenis aut Ciceronis
Incipit optare, et totis Quinquatribus optat,
Quisquis adhuc uno partam colit asse Minervam;"

that is, the school-boy prays Minerva at the Quinquatria to make him eloquent. At that time it was usual for the boys to make a present to their masters of an as each. (See S. i. 6. 75 n.) "Minervae munus quod Grammaticus et Rhetor in sumptus domesticos aut in templi stipem aut sordidum convertebat lucrum" (Hieronymus Comm. on St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, quoted by Burmann on Ovid, Fast. iii. 829). Tertullian (de Idololatria, Burm. ib) says it was usual for the masters to dedicate the first fee they got from new scholars to Minerva at the Quinquatria.

199. *Pauperies immunda domus*] 'Domus' is omitted and an imperfect verse given in some MSS. The best MSS. vary, and the commentators seem agreed to give it up without being able to find out what Horace really wrote. (See C. iv. 6. 17 n.) Bentley repeats 'procul' on the authority of one MS.

205. *Non es avarus: abi*] 'You are no

Cum vitio fugere? Caret tibi pectus inani
Ambitione? Caret mortis formidine et ira?
Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessala rides?
Natales grate numeras? Ignoscis amicis?
Lenior et melior fis accedente senecta?
Quid te exempta levat spinis de pluribus una?
Vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis.
Lusisti satis, edisti satis atque bibisti:
Tempus abire tibi est, ne potum largius aequo
Rideat et pulset lasciva decentius aetas."

miser: go to; what, do all your faults vanish with that?' ['Abi:' literally, 'go away;' 'all well.' Ter. Ad. iv. 2. 25.]

209. *Nocturnos lemures*] The belief in ghosts was as common with the ancients as with the superstitious among ourselves. The spirits of the dead were worshipped as Manes, Lares, Lemures, and Larvae. Under the two former names were recognized the spirits of the good; the other two represented cruel spirits which terrify and torment the living. As to Lemures, see Epp. ii. 1. 138 n. A festival called Lemuria or Remuria, said to have been established by Romulus to appease the spirit of his brother, was celebrated for three days in the month of May. The Thessalians had the credit of extraordinary power in magic and drugs. (C. i. 27. 21 Epod. v. 45.)

210. *Natales grate numeras*] 'Are you happy when you count up your birth-days?' that is, are you content to see yourself advancing in life and drawing near the end of it?' As to 'natales' see S. ii. 2. 60 n.; C. iv. 11. 8 n. ['Levat:' 'juvat,' Ritter.]

213. *decede peritis*] 'If you do not know how to live properly, go off the stage and give place to those that do.'

216. *lasciva decentius aetas*] 'A time of life which may be wanton with less indecency;' that is, youth, to which it is more natural.

Q. HORATII FLACCI

DE ARTE POETICA

LIBER.

THERE is no sufficient internal evidence of the time when this poem was written or of the persons to whom it is addressed. They are three in number, a father and two sons. Porphyrion and Comm. Cruq. say that the father is L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, who was Praefectus Urbi under Tiberius (Tac. Ann. vi. 10). If this be so, as he was born in A.U.C. 705, and had at this time a son verging at least on manhood (for to no other would this sort of instruction be addressed; see v. 366), the poem must have been written very shortly before the death of Horace, A.U.C. 746. Orelli and Kirchner, and many others, take this view of the date. Estré, Franke, and many before them, put it earlier, and in that case a different Piso must be assumed. The person supposed by the advocates of an earlier date is Cn. Calpurnius Piso, who belonged to the party of Brutus and Cassius, and fought together with Horace at Philippi. He had a son who was consul A.U.C. 747, and if he was the youth referred to, the Ars Poetica must have been written a good many years before. But the question is one it is impossible to decide, and nothing turns upon it for the understanding of the poem, which, like many others, might be addressed to any body; though I do not agree with those who suppose Horace had no particular persons in mind. The Pisones above referred to are numbered 8, 22, 23, in the Dict. Biog.

As to the purpose of the poem I have tried to help the reader in judging for himself by a careful division of the Argument. It will be seen that the rules are miscellaneous and have little or no method, and that the history of Poetry which Horace gives is more fanciful than real. It is impossible to look upon it as a finished poem. We are carried from precept to history, and from one sort of poetry to another without warning; and though a general connexion may be traced between the principles of one kind and those of another, no pains are taken to separate the rules that belong to each. The rules and history of the Drama are chiefly dwelt upon, with what particular bearing upon Roman poetry it is not easy to see. Much that is said can have no reference to it at all, and could afford no instruction to a Roman. The observations on this subject are interrupted now and then by irrelevant observations, and on the whole there can be little doubt either that the Ars Poetica was published after Horace's death, out of fragments clumsily put together, or that he published it himself in this careless way from that habitual indolence which prevented his ever producing a complete work of any length, and which is seen in the abruptness with which several of his pieces are brought to a close. Attempts have been made to re-arrange the materials so as to form a perfect whole, but the means of doing so do not exist. The place now invariably assigned to the Ars Poetica was first given it by H. Stephens. In the MSS. and earlier editions it is inserted before the Satires. Some editors treat it as a

third Epistle belonging to the second book. But it was looked upon as a separate treatise at least as early as Quintilian, who quotes the first verse as that which Horace wrote "in prima parte libri de Arte Poetica" (viii. 3. 60). The early grammarians all treat it in the same way and call it by the same name.

ARGUMENT.

Ridiculous as a monstrous picture, combining the head of a woman with a body made up of beast, fowl, and fish, is that poem of which the images are thrown together like a sick man's dream, whose beginning and end have no connexion.

But poets and painters may take what liberties they please.

Granted, within bounds; but not that they should breed monsters, or patch up their verses with tawdry images, out of place, like the painter who stuck a cypress in his picture of a wreck. In short, whatever it is, let it be simple and uniform.

(v. 24.) We poets are apt to be misled by some standard of our own. A man tries to be short and becomes obscure; to be smooth and becomes vapid; to be sublime and becomes turgid; to be humble and becomes creeping; to be varied and produces monsters. So in avoiding one error skill is needed lest we fall into the opposite.

(v. 32.) Neither would I be as that artist who could finish better than any one the small details of a statue, but could not compose a whole. Choose your subject according to your strength. So shall you find words and method, the merit of which is that it says every thing at the right time, and chooses its topics with judgment.

(v. 46.) In the choice and introduction of words also care is required, so that old words may get new force from their connexion. You may use new words if necessary, provided you do not exceed, especially if they be taken from the Greek. Why should not we do it as well as the poets of old? Words drop in time like the leaves of the forest: all things must perish; the greatest works of skill must decay, how much more must language? But old words will rise up again if fashion wills, for she is the mistress of speech.

(v. 73.) In the relation of martial deeds Homer led the way. Then elegy came with lamentation and with love, the author of which our critics have not determined. Archilocus was driven by rage to iambics, which the stage adopted. To the lyre they sang of gods and heroes, of fighters and horses, of love and wine.

(v. 86.) Now if I cannot maintain the distinctions of style, how can I be called a poet? Why should I not rather learn? Comedy is not to be expressed in tragic style, nor tragedy in comic, though comedy may sometimes raise her tone and tragedy lower hers. A poem must be not only fair to look at, but sweet and affecting, and must strike the chord of sympathy. And the language must be suited to the character. For there is that in our nature which adapts itself to every variety of circumstance, according as the tongue sets it before us. But if the language and character do not agree, it only creates a laugh.

(v. 119.) Then again you must either follow tradition or let your fictions be consistent. Achilles must be the impetuous stern warrior, Medea the savage mother, and so on. Or if you venture on bringing forward a new character it must be consistent throughout.

(v. 128.) It is not easy to handle subjects which all may handle. One may more easily dramatize the fall of Troy than write a new story entirely. But a man may make common property his own if he does not confine himself to ordinary common-places, or follow his author too literally and tie himself down too much. And you must not begin ostentatiously, or the issue will be only ridiculous, like that of the mountain in labour. How simple is Homer's beginning, "Tell of the man, O Muse," &c. There is no smoke here coming after the flash, but the light grows upon us as we proceed in the shape of beautiful and marvellous tales: he carries us on rapidly to the end,

omits what he cannot adorn, and so puts his fictions together that there is no inconsistency throughout.

(v. 153.) If you want your play to succeed you must study the characters of different ages: your child must be thoughtless and playful; your youth fond of manly sports, open to temptation, intolerant of advice, improvident, aspiring, and fickle; your full-grown man must be cautious, looking for money and friends and advancement; while your old man is surrounded with troubles, avaricious, nervous, cold, procrastinating, slow of hope, sluggish, greedy of life, morose, querulous, commending the former days, a reprover of youth. For fear then of mixing up the different periods of life, we should fix attention upon the characteristics of each.

(v. 179.) The events must either pass upon the stage, or be told after they are over. What is seen makes more impression than what is heard; but still horrors and incredible marvels are not to be transacted on the stage. A play should be in five acts. No god should be brought in without necessity. No fourth person should be allowed to speak. The chorus should second the speakers, and should not sing what is irrelevant. It should favour and counsel the good, calm the passionate, commend temperance, justice, obedience to the laws, and peace; keep secrets and offer prayers to the gods for mercy to the afflicted and vengeance on the tyrant.

(v. 202.) Once the flute was a plain instrument made for the use of the chorus, and not to fill great theatres, as now. But this simple music changed when conquest and luxury mixed up country and town. Then the flute-player strutted on the stage, and the lyre was tuned to solemn sounds, to passionate eloquence, or oracular strains.

(v. 220.) Soon after Tragedy came the Satyric Drama, when fun and gravity were separated, and the spectators in the licence of the hour were treated with fresh jokes and novelties. But in these plays too there must be no inconsistencies, such as a god or hero coming down to tavern-slang or losing himself in fustian. Tragedy should move like a modest and stately matron among the Satyrs. For I would not banish tragic language altogether, so that Silenus the god should talk in the same strain as Davus the slave. I would adopt a familiar style, so that any one should think he could do it as well till he came to try. Fauns must neither talk like city beaux nor use low language, lest they offend the better sort, though the vulgar may applaud.

(v. 251.) A short syllable followed by a long make an iambus, the rapidity of which made the senarius pass for a trimeter. At first all the feet were iambi, till to give more steadiness to the verse spondees were admitted in the uneven feet. Accius and Ennius nearly banished the iambus altogether. This is a blot in them, but it is not every one that can tell good versification from bad. Shall I presume upon this? or shall I write cautiously, as if every fault would be detected? Thus might I escape blame, but should win no praise.

(v. 268.) Take the Greeks for your models and study them.

Why, your fathers used to admire both the rhythm and the wit of Plautus.

Yes, stupidly enough, if we know the difference between coarseness and wit, and can scan a verse.

(v. 276.) Thespis is said to have invented Tragedy, travelling about with his waggon, and his actors smeared with wine lees. Then came Aeschylus with mask, robe, cothurnus, and stage, and taught them to speak grandly. After these the old comedy, which was highly approved, till licence was abused, and the law stepped in and silenced the chorus. Our poets have been bold enough sometimes to quit the Greek and celebrate home tales in tragedy and comedy, and if they were more diligent, Latium would be as mighty in literature as in arms. Oh! my friends, have nothing to say to a poem which does not show marks of care and correction.

(v. 295.) Because genius is above art, and all poets, according to Democritus, are mad, many let their nails and beard grow, affecting madness. Fool that I am to get rid

annually of my bile! I should otherwise be the first of poets. Never mind, I will serve as a whetstone for others, and teach them what a poet should be.

(v. 309.) Philosophy is the foundation of good writing. The books of Socrates and his disciples shall teach you the science and duties of life in all its relations, which he who learns knows how to suit his words to his characters. Also he should study real life, and get living words from this. And sometimes common-places strikingly put commend a play of no great merit more than empty verses and harmonious nonsense.

(v. 323.) The Greeks had genius and eloquence, and loved praise above every thing. Roman boys learn nothing but arithmetic and accounts, and how can we expect them ever to write poetry worth having?

(v. 333.) Poets wish either to profit or to please, or to join both these together. Therefore when you give advice be brief, that the mind may follow and retain your precepts. A full mind scorns superfluities. Also let your fiction be like truth. The elders will not listen to that which is immoral, while the younger will have nothing to do with severe poetry. He then is universally liked who mingles the profitable with the pleasant. His book sells, and his fame is carried into distant lands and times.

(v. 347.) Perfection however must not be expected, and allowance may be made for occasional blots; but he who repeatedly fails in spite of warning is a mere Choerilus to me. I am surprised and am inclined to smile if he has a verse or two that is good, just as I am grieved if Homer now and then nods.

(v. 361.) Poetry is like painting: there is some that bears close inspection, some must be seen at a distance; some bears hearing once, some to be repeated often.

(v. 366.) Mediocrity is tolerable in some things, but not in poetry: if that does not mount to the highest point it sinks to the lowest. Nevertheless, though they do not attempt other things for which they are not qualified, people venture upon poetry who know nothing about it. Of course! are they not freemen and virtuous and well-to-do in the world?

(v. 385.) You are too sensible for this; but if you ever do write, submit your productions to the judgment of your friends, and be in no hurry to publish them. Words once issued cannot be recalled.

(v. 391.) The first poets civilized mankind, so that Orpheus was said to move beasts and Amphion stones with the lyre. The philosophy of the olden time lay in framing institutions and laws, regulating society, building cities; and by promoting these the poets won their fame. Then came Homer and Tyrtaeus urging men to martial deeds; oracles were delivered in verse; and the duties of life were taught; and the favour of princes won; and the husbandman refreshed after his toil: so you need not be ashamed of the lyre.

(v. 408.) It is questioned whether poetry comes by nature or by teaching. I think both must be combined. He who would succeed in poetry, must take great pains while young, and submit to teaching. Leave it then to others to say, 'I am a fine poet; I will not be left behind in the race, or acknowledge that I do not know what I never learnt.'

(v. 419.) The rich poet buys flattery. I should be surprised if such an one could distinguish between a true friend and a liar. If you have made a man a present, or are going to do so, do not invite him to hear your verses. He will be sure to applaud and weep, or laugh or dance with pretended pleasure. Flatterers are like the hired mourners at a funeral, who make more fuss than the friends. But as princes learn men's characters by plying them with wine, so do not you suffer yourself to be deceived. Quintilius would tell you plainly to alter this or that, and if you could not, to strike it out; or if you preferred retaining it he said no more, but left you

in your self-conceit. So every honest man will point out defects of every kind, and never say 'why should I offend my friend in such trifles?' These trifles become serious matters after a man has been laughed at for them.

(v. 453.) A wise man will shun the rapt bard; and if in his fine frenzy he falls into a ditch nobody will take him out. 'Perhaps he went in on purpose,' I should cry, 'like Empedocles, who jumped into Aetna to prove himself a god. Why save one against his will? If you rescue him, he will not become more rational.' For what crime he is suffered to make verses no one can tell; but that he is as mad as a caged bear there is no doubt: he puts men to flight in all directions with his verses; or if he catches one poor wretch, he clings to him like a leech till he has killed him.

HUMANO capiti cervicem pictor equinam
Jungere si velit, et varias inducere plumas
Undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
Desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne,
Spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici?
Credite, Pisones, isti tabulae fore librum
Persimilem cujus, velut aegri somnia, vanae
Fingentur species, ut nec pes nec caput uni
Reddatur formae. Pictoribus atque poëtis
Quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas.
Scimus et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim;
Sed non ut placidis coëant immitia, non ut
Serpentes avibus geminentur, tigribus agni.
Inceptis gravibus plerumque et magna professis
Purpureus, late qui splendeat, unus et alter
Adsuitur pannus, cum lucus et ara Dianae
Et properantis aquae per amoenos ambitus agros,
Aut flumen Rhenum aut pluvius describitur arcus;
Sed nunc non erat his locus. Et fortasse cupressum

1. *Humano capiti*] The picture supposed is monstrous enough; a woman's head and a fish's tail, with a horse's neck, limbs from all manner of beasts, and feathers from all sorts of birds. This portentous medley (invented of course by himself, for we are not bound to suppose he had ever seen a pictorial monster of this kind), Horace considered a good illustration of some of the poetry of his day, in which figures and images were thrown together without order or purpose.

[9. *Reddatur*] 'Referred to.' 'Geminentur' means the same as 'coeant,' 'pair.' 'Plerumque,' S. ii. 5. 55.]

— *Pictoribus atque poëtis*] This is a supposed reply, that painters and poets have always been privileged people, which Horace admits, but within certain limits. They must not outrage common sense, nor should they patch their verses with images which, however pretty, have nothing to do with the matter in hand.

18. *flumen Rhenum*] This is the same form as "Metaurum flumen" (C. iv. 4. 38).

[19. *Sed nunc*] He means, 'these descriptions are out of place;' but he says 'there was no place for them now,' meaning probably at the time when they were used.]

— *fortasse cupressum scis simulare*] The Scholiasts all agree in saying this refers to a Greek proverb, μή τι καὶ κυπαρίσσου θέλεις; the origin of which was an answer given by a bad painter to a shipwrecked sailor, who asked him for a picture of his wreck (see C. i. 5. 12 n.). The man considered himself clever at drawing a cypress, and asked the sailor if he should introduce him one in his picture. [Comp. Juvenal, xiv. 301; Persius, i. 88.]

Scis simulare: quid hoc, si fractis enatat exspes
Navibus aere dato qui pingitur? Amphora coepit
Institui; currente rota cur urceus exit?
Denique sit quidvis simplex dumtaxat et unum.
Maxima pars vatum, pater et juvenes patre digni,
Decipimur specie recti: brevis esse laboro,
Obscurus fio; sectantem levia nervi
Deficiunt animique; professus grandia turget;
Serpit humi tutus nimium timidusque procellae;
Qui variare cupit rem prodigialiter unam,
Delphinum silvis appingit, fluctibus aprum.
In vitium ducit culpae fuga si caret arte.
Aemilium circa ludum faber unus et ungues
Exprimet et molles imitabitur aere capillos,
Infelix operis summa quia ponere totum
Nesciet. Hunc ego me, si quid componere curem,
Non magis esse velim quam naso vivere pravo,
Spectandum nigris oculis nigroque capillo.
Sumite materiam vestris qui scribitis aequam
Viribus et versate diu quid ferre recusent,

21. *Amphora coepit institui*] Of the 'amphora,' 'diota,' 'cadus,' 'testa,' 'lagena' (all which names represent the same kind of vessel for keeping wine, oil, honey, &c.), drawings will be found in the Dict. Ant. It was usually of clay, but sometimes of glass. 'Urceus' was the name for a jug of earthenware or glass, of which specimens of many different shapes have been found at Pompeii. As to the 'rota figularis' and other matters connected with the art of pottery as practised by the ancients, see the Dict. Ant. art. 'Fictile.'

[23. *quidvis*] 'Quodvis,' the reading of the best MSS., Ritter.]

24. *pater et juvenes patre digni*] See Introduction. Most poets are led into error by some standard of correctness that they have set themselves, some rule to which they adhere. One man thinks brevity the right thing, another smoothness of versification, another grandiloquence, another caution, another vanity, and to avoid the opposites of these they run into the excess of them. For 'levia' Bentley reads 'lenia.' 'Prodigialiter' ('monstrously') belongs to 'variare.' [Krüger has 'rem, prodigialiter una Delphinum,' &c.]

32. *Aemilium circa ludum*] This illustrates the case of those who can invent details, but cannot compose an entire poem. Porphyrion says: 'Aemilii Lepidi ludus gladiatorius fuit, quod nunc Polycleti balneum est.' The reading of nearly all the MSS. and all the editions till Bentley's and that of the Scholiasts was 'faber imus.' [Ritter has 'faber imus.'] Acron makes 'Imus' the name of the 'aerarius,' while Porphyrion says it means the farthest corner of the 'ludus,' which is inconsistent with 'circa.' 'Imus' has no meaning, and Bentley has done well to restore 'unus' in the sense it bears in S. i. 10. 42, "unus vivorum Fundani;" ii. 3. 24, "mercarier unus Cum lucro noram;" 6. 57 n., "unum Scilicet egregii mortalem altique silenti." Bentley, Orelli, and Fea quote a few MSS. in favour of 'unus,' and the verse is quoted with that word by John of Salisbury in the preface to his Policraticus or Nugae Curialium (vi.). 'Imus' and 'unus' have been confounded in another place (S. i. 4. 87). In an uncial MS. VNVS might easily be mistaken for IMVS.

38. *Sumite materiam*] The next consideration is the choice of a subject, which should be well weighed with reference to the powers of the writer ('potenter,' κατὰ δύναμιν).

Quid valeant humeri. Cui lecta potenter erit res,
Nec facundia deseret hunc nec lucidus ordo.
Ordinis haec virtus erit et venus, aut ego fallor,
Ut jam nunc dicat jam nunc debentia dici,
Pleraque differat et praesens in tempus omittat;
Hoc amet, hoc spernat promissi carminis auctor.
In verbis etiam tenuis cautusque serendis,
Dixeris egregie notum si callida verbum
Reddiderit junctura novum. Si forte necesse est
Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,
Fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis
Continget, dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter;
Et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem si
Graeco fonte cadent, parce detorta. Quid autem
Caecilio Plautoque dabit Romanus ademptum
Virgilio Varioque? Ego cur acquirere pauca

42. *Ordinis haec virtus*] Having said that if a man chooses his subject well he will be at no loss to arrange his poem, Horace proceeds to explain what arrangement consists in, which is, saying every thing in its right place and time.

45. *promissi carminis*] A poem he is known to have in hand, and which the public are expecting. [Or, what is promised in the beginning of the poem, as Krüger says.]

[45, 46.] 'In verbis . . . serendis, hoc amet . . . auctor.' Krüger; and Ritter, who says, 'Fallitur Bentleius qui versum 45 post 46 transposuit.']

46. *tenuis cautusque serendis*] 'Judicious and careful in planting his words.' 'Tenuis' signifies a nice discernment. The use of words is the next point noticed, skill in giving by its connexion new force to an old word, or in the introduction of new terms sometimes borrowed from the Greek, for the fashion of words is conventional and liable to change.

49. *Indiciis*] Acron says, "indicia rerum verba sunt, secundum philosophos." As to 'abdita rerum' see C. iv. 12. 19 n., and add 'fictis rerum' (S. ii. 8. 83), 'vilia rerum' (Epp. i. 17. 21). As to Cethegis see Epp. ii. 2. 117 n. 'Cinctutus' Forcellini explains as wearing the 'cinctus,' which he describes as a garment covering the body from the breast downwards, without sleeves, and worn instead of a tunic. Ovid speaks of the attendants on Pan as 'cinctuti' (Fast. v. 101): "Semicaper coleris cinctutis, Faune, Lupercis." It appears therefore to mean one that is only girt about the lower part of his body, having the arms free from the encumbrance of the tunic sleeves. This is referred to in "exsertique manus vesana Cethegi" (Lucan ii. 543), and "Ipse (Cethegus) humero exsertus gentili more parentum" (Silius viii. 585).

54. *Caecilio Plautoque*] See Epp. ii. 1. 59, 170. As to 'Romanus' see C. iii. 6. 2 n. 'Virgilio Varioque,' S. i. 5. 40 n. (That they were alive at this time is quite an unnecessary assumption.) 'Catonis et Enni,' Epp. ii. 2. 117 n.

55. *Ego cur*] The words which Horace appears to have used for the first time have been observed in the course of these notes. Some of those which do not appear in any other author are mentioned on C. iii. 11. 10. To these add 'detestatus' in the sense of 'detested' (C. i. 1. 25), 'emiror' (C. i. 5. 8), 'irruptus' (C. i. 13. 18), 'aesculetum' (C. i. 22. 14), 'ambitiosus' for 'twining' (C. i. 36. 20), 'depugis' (S. i. 2. 93), 'uvescere' (S. ii. 6. 70), 'disconvenire' (Epp. i. 1. 99), 'diludium' (Epp. i. 19. 47), 'impariter' (A. P. 75), 'delitigo' (A. P. 94), 'juvenari' (A. P. 246), 'socialiter' (A. P. 258), 'iambeus' (A. P. 253), 'abstare' (A. P. 362). 'Ego invideor' should, according to usage, be 'mihi invidetur,' as 'ego imperor' should be 'mihi imperatur' (Epp. i. 5. 21 n.). The Greek constructions and phrases Horace uses are very numerous. See Index.

Si possum invideor, cum lingua Catonis et Enni
Sermonem patrium ditaverit et nova rerum
Nomina protulerit? Licuit semperque licebit
Signatum praesente nota producere nomen.
Ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
Prima cadunt: ita verborum vetus interit aetas,
Et juvenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque.
Debemur morti nos nostraque; sive receptus
Terra Neptunus classes aquilonibus arcet,
Regis opus, sterilisve diu palus aptaque remis

59. *Signatum praesente nota producere*] Bentley, from a very few MSS., and against his own as well as all the best and all the editions, edits 'procudere' for 'producere,' which signifies to give currency to a word stamped, says Horace, with a modern mark, a metaphor plainly taken from the coinage of the mint. Bentley, without authority, substitutes 'nummum' for 'nomen.'

60. *Ut silvae foliis*] 'As woods in respect of their leaves at the close of the year are changed; the first fall;' [in which is implied that other leaves come, as Krüger says]. There is a little irregularity in the construction, but the meaning is clear. Bentley conjectures "Ut silvis folia privos," in which he defends the lengthening of the last syllable in 'folia' by the 'pr' that follows it, and for 'privos' in the sense of 'singulos' he quotes Lucretius (v. 275, 732).

63. *Debemur morti nos nostraque*] Horace probably remembered the verses of Simonides (Fr. 123, Bergk):—

χαίρει τις Θεόδωρος ἐπεὶ θάνεν· ἄλλος ἐπ' αὐτῷ
χαιρήσει· θανάτῳ πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα.

['Debemus morti nos nostraque,' Ritter, who says, 'haec vera est loci scriptura a Prisciano Servioque consentiente Bernensi vetere servata.' His reasons for preferring 'debemus' are not very strong.]

— *receptus terra Neptunus*] The 'lacus Lucrinus' was separated from the bay of Baiae by a narrow causeway, the construction of which tradition attributed to Hercules ("Herculeo structa labore via," Prop. iii. 18. 4; "Herculeum commendat iter," Silius xii. 118). Beyond the Lucrinus lay the Avernus lacus (lago d'Averno), a basin without any outlet, about a mile and a half in circumference, and fed by streams from Mons Gaurus (Monte Barbaro). The space between the two lakes was covered with wood. In the war with Sextus Pompeius, A.U.C. 717, Augustus, advised by Agrippa, to whom he had entrusted the task of reforming his fleet, opened a communication between lacus Avernus and the sea, whereby he made a harbour in which he was able to practise his fleet. This he called after himself 'portus Julius.' "Portum Julium apud Baias immisso in Lucrinum et Avernum lacum mari effecit. In quo quum hieme tota copias exercuisset Pompeium inter Mylas et Naulochum superavit" (Suet. Aug. 16). This is the work Virgil alludes to (Georg. ii. 161):—

"An memorem portus Lucrinoque addita claustra," &c.

The basin of the Lucrine lake has been filled up by the rising of a volcanic hill (Monte Nuovo), and is now a swamp. 'Regis opus' (like 'regiae moles,' C. ii. 15. 1) is a work worthy of a king.

65. *sterilisve diu palus*] The MSS. and editions vary between 'que' and 've.' But Horace does not mean to couple a number of illustrations together, but to take any one of them: whichever of these great works you please to take, destruction surely awaits it. How much more shall mere words decay. The shortening of the penult of 'palus' is a 'licentia sumpta pudenter,' and not met with elsewhere. Bentley and others try to mend the passage to get rid of this irregularity. What work Horace here alludes to is very doubtful. Comm. Cruq. says: "Pomptinas paludes Augustus exsiccavit et habitabiles reddidit, injecto aggere lapidum ac terrae." Acron says the same: "Pomptinam paludem siccavit ut ad mare meatum habere cogeret ut post et arari posset." That C. Julius Caesar contemplated such a work we learn from Suetonius (Caes. 44), and Plutarch (Caes. 58). That Augustus may have contemplated it likewise, and made the canal mentioned on S. i. 5. 7, while that design was in his mind,

Vicinas urbes alit et grave sentit aratrum,
Seu cursum mutavit iniquum frugibus amnis
Doctus iter melius, mortalia facta peribunt,
Nedum sermonum stet honos et gratia vivax.
Multa renascentur quae jam cecidere, cadentque
Quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est et jus et norma loquendi.
Res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella
Quo scribi possent numero monstravit Homerus.
Versibus impariter junctis querimonia primum,

is possible. The canal extended from Forum Appii to Terracina, which is said to have been the length of the marshes at that time. Horace appears to be speculating upon a work which, though often attempted, has never succeeded. For a history of these attempts see Penny Cyclopaedia (art. 'Pomptine Marshes').

67. *Seu cursum mutavit*] The Scholiasts say this refers to the draining of the Velabrum (S. ii. 3. 229) by Agrippa. But Fea has shown this to be an error. The Velabrum was drained by Tarquinius Priscus, or whoever built the Cloaca Maxima (Livy i. 38), and was occupied by considerable buildings before the time of Augustus, among which was the temple of Fortuna Virilis, built by Lucullus. Suetonius tells us that Augustus "ad coercendas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit, completum olim ruderibus et aedificiorum prolapsionibus coarctatum" (c. 30). [Horace seems to mean generally that a river's course has been changed.]

68. *Doctus iter melius*] So it is said of the river in Epp. i. 14. 29.

69. *Nedum sermonum stet honos*] This construction Professor Key explains by supposing the verb 'existumes' understood for the sake of brevity. (L. G. 1228.)

71. *si volet usus*] See Epp. ii. 2. 119 n. Horace uses the words in the next verse without reference to their technical distinction. 'Jus,' in one of its senses, was a rule of law (Epp. i. 16. 41). 'Norma' a carpenter's or mason's square. The deciding, ordering, and shaping of words is all that Horace means.

75. *Versibus impariter junctis querimonia*] 'Impariter' is not used elsewhere. What Horace here calls 'querimonia' is ἐλεγεία θρηνητική, 'mourning for the dead.' The oldest writer in this measure that we know is Callinus of Ephesus, who appears to have lived during the greater part of the seventh century B.C. (Müller, Lit. of Greece, p. 109.) His poetry, like that of Tyrtaeus of Attica, was of a martial order. Archilochus of Paros was nearly contemporary with these. He too calls himself θεράπων Ἐνυαλίοιο ἄνακτος (Fr. 1. Bergk). He lost first his reputation (by running away) and afterwards his life, in battle. His elegiac verses were convivial as well as warlike. He also wrote elegies for the dead. Asius of Samos was contemporary with the above, and these are the earliest writers in the elegiac metre. It was therefore of Ionian origin, whichever of these poets first employed it. That question which was not settled in Horace's day is not likely to be settled now. The next elegiac poet in order of time was Mimnermus, also an Ionian (Epp. i. 6. 65; ii. 2. 101 n.). His verses were chiefly of the erotic order, which is referred to in v. 76. The political and gnomic elegies of Solon and Theognis (some of whose poems were convivial) come next, but Theognis more than half a century later than Solon: and contemporary with him, or a little older, was Xenophanes, the founder of the Eleatic school of philosophy, whose verses, as far as we know, were of the symposiac order without being very conducive to mirth. The great master of threnetic poetry was Simonides of Ceos, the contemporary and rival of Aeschylus. "The elegy in the hands of different masters sometimes attained a softer and more pathetic, and sometimes a more manly and robust tone. Nevertheless there is no reason for dividing the elegy into different kinds, such as the military, political, symposiac, erotic, threnetic, and gnomic; inasmuch as some of these characters are at times combined in the same poem. Thus the elegy was usually sung at the symposium, and in most cases its main subject is political, after which it assumes either an amatory, a plaintive, or a sententious tone. At the same time the elegy always retains its appropriate

Post etiam inclusa est voti sententia compos.
Quis tamen exiguos elegos emiserit auctor,
Grammatici certant et adhuc sub judice lis est.
Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo;
Hunc socci cepere pedem grandesque cothurni,
Alternis aptum sermonibus et populares
Vincentem strepitus et natum rebus agendis.
Musa dedit fidibus divos puerosque deorum

character, from which it never departs" (Müller, Lit. of Greece, p. 125). This writer disputes the ordinary etymology of the word elegy (ἒ ἒ λέγειν), though he takes it to mean a strain of lament. He considers the word to be of Asiatic origin, being borrowed by the Ionic poets of Asia Minor from their neighbours. The dates above assigned to these early poets are later than some have given them. I have followed Müller.

78. *Grammatici certant*] See Epp. i. 19. 40 n.

79. *Archilochum proprio rabies*] See Epp. i. 19. 23 n.; Epod. vi. 13. "It is vain to seek an etymology for the word Iambus: the most probable supposition is that it originated in exclamations, *ὀλολυγμοί*, expressive of joy. Similar in form are *θρίαμβος*, the Bacchic festival procession; *διθύραμβος*, a Bacchic hymn; and *ἴθυμβος*, also a kind of Bacchic song" (Müller, p. 133). The word, according to this writer, "originally denoted nothing but the jest and banter used at the festivals of Demeter," of whose worship Paros, the birthplace of Archilochus, was next to Eleusis the principal seat. From these festivals therefore, the scenes of unrestrained raillery and scurrilous jesting, Archilochus may be supposed to have conceived his iambics. The iambic trimeter is said to have been invented by him (Plutarch de Musica, c. 28), and likewise the trochaic tetrameter, and other measures particularly described by Müller. Of the two first he says: "These metres were in their way as elaborate productions of Greek taste and genius as the Parthenon or the statue of the Olympic Jupiter. Nor can there be any stronger proof of their perfection than that metres said to have been invented by Archilochus retained their currency through all ages of Greek poetry; and that although their application varied in many ways, no material improvement was made in their structure" (p. 136). The principal Iambic writers who followed Archilochus were Simonides of Amorgus, a younger contemporary of Solon, and Hipponax of Ephesus (B.C. 540).

80. *Hunc socci cepere pedem*] In respect to 'soccus' and 'cothurnus,' as the characteristics of comedy and tragedy, see Epp. ii. 1. 174 n. The metre most used in the dialogue of the earliest Greek tragedies was the trochaic tetrameter, which metre is used in many passages of the Persae of Aeschylus. But the iambic trimeter appears to have been used by Phrynichus. Aristotle (Poët. 4) calls it *μάλιστα λεκτικὸν τῶν μέτρων*, and comparing it with the Epic he says (Rhet. iii. 8): *τῶν δὲ ῥυθμῶν ὁ μὲν ἡρῷος σεμνὸς καὶ λεκτικὸς καὶ ἁρμονίας δεόμενος, ὁ δ' ἴαμβος αὐτή ἐστιν ἡ λέξις ἡ τῶν πολλῶν· διὸ μάλιστα πάντων τῶν μέτρων ἰαμβεῖα φθέγγόνται λέγοντες.* Horace's 'natum rebus agendis' appears also to be an echo of Aristotle's *πρακτικόν* in the following passage (Poët. 24): *τὸ ἰαμβικὸν καὶ τετράμετρον κινητικά, τὸ μὲν ὀρχηστικόν, τὸ δὲ πρακτικόν. Πρακτικόν* means that the metre suits the language of action. [Comp. Cicero, Or. c. 57.] By 'alternis sermonibus' Horace means dialogue generally, not those dialogues in which verse answers to verse, *στιχομυθία*. When he says that the iambic overcomes the noise of the theatre, it may be that he refers to the clear intonation which that metre admits of, or to its engaging the popular attention from its adaptation to the understandings of all. As to the modifications of the Iambic metre in the hands of the three principal tragedians, see Müller, Lit. Gr. v. i. p. 317. The same writer has some remarks on the adaptation of the iambic trimeter to comedy, the correctness of which may be disputed (v. ii. p. 13).

83. *Musa dedit fidibus*] On the connexion of poetry with music and dancing, and on Greek music in general, Müller's History of Greek literature (i. 148 sqq.) may be consulted. The earliest stringed instrument was the tetrachord or four-stringed cithara, which was improved by Terpander, by the addition of three strings,

Et pugilem victorem et equum certamine primum
Et juvenum curas et libera vina referre.
Discriptas servare vices operumque colores
Cur ego si nequeo ignoroque poëta salutor?
Cur nescire pudens prave quam discere malo?
Versibus exponi tragicis res comica non vult;
Indignatur item privatis ac prope socco
Dignis carminibus narrari coena Thyestae.
Singula quaeque locum teneant sortita decenter.
Interdum tamen et vocem comoedia tollit,
Iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore;
Et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri
Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exsul uterque

forming the heptachord. Though the flute ('tibia') came very early into use as an accompaniment to lyric poetry, it has always retained the name it originally derived from the lyre. The description of Horace includes the choral lyric of the Doric school, and the poetry of the Aeolic school. The former was adapted to a choir, the latter only to a single voice. The former was so called because it was cultivated by the Dorians of the Peloponnesus and Sicily: the latter flourished among the Aeolians of Asia Minor, and particularly in the island of Lesbos. The one celebrated gods and heroes or renowned citizens, and was used at public festivals or at marriages and funerals: the other expressed individual thoughts and feelings. Alcaeus and Sappho are the chief representatives of the latter school; of the former Alcman and Stesichorus, Ibycus, Simonides, Bacchylides, and Pindar. Stesichorus and Ibycus were most celebrated for their poems on mythological subjects ('divos puerosque deorum'), while Simonides and Pindar were the greatest in *ἐπινίκια*, hymns in honour of the victors at public games ('et pugilem victorem et equum certamine primum'), while the poets of wine and passion ('juvenum curas et libera vina') were Alcaeus, Sappho, Simonides, and Bacchylides. Horace does not mention the threnes or dirges for the dead, of which Simonides was the greatest master.

As to 'libera vina,' see S. i. 4. 87 n.

86. *Discriptas servare vices*] I do not find that any MSS. have 'discriptas,' but I am inclined to think that is the true reading; and considering, as I have said before, that 'discribo' is a genuine form, and that the MSS. are unsafe guides in regard to this word, I have adopted 'discriptas' in preference to 'descriptas.' [See Krüger's note.] (C. ii. 13. 23 n., and Epp. i. 10. 20 n.) 'Vices' are the parts (S. i. 10. 12, 'defendente vicem'), and with 'discriptas' it means the parts assigned to each class of poetry. 'Operum colores,' 'the colouring of poems,' is easily understood.

88. *pudens prave*] 'Through a false shame,' 'pudor malus' (Epp. i. 16. 24).

90. *privatis*] 'The language of common daily life.'

91. *coena Thyestae*] See C. i. 6. 8 n.

92. *decenter*] Bentley, upon some authority and on bad reasoning, substitutes 'decentem' for 'decenter,' the reading of all the editions before him. [Ritter has 'decentem.']

94. *Iratusque Chremes*] 'Chremes' is any father in a comedy. There is nothing tragic or tumid in the language of Clitipho's father in Terence's play (Heaut. v. 4), which is referred to by the commentators. [Ritter refers to the Andria v. 3 and 4.] The intensive compound of 'litigo' does not occur elsewhere. As to 'plerumque,' in the sense of 'interdum,' see S. ii. 5. 55 n., and on 'pedestri' see C. ii. 12. 9 n.

96. *Telephus et Peleus*] These persons were the subjects of many tragedies. Each of the three tragedians wrote upon them, as appears from the fragments in Dindorf's collection. Telephus' abject condition, when he went to seek for one to cure him of his wound (Epod. xvii. 8 n.), and Peleus driven from Aegina, and wandering in quest of a purifier for the murder of his brother Phocus, appear to have been the

Projicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba,
Si curat cor spectantis tetigisse querela.
Non satis est pulchra esse poëmata; dulcia sunto
Et quocunque volent animum auditoris agunto.
Ut ridentibus arrident, ita flentibus adsunt
Humani vultus: si vis me flere, dolendum est
Primum ipsi tibi; tunc tua me infortunia laedent,
Telephe vel Peleu: male si mandata loqueris,
Aut dormitabo aut ridebo. Tristia maestum
Vultum verba decent, iratum plena minarum,
Ludentem lasciva, severum seria dictu.
Format enim natura prius nos intus ad omnem
Fortunarum habitum; juvat aut impellit ad iram
Aut ad humum maerore gravi deducit et angit;
Post effert animi motus interprete lingua.
Si dicentis erunt fortunis absona dicta,
Romani tollent equites peditesque cachinnum.

points in the history of these persons chiefly dwelt upon. Aristophanes ridicules Euripides for the bombast and beggary of Telephus in two places (Acharn. 428 sqq.):—

ΔΙΚ. κἀκεῖνος μὲν ἦν
χωλός, προσαιτῶν, στωμύλος, δεινὸς λέγειν.
ΕΥΡ. οἶδ' ἄνδρα, Μύσον Τήλεφον. ΔΙΚ. ναὶ Τήλεφον·
τούτου δὸς ἀντιβολῶ σέ μοι τὰ σπάργανα.
ΕΥΡ. ὦ παῖ, δὸς αὐτῷ Τηλέφου ῥακώματα.

Compare Nub. 921 sqq., and the Scholiast thereon. As to 'ampullas' see Epp. i. 3. 14 n. 'Sesquipedalia' ('pes semisque'), 'a foot and a half long.' [Ritter has a full stop after 'pedestri.'—'Curat tetigisse:' comp. Epp. i. 17. 5.]

99. *Non satis est pulchra esse*] 'Pulchra,' as opposed to 'dulcia,' describes that sort of faultless beauty which fails to make an impression on the feelings. Of the accidental rhyme that occurs in these two verses, Orelli has collected several parallel instances from Virgil and Homer.

101. *flentibus adsunt*] Bentley adopts the conjectural reading 'adflent,' in order to maintain the antithesis. I think the emendation is due to some one who knew St. Paul's exhortation, χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων καὶ κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων (Rom. xii. 15).

104. *male si mandata loqueris*] 'Male' appears to belong to 'mandata:' 'words improperly assigned you,' that is, not suited to your character (see v. 177).

105. *Tristia maestum*] With the truisms that follow may be compared Cicero de Orat. (iii. 57): "Omnis motus animi suum quendam a natura habet vultum et sonum et gestum: corpusque totum hominis et ejus omnis vultus omnesque voces, ut nervi in fidibus, ita sonant ut a motu animi quoque sunt pulsae." So Horace says there is a voice of nature within us which adapts itself to every phase of our fortunes, and speaks out in language expressing the emotions that belong to each. [Ritter refers to Aristotle, Poet. 17, πιθανώτατοι γάρ, &c.]

113. *equites peditesque*] Bentley calls this "vitiosa et inepta lectio, quamvis ab omnibus Librariis recepta et propagata;" therefore he restores, as he says, the true reading, 'equitesque patresque.' But 'equites peditesque' is a comprehensive way of expressing all the citizens of Rome with reference to the classes of Servius Tullius (Livy i. 43). When the census was completed the king issued a proclamation, "Ut omnes cives Romani equites peditesque in suis quisque centuriis in Campo Martio prima luce adessent." And Cicero (de Legg. iii. 3. 7), "Censores—ordines partiunto: equitum peditumque prolem describunto." Orelli compares Sophocles (Oed. Col. 898), λεὼν ἄνιππον ἱππότην τε. Comm. Cruq. explains by "nobiles et plebeii;" Porphyrion, "equester ordo et plebeius."

Intererit multum divusne loquatur an heros,
Maturusne senex an adhuc florente juventa
Fervidus, et matrona potens an sedula nutrix,
Mercatorne vagus cultorne virentis agelli,
Colchus an Assyrius, Thebis nutritus an Argis.
Aut famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge.
Scriptor honoratum si forte reponis Achillem,
Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
Jura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.
Sit Medea ferox invictaque, flebilis Ino,
Perfidus Ixion, Io vaga, tristis Orestes.

114. *divusne loquatur an heros*] The Scholiasts are divided between 'divus' and 'Davus;' the MSS. are also at variance. The Blandinian are in favour of 'divus,' and all Orelli's, except that three have 'a' superscribed. I think 'divusne' is the true reading, and that 'Davus' arose out of v. 237: "Ut nihil intersit Davusne loquatur et audax Pythias." 'Deus' and 'heros' are brought together below (v. 227): "Ne quicunque deus, quicunque adhibebitur heros." Orelli aptly quotes a passage of Plutarch, from which it would seem as if this antithesis were in a measure proverbial (Comparatio Aristophanis et Menandri, c. 1):—ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κλήρου ἀπονέμει τοῖς προσώποις τὰ προστυχόντα τῶν ὀνομάτων, καὶ οὐκ ἂν διαγνοίης, εἴτε υἱός ἐστιν, εἴτε πατήρ, εἴτ' ἄγροικος, εἴτε θεός, εἴτε γραῦς, εἴτε ἥρως, ὁ διαλεγόμενος.

116. *matrona potens*] This epithet seems to have the same meaning as the kindred word πότνια in Homer and the Tragedians. The officious nurse has always been a favourite character on the stage. We find it in Aeschylus (Choëphoroe), in Sophocles (Trachiniae), and Euripides (Hippolytus). We are all sufficiently familiar with it in Shakspeare's Romeo and Juliet. In Euripides' play and Shakspeare's they bear in one respect much the same character. An ἔμπορος ('mercator') is introduced in the Philoctetes of Sophocles, and the prologue of the Electra (Euripides) is spoken by an αὐτουργός ('cultor agelli'). The Colchian may represent any of the barbarous tribes on the shores of the Euxine, and the Assyrian any of the Eastern nations. (C. i. 2. 21 n., and C. ii. 11. 16 n.) The opposition between Thebes and Argos has reference partly perhaps to Aeschylus' play, Sept. c. Thebas, in which Polynices comes with an Argive army to take possession of the crown of Thebes, or to the Supplices of Euripides, which turns on the burial of the seven leaders who formed that expedition. But Horace may have had in mind many other plays of which the scene lay either at Argos or Thebes, in connexion with Oedipus, the quarrel of his sons, or the expedition of the Epigoni.

120. *Scriptor honoratum si forte reponis*] 'Honoratus' (for which Bentley on his own conjecture substitutes 'Homereum' in one of his very long notes,—"meris argutiis," says Fea) is only an epitheton ornans, corresponding to Homer's κλυτός, &c. [Ritter understands it literally, honoured by Zeus, as in Iliad, i. 510: but I do not accept his explanation.] 'Reponis' means 'put upon the stage.' The word is used in a different sense v. 190: "Fabula quae posci vult et spectata reponi."

122. *nihil non arroget armis*] 'Let him claim every thing for arms,' that is, let him make arms his one appeal.

123. *flebilis Ino*] There are several fragments of a play by Euripides bearing the name of Ino, the daughter of Cadmus, and wife of Athamas, who threw herself into the sea with her son Melicerta, and went through various sorrows through the wrath of Here, and the rivalry of her husband's other wives, Nephele and Themisto. She was worshipped after her death as Leucothea, or Matuta Mater.

124. *Perfidus Ixion, Io vaga*] Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, each wrote a tragedy entitled 'Ixion,' of which fragments remain. He was king of the Lapithae. Having treacherously murdered his father-in-law, Dëioneus, he returned the goodness of Zeus, who purified him, by trying to seduce Here, for which he received his well-known punishment, and is rightly called 'perfidus.' The wanderings of Io, the daughter of Inachus, king of Argos, in the form of a cow, whose passage across

Si quid inexpertum scenae committis et audes
Personam formare novam, servetur ad imum
Qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet.
Difficile est proprie communia dicere; tuque
Rectius Iliacum carmen deducis in actus,
Quam si proferres ignota indictaque primus.
Publica materies privati juris erit, si
Non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem,
Nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus
Interpres, nec desilies imitator in arctum
Unde pedem proferre pudor vetet aut operis lex.
Nec sic incipies ut scriptor cyclicus olim:

the strait that separates the Propontis from the Euxine gave it the name of Bosporus, are related in many ways. The most remarkable passage on this subject is in the Prometheus of Aeschylus, where she is introduced. [Doederlein suggests that 'vaga' means 'frantic.']

[126. *Personam*] 'A new character.' S. i. 2. 60.—'Ad imum,' Epp. i. 18. 36.]

128. *Difficile est proprie communia dicere*] 'Communia' means what is common property, as opposed to fictions of one's own creating, and 'proprie dicere' is to tell it so as to make it one's own. [Verse 130 explains 'communia.'] 'Proprie communia dicere' seems to be the same as making that which is 'publica materies' 'privati juris,' or a man's own. 'Communia' is usual in the sense of partnership property, and is different from 'publica;' but here it seems to have the same meaning. Horace seems to have followed a Greek proverb, *χαλεπὸν τὰ κοινὰ ἰδιῶσαι*. As to 'deducis' see S. i. 10. 44 n. Ruhnken on Timaeus (v. *κάταγμα*) points out that in Plato *κατάγειν* has the same sense as 'deducere filum,' referring to Sophist. p. 152, E, *καὶ πρός γε τούτοις ἔτι ξαίνειν καὶ κατάγειν καὶ κερκίζειν ἐπιστάμεθα*.

132. *vilem patulumque moraberis orbem*] With 'orbis' Orelli compares Aristotle (Rhet. i. 9. 33): *τὸ δ' ἐγκώμιον τῶν ἔργων ἐστίν· τὰ δὲ κύκλῳ εἰς πίστιν, οἷον εὐγένεια καὶ παιδεία*, in which he renders *τὰ κύκλῳ* by 'loci communes.' Aristotle seems to mean those collateral arguments that help to build up the main argument of the encomium, to be derived from actions. Horace means the hackneyed round of subjects, phrases, and illustrations, ground which any body may tread and may have trod already. 'Patulus' is opposed to 'arctus,' difficult narrow ground, in which it is not easy to move except by treading precisely in the steps of him whom you are following, in which diffidence or the plan of the work hampers your steps and prevents you from showing any originality. [Some critics detect an allusion to the fable of the fox and goat (Phaedrus, iv. 9). I doubt that.]

136.] *ut scriptor cyclicus olim*] A class of Epic poets arose some time after Homer, who, perhaps from the habit of reciting as rhapsodists the Iliad and Odyssey, were led to adopt subjects akin to Homer's and to connect their poems with his. Their design appears to have been to form their poems and Homer's into one cycle, embracing the whole history of the Trojan times, and so they were called by the grammarians Cyclic poets. Of these the oldest was Arctinus of Miletus, whose poem was a continuation of the Iliad, and nearly as long. It took up the history after the death of Hector, and related the arrival of the Amazons and Ethiopians to assist the Trojans, the death of Achilles by the hand of Paris, the contest of Ajax and Ulysses (Ovid, Met. xiii. 1), the story of Laocoon and of the wooden horse, and the consequent sacking of Troy. Virgil was indebted to this poem for the greater part of the second book of the Aeneid. It was divided into two parts, of which the first was called *Αἰθίοπις*, the second *Ἰλίου πέρσις*. The second Cyclic poet in order of time was Lesches, a Lesbian, and contemporary with Archilochus. His poem was known as the *Μικρὰ Ἰλιάς*. The poem opened with these two lines, which Horace may or may not have had in mind:—

Ἴλιον ἀείδω καὶ Δαρδανίην εὔπωλον,
ἧς πέρι πολλὰ πάθον Δαναοὶ θεράποντες Ἄρηος.

It appears to have embraced a number of

"Fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum."
Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?
Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.
Quanto rectius hic qui nil molitur inepte:
"Dic mihi, Musa, virum captae post tempora Trojae
Qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes."
Non fumum ex fulgore sed ex fumo dare lucem
Cogitat, ut speciosa dehinc miracula promat,
Antiphaten Scyllamque et cum Cyclope Charybdin.
Nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri,

different subjects, among others the story of Philoctetes told in Sophocles' play. See Aristotle (Poët. 23), where also reference is made to another Cyclic poem called Κύπρια, from the birth-place of the author Stasinus, which was intended as an introduction to the Iliad of Homer, and embraced the birth of Helen the daughter of Zeus and Nemesis (not Leda), the judgment of Paris, the abduction of Helen, the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and the events of the first nine years of the war. Of the other poems one was the Νόστοι by Agias of Troezen, on the return of the Grecian commanders from Troy, the wanderings of Menelaus, the murder of Agamemnon, and the revenge of Orestes. Another was the Τηλεγονία of Eugammon of Cyrene, which continued the history of Ulysses till his death by the hand of his son Telegonus. The Thebais and Epigoni, relating the contests between Argos and Thebes, are also included in the Cyclic poems, but their authors are unknown. (See for more particulars Müller's Hist. of Gr. Lit. c. 6.) There was a later Epic poem called Thebais, the author of which was Antimachus of Claros, a contemporary of Plato. Porphyrion (on v. 146) calls him a Cyclic poet, from the subject of his poem, the extent of which was such, he says, that he had filled twenty-four volumes (that is, twenty-four books) before the armament arrived at Thebes (see note on the above verse). The poem notwithstanding seems to have been much admired.

139. *Parturiunt montes*] The reading of the old editions and many MSS., 'parturient,' is undoubtedly wrong. Verbs ending in 'urio' signify purpose or desire, and 'parturio' has the same relation to 'pario' that 'esurio' has to 'edo,' meaning the effort or desire to bring forth, the being in labour. Porphyrion quotes the proverb on which this and the fable that Phaedrus has imitated (iv. 22) of the mountain in labour, are founded: ὤδινεν οὖρος εἶτα μῦν ἀπέκτεκεν, which in Athenaeus (xiv. 6) is quoted a little differently: ὤδινεν ὄρος, Ζεὺς δ' ἐφοβεῖτο, τὸ δ' ἔτεκεν μῦν.

141. *Dic mihi, Musa, virum*] Odyss. i. 1 sq.:—

ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ
πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε,
πολλῶν θ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω.

Compare Epp. i. 2. 19 sq.

143. *Non fumum ex fulgore*] Horace says of Homer that he does not begin with a flash which ends in smoke, but with him out of smoke comes a bright light; that is, out of a modest beginning the reader is led on to beauties and objects of interest; and he is carried rapidly forward instead of being detained over matters preliminary and irrelevant. It is obvious that 'fumo' in the second clause is out of place, and is only used to maintain a verbal antithesis; and the beauties selected ('speciosa miracula,' 'striking marvels') are not the most striking. Horace seems always to fall short of his subject when he speaks of Homer.

145. *Antiphaten Scyllamque*] These stories are from the Odyssey. Antiphates was king of the Laestrygones, a gigantic race in Sicily, who devoured three of Ulysses' companions and destroyed his ships (x. 80 sqq.). The adventure with Polyphemus the Cyclops forms the leading event of the ninth book. The description of Scylla and Charybdis is in the twelfth book (vv. 85 sqq.).

146. *Nec reditum Diomedis*] This was related in the Cyclic poem called Νόστοι above mentioned. Meleager, who was one of the Argonauts, and was still more famous for the destruction of the boar sent by Diana to vex the inhabitants of Calydon in Aetolia, was uncle to Diomedes, being bro-

Nec gemino bellum Trojanum orditur ab ovo;
Semper ad eventum festinat et in medias res
Non secus ac notas auditorem rapit, et quae
Desperat tractata nitescere posse relinquit;
Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet imum.
Tu quid ego et populus mecum desideret audi:
Si plausoris eges aulaea manentis et usque
Sessuri donec cantor 'Vos plaudite' dicat,
Aetatis cujusque notandi sunt tibi mores,
Mobilibusque decor naturis dandus et annis.
Reddere qui voces jam scit puer et pede certo
Signat humum, gestit paribus colludere, et iram
Colligit ac ponit temere, et mutatur in horas.
Imberbus juvenis tandem custode remoto

ther to Tydeus. According to Homer he was cursed by his mother Althaea for the slaughter of her two brothers (Il. ix. 567 sqq.), and her Erinnys pursued him to his death. But as this was before the Trojan war, and had nothing to do with it, to begin an account of Diomedes' return with his uncle's death would be absurd. It seems as if some poet had been guilty of this absurdity. The Scholiasts say it was Antimachus. (See v. 136 n.) [Welcker supposes the 'reditum, to be the return of Diomedes after the expedition of the Epigoni against Thebes.]

147. *gemino—ab ovo*] That is, from the birth of Helen, who was born from one of the eggs brought forth by Leda, while Castor and Pollux issued from the other. (S. ii. 1. 26, "ovo prognatus eodem.") This introductory matter was handled in the poem of Stasinus before mentioned, of which the following fragment has been preserved in Athenaeus (viii. 3, p. 334):—

τοῖς δὲ μετὰ τριτάτην Ἑλένην τέκε, θαῦμα βροτοῖσι,
τήν ποτε καλλίκομος Νέμεσις φιλότητι μιγεῖσα
Ζηνί, θεῶν βασιλῆι, τέκε κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης.

148. *in medias res*] The ancients appear particularly to have remarked this quality of Homer's poems. Quintil. vii. 10. 11: "ubi ab initiis incipiendum, ubi more Homerico e mediis vel ultimis?"

151. *Atque ita mentitur, sic veris*] "'Ita,' 'so' (the oldest form of the neuter pronoun 'id'), differs from 'sic,' 'so,' as the logical 'i' or 'eo,' 'this,' differs from the demonstrative 'ho,' 'this.'" 'Ita' therefore is the usual word with 'ut' following. But the poets (and sometimes even the prose writers) use 'sic' in the same construction, and in others in which 'ita' is more usual. See Key's L. G. 1451, and compare C. i. 3. 1, "Sic te Diva potens Cypri;" and Epp. i. 7. 69, "Sic ignovisse putato."

[153. *Tu quid*] This is addressed to any person, who should think of writing a play.]

154. *aulaea manentis*] See Epp. ii. 1. 189. In the next verse 'cantor' is used for the actor, as Cicero uses it (Pro Sest. c. 55): "Sedebat exanimatus: et is qui antea cantorum convicio contiones celebrare suas solebat cantorum ipsorum vocibus ejiciebatur." He is speaking of Clodius, at whom as he sat in the theatre the actors pointed some words from the comedy that was being performed. (See Forcellini.) 'Vos plaudite' were the words with which a play usually concluded.

157. *Mobilibusque decor naturis*] Bentley, on very little authority, edits 'maturis.' Horace means that men's characters change with the stages of life, and that these changes must be attended to. He then explains them in a clear and elegant manner.

[158. *Reddere—voces*] 'Repeat what he hears.' 'Temere:' 'without cause,' 'capriciously.' 'In horas:' 'hourly.' S. ii. 7. 10.]

161. *custode remoto*] This means the 'paedagogus,' as in S. i. 6. 81 n. This

Gaudet equis canibusque et aprici gramine campi,
Cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus asper,
Utilium tardus provisor, prodigus aeris,
Sublimis cupidusque et amata relinquere pernix.
Conversis studiis aetas animusque virilis
Quaerit opes et amicitias, inservit honori,
Commisisse cavet quod mox mutare laboret.
Multa senem circumveniunt incommoda, vel quod
Quaerit et inventis miser abstinet ac timet uti,
Vel quod res omnes timide gelideque ministrat,
Dilator, spe longus, iners, avidusque futuri,
Difficilis, querulus, laudator temporis acti
Se puero, castigator censorque minorum.
Multa ferunt anni venientes commoda secum,
Multa recedentes adimunt. Ne forte seniles
Mandentur juveni partes pueroque viriles,
Semper in adjunctis aevoque morabimur aptis.
Aut agitur res in scenis aut acta refertur.

person's functions ceased when the boy assumed the 'toga virilis.' 'Campi,' as elsewhere, means the Campus Martius. The characteristics of youth and age here given are nearly the same as in Aristotle (Rhet. ii. 12 sq.). 'Sublimis cupidusque' means 'soaring and ambitious.'

[167. *inservit honori*] 'He is a slave to ambition.' He seeks the 'honores' or high offices of the state.]

[169. *senem*] Aristotle, Rhet. ii. 13, describes the characteristics of the old man.]

172. *spe longus*] "Quia tardus est et difficilis ad sperandum, propter experientiam fallacis fortunae" (Forcellini). Other interpretations have been given, but I believe that this is the true one. Bentley substitutes 'lentus' out of his own head. 'Avidus futuri' means I suppose 'eager to live longer,' or 'greedy of life.' [Bentley has 'pavidusque futuri.']

175. *Multa ferunt anni*] See C. ii. 5. 14 n., and Epp. ii. 2. 55. The remark seems to be drawn forth by the dark picture of old age contained in the preceding verses. It has not much otherwise to do with the subject. [Years as they come are the time of youth, when there is hope for the future.]

178. *adjunctis aevoque morabimur aptis*] Both 'adjunctis' and 'aptis' go with 'aevo,' 'we shall dwell upon that which belongs and is fitted to the age we have in hand.'

179. *aut acta refertur*] The following remarks of Müller (Hist. Gr. Lit. i. 307) appear to be true:—"The actions to which no speech is attached, and which do not serve to develope thoughts and feelings, are imagined to pass behind or without the scene, and are only related on the stage. Hence the importance of the parts of messengers and heralds in ancient tragedy. The poet was not influenced only by the reason given by Horace (vv. 185 sqq.); there was also the far deeper general reason, that it is never the outward act with which the interest of ancient tragedy is most intimately bound up. The action is internal and spiritual; the reflections, resolutions, feelings, the mental or moral phenomena which can be expressed in speech, are developed on the stage. For outward action, which is generally mute or at all events cannot be adequately expressed by words, the Epic form, narration, is the only appropriate vehicle. Moreover, the costume of tragic actors was calculated for impressive declamation and not for action. The lengthened and stuffed out figures would have had an awkward, not to say a ludicrous effect in combat or other violent action. From the sublime to the ridiculous would have been but one step, which ancient tragedy carefully avoided risking."

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
Quam quae sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus, et quae
Ipse sibi tradit spectator: non tamen intus
Digna geri promes in scenam, multaque tolles
Ex oculis quae mox narret facundia praesens.
Ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet,
Aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus,
Aut in avem Procne vertatur, Cadmus in anguem.
Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic incredulus odi.
Neve minor neu sit quinto productior actu
Fabula, quae posci vult et spectata reponi;
Nec deus intersit nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit; nec quarta loqui persona laboret.

180. *Segnius irritant animos*] When Candaules proposes to exhibit his wife's beauty to Gyges, Herodotus (i. 8) makes him say, *ὦτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν*, and Seneca (Epp. vi.) has a like saying, "Homines amplius oculis quam auribus credunt."

184. *facundia praesens*] An eye-witness who tells the spectators what he has seen, and does it in a long speech, as the messenger in the Greek plays. 'Praesens' means 'before the audience.'

186. *coquat — Atreus*] See C. i. 6. 8 n.; and as to Procne, C. iv. 12. 5 n. Short fragments of the Atreus of Sophocles and Cadmus of Euripides are extant. The story of Cadmus and his wife Harmonia changed into serpents is told by Ovid (Met. iv. 563 sqq.). Such barbarities and miraculous changes, Horace says, if represented on the stage are both incredible and disgusting.

In the tragedy Medea, attributed to Seneca, the mother strangles her children on the stage, "notwithstanding the admonition of Horace, who probably had some similar example of the Roman theatre before his eyes, for a Greek would hardly have committed this error. The Roman tragedians must have had a particular rage for novelty and effect to seek them in such atrocities" (Schlegel, Dram. Lit. Lect. xv.). This author's estimate of the only Roman tragedies that remain is very low: they are "beyond description bombastic and frigid, unnatural both in character and action, revolting from their violation of propriety, and so destitute of theatrical effect, that they seem never to have been meant to leave the rhetorical schools for the stage." — "Every tragical commonplace is worried out to the last gasp; all is phrase, and even the most common remark is forced and stilted," &c. This is exaggerated criticism, but Horace had probably a low opinion of the tragic writers of his own day, though he flatters Varius and Pollio. It is probable, as Schlegel says, Seneca's plays were never intended to be acted; but if so, his remarks above quoted are not quite consistent. See C. i. 6. 8 n.; ii. 1. 10 n.; S. i. 10. 42 n.

191. *Nec deus intersit*] It was a reproach to the tragedians that *ἐπειδάν τι ἀπορῶσιν, ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἀποφεύγουσι θεοὺς αἴροντες* (Plato, Cratyl. i. 425, Steph.), and Aristotle (Poët. 15) instances the conclusion of the Medea of Euripides. The gods were introduced on a platform above, which is the *μηχανή* referred to. Hence the proverb "Deus ex machina" for any summary way of winding up a plot, or extricating oneself from a difficulty. Cicero uses the same illustration (de Nat. Deor. i. 20): "ut tragici poëtae quum explicare argumenti exitum non potestis, confugitis ad deum." Forcellini explains 'vindice' by "solutore, et quasi liberatore rei adeo involutae ut ope humana bonus exitus inveniri non possit:" 'one brought in to unravel the knot, and deliver the people from an otherwise hopeless position.'

192. *nec quarta loqui persona laboret*] Thespis first introduced a single actor on the stage, who perhaps told a story and served to relieve the chorus. Aeschylus introduced a second, and so brought regular dialogue into the drama. Sophocles added a third, and this number was rarely if ever exceeded (Epp. i. 18. 14 n., and Müller, Lit. Gr. p. 304 sqq.). The Romans observed no such restriction, but if more

Actoris partes chorus officiumque virile
Defendat, neu quid medios intercinat actus
Quod non proposito conducat et haereat apte.
Ille bonis faveatque et consilietur amice,
Et regat iratos et amet peccare timentes;
Ille dapes laudet mensae brevis, ille salubrem
Justitiam legesque et apertis otia portis;
Ille tegat commissa deosque precetur et oret,
Ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis.
Tibia non ut nunc orichalco vincta tubaeque

than three actors are on the stage at once, some of them can have little to say.

193. *Actoris partes chorus*] The chorus should sustain in its place and to the best of its power the part of an actor; that is, instead of singing what is irrelevant to the plot, it ought to carry on the action. 'Officiumque virile defendat' is a way of expressing, 'it must sustain a strenuous part,' or 'do its duty strenuously.' Horace uses 'defendente vicem' in the same sense (S. i. 10. 12). [Krüger compares 'officiumque virile' with the expression 'pro virili parte.'] Horace's rule was followed by Aeschylus and Sophocles, but not always by Euripides, with whom "the choral songs have frequently little or no connexion with the fable, and are nothing better than a mere episodical ornament" (Schlegel, Dram. Lit. Lect. v.). Aristotle (Poët. 18) says, τὸν χορὸν δὲ ἕνα δεῖ ὑπολαβεῖν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, καὶ μόριον εἶναι τοῦ ὅλου, καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι μὴ ὥσπερ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ ἀλλ' ὡς παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ. As respects Euripides these remarks are not always true. Some of the choruses in his extant plays are pertinent enough.

197. *amet peccare timentes*] Nearly every MS. and edition, old and modern, has 'peccare timentes,' and the commentators compare the words with Epp. i. 16. 52: "Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore." From one MS. of Pulmann, Bentley edited 'pacare tumentes,' and Orelli [and Krüger] adopt that reading. I see no reason for doing so. The office ascribed to the chorus by Horace is "a general expression of moral sympathy, exhortation, instruction, and warning," which Schlegel considers the best description that has been given. He considers it "as a personified reflection on the action that is going on; the incorporation into the representation itself of the sentiments of the poet as the spokesman of the whole human race. The chorus is the ideal spectator. It mitigates the impression of a heart-rending or moving story, while it conveys to the actual spectator a lyrical and musical expression of his own emotions, and elevates him to the region of contemplation" (Dram. Lit. Lect. v.). In plain terms, the business of the chorus was to utter such reflections as any indifferent persons might conceive on the action before it, and to address those reflections to the characters represented, as one might address them to real persons under the same circumstances.

198. *mensae brevis*] Compare Epp. i. 14. 35, "coena brevis juvat;" and with "apertis otia portis," compare C. iii. 5. 23, "portasque non clausas," representing a picture of national security and peace. The chorus, to whom the principal persons communicated their intended crimes and deepest plots, were held to secrecy as a prime duty. Thus Medea tells the chorus her intention to murder her children and her rival, and reckons upon their secrecy as a matter of course. Other instances are numerous.

202. *Tibia non ut nunc orichalco vincta*] The 'tibia' was an instrument originally made of a hollow reed (Pliny xvi. 36. 66), or a box-wood pipe (Ovid, Fast. vi. 697), or the shin-bone of some animal, from which the name is derived. Afterwards it was brought to greater perfection, and was made of ivory sometimes. It resembled the flageolet or clarionet. It was usual to play two 'tibiae' together, as observed on C. iv. 15. 30 n. Those in the British Museum have six holes. Probably in the days of Horace they had more. The metal which the ancients called 'orichalcum' is unknown. It was not found even in Pliny's time (H. N. 33. c. 2). The Greek form of the word is ὀρείχαλκος, mountain-copper. With this metal the parts of the 'tibia,' which took to pieces as our flutes do, were bound at the joinings. Bentley and others prefer 'juncta,'

Aemula, sed tenuis simplexque foramine pauco
Adspirare et adesse choris erat utilis atque
Nondum spissa nimis complere sedilia flatu;
Quo sane populus numerabilis utpote parvus
Et frugi castusque verecundusque coïbat.
Postquam coepit agros extendere victor et urbes
Latior amplecti murus vinoque diurno
Placari Genius festis impune diebus,
Accessit numerisque modisque licentia major;
Indoctus quid enim saperet liberque laborum
Rusticus urbano confusus, turpis honesto?
Sic priscae motumque et luxuriem addidit arti
Tibicen traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem;
Sic etiam fidibus voces crevere severis,

which is the reading of the oldest editions and some MSS. The best have 'vincta.' Horace says that in simpler days the 'tibia' served for an accompaniment to the chorus, but afterwards it came to drown it. In those days the population of the city was smaller, the theatres less crowded, and the audience more reverential and attentive. What times Horace alludes to it is difficult to say. Orelli thinks his history of choral music is a fanciful account, fluctuating wonderfully between the practice of the Greeks, that of the Romans, and that which his own imagination has drawn; and this is perhaps the case.

[205. *complere*] 'Utilis complere,' 'sufficient to fill.']

208. *Postquam coepit agros*] That is, "post Punica bella" (Epp. ii. 1. 162 n.) if we take the Romans, and the Persian war if we suppose the Greeks to be meant. (See v. 93 of the same Epistle.) As to 'placari Genius' see Epp. ii. 1. 144, and i. 7. 94 n. Ven. 1483, and I believe all the editions of that century, and Ascensius (1519), and nearly all the MSS., have 'urbes,' which, as Horace is not referring to any one city, is the right reading. Bentley follows the Aldine and other editions of the sixteenth century, Lambinus, Cruquius, and Torrentius, in reading 'urbem.'

211. *numerisque modisque*] This combination occurs above, Epp. ii. 2. 144. 'Liber laborum' is a poetical construction like 'operum solutis' (C. iii. 17. 16) and 'operum vacuo' (S. ii. 2. 119).

[212. *liberque laborum*] 'Released from their toils' and ready for enjoyment.]

215. *traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem*] [The 'tibicen' finally appeared on the stage in a long flowing robe to play as the actors recited.] The Roman dress was probably not so splendid as the Greek, of which Müller observes that "it was a Bacchic festal costume. Almost all the actors in a tragedy wore long striped garments (χιτῶνες ποδήρεις, στολαί) reaching to the ground, over which were thrown upper garments of purple or some other brilliant colour, with all sorts of gay trimmings and gold ornaments (ἱμάτια and χλαμύδες. Epp. i. 6. 40 n.). Even Hercules appeared in this rich and gaudy dress, to which his distinctive attributes, the club and the bow, were merely added (see below, v. 228). The choruses also vied with each other in the splendour of their dress and ornaments, as well as in the excellence of their singing and dancing" (Gr. Lit. c. 22). As to 'pulpita' see Epp. ii. 1. 174.

216. *Sic etiam fidibus voces crevere severis*] I am not sufficiently acquainted with music to explain the scales of the tetrachord or the improvements made by Terpander. (See above, v. 83 n.) But the reader who understands the subject may consult Müller's chapter on Greek Music, in his History of Greek Literature, c. xii. The sedate and serious Doric style would be expressed by 'fidibus severis;' but Horace is speaking generally, and probably from his own imagination, when he says that in the course of time the grave style of music to which the choruses were once sung gave way to a more vehement style, as the eloquence of the chorus grew more impetuous, and it began to speak in language obscure, prophetic, and oracular.

Et tulit eloquium insolitum facundia praeceps,
Utiliumque sagax rerum et divina futuri
Sortilegis non discrepuit sententia Delphis.
Carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum,
Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit, et asper
Incolumi gravitate jocum tentavit, eo quod
Illecebris erat et grata novitate morandus
Spectator, functusque sacris et potus et exlex.
Verum ita risores, ita commendare dicaces
Conveniet Satyros, ita vertere seria ludo,
Ne quicunque deus, quicunque adhibebitur heros,
Regali conspectus in auro nuper et ostro,
Migret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas,
Aut dum vitat humum nubes et inania captet.

[218. *divina futuri*] 'Prophetic of the future,' like an oracle. Comp. C. iii. 27. 10.]

220. *Carmine qui tragico*] Horace passes on to the Satyric Drama of the Greeks. "The name of Tragedy (goat's song) was even by the ancients derived from the resemblance of the singers in their character of Satyrs to goats. Yet the slight resemblance in form between Satyrs and goats could hardly have given a name to this kind of poetry: it is far more probable that this species of dithyramb was originally performed at the burnt sacrifice of a goat" (Müller, p. 291). A goat was the prize for the choral songs or dithyrambs to which the name τραγῳδία first belonged. Bentley (Phal. p. 161) supposes the name to have been derived from the prize, but denies that it existed before the time of Thespis. (See below, v. 275 n.) The chorus appeared in the character of Satyrs as attendants on Dionysus, at whose festival they performed. Their subjects were originally confined to the adventures, serious and sportive, of that god, and therefore were a mixture of mirth and gravity. Choerilus, an older contemporary of Aeschylus, seems to have laid the foundation of an independent Satyric Drama, the entire separation of which from tragedy, as we now understand the word, was effected a few years later by Pratinas of Phlius in Argolis, about B.C. 500; thenceforward it was usual for the tragic poets to exhibit four plays at a time (tetralogies), of which the fourth was a Satyric Drama, such as the Cyclops of Euripides. The following remarks will explain most of this passage:—"The Satyric Drama was not a comedy, but a playful tragedy. Its subjects were taken from the same class of adventures of Bacchus and the heroes as tragedy; but they were so treated in connexion with rude objects of outward nature that the presence and participation of rustic petulant Satyrs seemed quite appropriate. Accordingly all scenes from free untamed nature, adventures of a striking character, where strange monsters or savage tyrants of mythology are overcome by valour or stratagem, belong to this class; and in such scenes as these the Satyrs could express various feelings of terror and delight, disgust and desire, with all the openness and unreserve which belong to their character. All mythical subjects and characters were not therefore suited to the Satyric Drama. The character best suited to it seems to have been the powerful hero Hercules, an eater and drinker and boon companion, who, when he is in good humour, allows himself to be amused by the petulant sports of Satyrs and other similar elves" (Müller, p. 294 sq.).

[222. *Incolumi gravitate*] The writer still preserved the dignity of the chief characters in the Satyric Drama.]

224. *potus et exlex*] This expresses the freedom which attended the Dionysiac festivals after the sacrifices were over.

[225. *risores*] The Satyrs, who said and did laughable things. 'Vertere . . . ludo:' I know nothing like this in form except C. i. 35. 4.]

228. *auro nuper et ostro*] 'He who but now came forward in gold and purple (which ornaments gods and heroes wore), let him not pass into low language as if he were a frequenter of taverns.'

230. *nubes et inania captet*] Compare Persius (v. 7): "Grande locuturi nebulas

Effutire leves indigna Tragoedia versus,
Ut festis matrona moveri jussa diebus,
Intererit Satyris paulum pudibunda protervis.
Non ego inornata et dominantia nomina solum
Verbaque, Pisones, Satyrorum scriptor amabo;
Nec sic enitar tragico differre colori
Ut nihil intersit Davusne loquatur et audax
Pythias emuncto lucrata Simone talentum,
An custos famulusque dei Silenus alumni.
Ex noto fictum carmen sequar, ut sibi quivis
Speret idem, sudet multum frustraque laboret
Ausus idem: tantum series juncturaque pollet,
Tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris.
Silvis deducti caveant me judice Fauni
Ne velut innati triviis ac paene forenses
Aut nimium teneris juvenentur versibus unquam,
Aut immunda crepent ignominiosaque dicta;
Offenduntur enim quibus est equus et pater et res,

Helicone legunto." As to the construction with 'indigna' see C. iii. 21. 6 n., and Epp. i. 3. 35 n.

[232. *moveri jussa*] The matron, if she dances, must move with decency and dignity.]

234. *dominantia nomina solum verbaque*] As to 'nomina verbaque' see S. i. 3. 103 n. 'Dominantia nomina' is an adaptation of the Greek *κύρια ὀνόματα*; that is, literal words as opposed to figurative. As to 'differre' with the dative see S. i. 4. 48 n.

238. *Pythias emuncto*] Comm. Cruq. says this is the name of a slave girl who got money out of her master Simo as a portion for his daughter, in a play of Lucilius, for which Orelli thinks we should read Caecilius. As to 'emuncto' see S. i. 4. 8. n.

239. *Silenus*] This god is said to have educated Bacchus. He represented the 'crassa Minerva' of the ancients, 'wisdom under a rough exterior,' and it is in his graver character that Horace here views him. All ancient representations of Silenus exhibit him as a gross impersonation of sensuality and low fun, usually drunk and riding upon an ass, with Fauns dancing about him. Modern ideas have confounded him with Bacchus his foster child.

240. *Ex noto fictum carmen sequar*] 'Ex noto' (if I understand it right, but I am not sure) means 'in ordinary language,' such as any man thinks he could write, but not every man when he comes to try succeeds, for it is the connexion (see v. 48) and ordering of the words and incidents and illustrations that gives so much charm to common language. 'Ex noto' might mean that the subject must be familiar. The context indeed is about words; but we cannot depend on the context in this poem, the parts are so loosely put together (see Introduction). ['Fictum:' 'fashioned,' 'put together.']

[243. *de medio sumptis*] 'Open to all,' 'common.']

244. *Fauni*] See C. ii. 19. 4 n. These rough beings introduced from the woods should not talk as if they had been born in the city and were loungers in the Forum, or languish in love verses like a mawkish youth; but neither should low language be put into their mouth, for this will offend the refined part of the audience, even if the vulgar applaud. 'Juvenari' is a word not found elsewhere: it is adapted from the Greek *νεανιεύεσθαι*. 'Forenses' is used as Livy uses it (ix. 46): "Fabius simul concordiae causa, simul ne humillimorum in manu comitia essent, omnem forensem turbam excretam in quattuor tribus conjecit, urbanasque eas appellavit."

248. *et pater*] 'Those who had a father' means 'ingenui,' those who were born free and of lawful wedlock, since none others were 'in patria potestate.' [Ritter sup-

Nec, si quid fricti ciceris probat et nucis emptor,
Aequis accipiunt animis donantve corona.
Syllaba longa brevi subjecta vocatur iambus,
Pes citus; unde etiam trimetris accrescere jussit
Nomen iambeis, cum senos redderet ictus
Primus ad extremum similis sibi. Non ita pridem,
Tardior ut paulo graviorque veniret ad aures,
Spondeos stabiles in jura paterna recepit
Commodus et patiens, non ut de sede secunda
Cederet aut quarta socialiter. Hic et in Acci
Nobilibus trimetris apparet rarus, et Enni
In scenam missos cum magno pondere versus
Aut operae celeris nimium curaque carentis
Aut ignoratae premit artis crimine turpi.
Non quivis videt immodulata poëmata judex,
Et data Romanis venia est indigna poëtis.
Idcircone vager scribamque licenter? an omnes
Visuros peccata putem mea, tutus et intra
Spem veniae cautus? Vitavi denique culpam,

poses that 'pater' means 'patricii,' which is a mistake. The purchasers of parched peas and nuts are the common sort.] As to 'cicer' see S. i. 6. 115 n.

251. *Syllaba longa brevi*] As to the 'iambus' see above, v. 79 sq. Horace here calls it 'pes citus,' a rapid foot, as elsewhere (C. i. 16. 54) he speaks of 'celeres iambos.' He says the rapidity of the foot caused the division of the verse into the form of a trimeter, although it was a 'senarius,' having six distinct iambic feet. The admission of a spondee in the odd feet, he says, was an after invention, in order to give more weight to the measure. What he means by 'non ita pridem' is not very clear. I suppose he means comparatively lately; but the verses of Archilochus had spondees in them. The history is not very accurate. Horace has himself imitated the pure iambic measure in the alternate verses of Epod. 16. 'In jura paterna recepit' I suppose is to be rendered 'gave a share of its patrimony.' The meaning is clear enough from the context. The politeness of the 'iambus' in making way for the spondee, but not disposed to be so accommodating as to give up the even places in the verse, seems rather a heavy joke. 'Socialiter,' 'in a friendly way,' does not occur elsewhere.

258. *Hic et in Acci*] See Epp. ii. 1. 50. 56. The 'iambus' Horace says is not commonly used in the verses of Accius and Ennius. Those of Accius he calls noble trimeters, by which he means famed. He was no great admirer of them himself. The great weight he attributes to the verses of Ennius arose from the gravity of the measure, consisting, as v. 260 does, chiefly of spondees. But the absence of the 'iambus,' in the opinion of Horace, convicts him either of slovenly writing or of ignorance of his art. Bentley puts a full stop after 'Enni,' and changes 'missos' into 'missus,' making 'versus' the nominative case to 'premit.' 'Hic' the iambus is rare (apparet rarus) in Accius, and the 'iambus,' that is the rare appearance of the 'iambus,' lies heavy on (premit) the verses of Ennius.

265. *an omnes*] This, and not 'at' or 'et,' is the reading of nearly all the MSS. Horace says it is not every critic that can tell a rhythmical verse from an unrhythmical, and so an indulgence they do not deserve is accorded to our poets. 'But am I on this account to take all manner of liberties? Or, on the other hand, am I to suppose that every one will see my faults, and to be very careful lest I exceed the limits of forgiveness? Why, if I do this I may have avoided a fault, but I shall have earned no praise.'

Non laudem merui. Vos exemplaria Graeca
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.
At vestri proavi Plautinos et numeros et
Laudavere sales: nimium patienter utrumque
Ne dicam stulte mirati, si modo ego et vos
Scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto
Legitimumque sonum digitis callemus et aure.
Ignotum tragicae genus invenisse Camenae
Dicitur et plaustris vexisse poëmata Thespis,
Quae canerent agerentque peruncti faecibus ora.
Post hunc personae pallaeque repertor honestae

270. *Plautinos et numeros et laudavere sales*] See Epp. ii. 1. 170 n. Horace never has a good word to say for Plautus, and he here depreciates his wit as well as his versification. Both no doubt wanted polish; and Horace does not scruple to insinuate (in the above place) that it was only through haste to get paid that he turned out his works so unfinished. But his style and his defects were incidental to the period and manner of his life: his simplicity and drollery were given him by nature. Horace did not admire Plautus, but more learned men did, Varro and Cicero (De Off. i. 29.)

275. *Ignotum tragicae*] Plutarch (Solon, c. 29) says that when Thespis was just introducing tragedy, and drawing large audiences from the novelty of the thing, which was before the contests had been established, Solon being then old and fond of amusement, ἐθεάσατο τὸν Θέσπιν αὐτὸν ὑποκρινόμενον ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς. His first representation was B.C. 535. The name τραγῳδία belonged, as observed above (on v. 220), to the dithyrambic songs of the Bacchic festivals, and these are of uncertain origin, but of great antiquity. Thespis may so far be considered the author of tragedy that he introduced an actor independent of the chorus, who sustained various parts under the disguise of a linen mask. (See v. 192 n.) This account therefore of the invention of tragedy at the vintage, the faces smeared with lees of wine, the waggon with which Thespis went round Attica, and so forth, may be rejected, says Müller, "since all these arise from a confusion between the origin of comedy and tragedy. Comedy originated at the rural Dionysia or the vintage festival. Aristophanes calls the comic poets of his own time lee-singers (τρυγῳδοί), but he never gives this name to the tragic poets and actors. The waggon suits not the dithyramb, which was sung by a standing chorus, but a procession which occurred in the earliest form of comedy. Moreover in many festivals there was a custom of throwing out jests and scurrilous abuse from a waggon (σκώμματα ἐξ ἁμαξῶν). It is only by completely avoiding this error (which rests on a very natural confusion) that it is possible to reconcile the earliest history of the drama with the best testimonies, especially that of Aristotle" (p. 291).

278. *Post hunc personae pallaeque*] Horace makes Aeschylus the inventor of the mask and tragic dress (v. 215 n. See Aristot. Poet. c. 4). But he who first put an actor upon the stage, if, as most suppose, he gave him various parts to sustain, must have employed masks suited to the different characters. There were symbolical masks for different ages and classes, and there were descriptive masks for different persons, representing peculiarities by which they would be known. Gellius (v. 7) derives the word from 'per-sonare,' conceiving that they were so contrived as to assist the voice. But that etymology will not do, if it were only for the quantity of 'sŏnare.' "Masks," Müller says, "originated in the taste for mumming and disguises of all sorts prevalent at the Bacchic festivals. They not only concealed the individual features of well-known actors and enabled the spectators entirely to forget the performer in his part, but gave to his whole aspect that ideal character which the tragedy of antiquity demanded." Roscius first introduced masks on the Roman stage about A.U.C. 650. The garment Horace means by 'palla' has been described before. It was called ποικίλον or ἀνθινόν from its rich embroidery. For the proper meaning of 'palla' see S. i. 8. 23 n. As to 'co-

Aeschylus et modicis instravit pulpita tignis
Et docuit magnumque loqui nitique cothurno.
Successit vetus his comoedia, non sine multa
Laude; sed in vitium libertas excidit et vim
Dignam lege regi; lex est accepta chorusque
Turpiter obticuit sublato jure nocendi.
Nil intentatum nostri liquere poëtae,
Nec minimum meruere decus vestigia Graeca
Ausi deserere et celebrare domestica facta,
Vel qui praetextas vel qui docuere togatas.
Nec virtute foret clarisve potentius armis
Quam lingua Latium, si non offenderet unum
Quemque poëtarum limae labor et mora. Vos, o
Pompilius sanguis, carmen reprehendite quod non
Multa dies et multa litura coërcuit atque
Perfectum decies non castigavit ad unguem.
Ingenium misera quia fortunatius arte

thurnus' see Epp. ii. 1. 174 n. Aeschylus may have made improvements in what is called among us the property of a theatre, but there is no reason to suppose that he invented any of the above things. 'Magnum loqui' is usually referred to the style of Aeschylus, his ῥήματα γομφοπαγῆ as Aristophanes calls them. From the connexion it seems rather to mean that he taught the actor how to articulate loudly. There is nothing about style here.

281. *Successit vetus his comoedia*] Horace takes no account of the earliest form of comedy from which the name is derived, the song of the revellers (κῶμος) at the Dionysia; or of the labours of Susarion, who as early at least as Thespis, at Icaria, a village in Attica, contended with a comic chorus for a prize. That which was before composed of jests and obscenities connected with the worship of Bacchus had now added to it personal ribaldry and political jokes, the former levelled at the spectators or against public men. Between Susarion and the period of the old comedy there were several distinguished writers, as Chionides, Magnes, Ecphantides, and others. The earliest writer of the old comedy was Cratinus. See S. i. 4. 1 n.

288. *Vel qui praetextas*] 'Fabulae praetextae' or 'praetextatae' were tragedies, as 'togatae' were comedies, with plots connected with Roman stories and manners. (Epp. ii. 1. 57 sqq.) The Greek tragedies to which 'praetextae' were opposed were called by the Romans 'crepidatae.' 'Docere' is used as the Greeks used διδάσκειν for exhibiting a play, because the poet also trained the chorus as χοροδιδάσκαλος. The principal writers of tragedy and comedy are mentioned in the above Epistle and in the notes. To the writers of 'togatae' Acron here adds Aelius Lamia, Antonius Rufus, Cn. Melissus Pomponius.

292. *Pompilius sanguis*] The 'Calpurnia gens,' to which the Pisones belonged, claimed descent from Calpus, son of Numa Pompilius.

294. *ad unguem*] See S. i. 5. 32 n. [Ritter has 'praesectum—unguem,' and Bentley defends 'praesectum.']

295. *Ingenium misera*] The following verses to 308 have little connexion, as far as I can see, with what goes before. The question about education and nature in connexion with poetry is taken up again at v. 408. We are accustomed to subscribe to the doctrine "poeta nascitur, non fit." The ancients were divided on that point, some assigning more to education, others to natural gifts. Cicero, speaking of Pacuvius, asks, "Pacuvium putatis in scribendo leni animo ac remisso fuisse? Fieri nullo modo potuit. Saepe enim audivi poëtam bonum neminem (id quod a Democrito et Platone in scriptis relictum esse dicunt) sine inflammatione animorum existere posse et sine quodam

Credit et excludit sanos Helicone poëtas
Democritus, bona pars non ungues ponere curat,
Non barbam, secreta petit loca, balnea vitat.
Nanciscetur enim pretium nomenque poëtae,
Si tribus Anticyris caput insanabile nunquam
Tonsori Licino commiserit. O ego laevus,
Qui purgor bilem sub verni temporis horam!
Non alius faceret meliora poëmata. Verum
Nil tanti est. Ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum
Reddere quae ferrum valet exsors ipsa secandi;
Munus et officium nil scribens ipse docebo,
Unde parentur opes, quid alat formetque poëtam;
Quid deceat, quid non; quo virtus, quo ferat error.
Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons:
Rem tibi Socraticae poterunt ostendere chartae,

afflatu quasi furoris" (De Orat. ii. 46). Again he says: "negat sine furore Democritus quemquam poëtam magnum esse posse: quod idem dicit Plato" (de Divin. i. 37). ['Misera arte:' 'painful, laborious art.']

300. *Si tribus Anticyris*] There were three places of this name, each of which is assumed from this passage to have produced hellebore, a very improbable coincidence. Horace puts 'tribus' as we might say a dozen or any other indefinite number. (S. ii. 3. 83.)

301. *Tonsori Licino commiserit*] Comm. Cruq. has the following note: "*Licino:* nomen tonsoris famati (famosi?) qui postea dicitur factus senator a Caesare quod odisset Pompeium, de quo hoc scriptum est epitaphium:

'Marmoreo tumulo Licinus jacet, at Cato nullo;
Pompeius parvo: quis putet esse Deos?'"

The name of Licinus is mentioned by Juvenal (S. i. 109; xiv. 306), Persius (ii. 36), Martial (viii. 3. 6, where his tomb is mentioned). Suetonius (Aug. c. 67, if 'Licinum' is the right reading) and Dion Cassius (54. 21) both mention a Licinus; and the Scholiast on the above passage of Persius calls him "tonsorem ac libertum Augusti Caesaris." But he was a freedman of C. Julius Caesar, and must have been his barber if any body's. Here the name was probably that of a well-known barber of Horace's day. (S. ii. 3. 16, 35 n.) [If the above epigram is rightly assigned to Varro Atacinus, who died before the battle of Actium, the 'tonsor' of C. Caesar is a different person from the Licinus of Dion Cassius (54. 21). Ritter.]

302. *Qui purgor bilem*] The hellebore which the ancients used in cases of madness is a violent purgative, and they tried to act on the brain by relieving the stomach. Horace says he must be a fool, since madness is essential to poetry, for taking medicines to keep his stomach in order. This annual purgation was thought to take place best in spring, according to Celsus (ii. 13). It does not appear that any MSS. have 'qui purger,' though that form might be expected here.

[304. *Nil tanti est*] 'But it is not worth while to continue mad in order to have the power of making verses.']

— *fungar vice cotis*] As to 'vice' see above, v. 86, and S. i. 10. 12. Horace says if he only kept the bile from escaping he would beat them all at poetry. However, it does not matter, he goes on; he will act as the whetstone which whets the iron, though itself cannot cut. This is said to be a proverbial way of speaking, taken from a reply of Isocrates to one who asked him why he taught others to speak, but did not speak himself: *αἱ ἀκόναι αὐταὶ μὲν τεμεῖν οὐ δύνανται, τὸν δὲ σίδηρον ὀξὺν καὶ τμητικὸν ποιοῦσι.*

310. *Rem tibi Socraticae—chartae*] The writings of Socrates' disciples, such as Plato, and others, will supply matter for the true (dramatic) poet, by teaching him the science and duties of human life.

Verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.
Qui didicit patriae quid debeat et quid amicis,
Quo sit amore parens, quo frater amandus et hospes,
Quod sit conscripti, quod judicis officium, quae
Partes in bellum missi ducis, ille profecto
Reddere personae scit convenientia cuique.
Respicere exemplar vitae morumque jubebo
Doctum imitatorem et vivas hinc ducere voces.
Interdum speciosa locis morataque recte
Fabula nullius veneris, sine pondere et arte,
Valdius oblectat populum meliusque moratur
Quam versus inopes rerum nugaeque canorae.
Graiis ingenium, Graiis dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui, praeter laudem nullius avaris.
Romani pueri longis rationibus assem
Discunt in partes centum diducere. "Dicat
Filius Albini: Si de quincunce remota est
Uncia, quid superat? Poteras dixisse." "Triens." "Eu!
Rem poteris servare tuam. Redit uncia, quid fit?"
"Semis." At haec animos aerugo et cura peculi
Cum semel imbuerit, speramus carmina fingi
Posse linenda cedro et levi servanda cupresso?

314. *Quod sit conscripti*] After the expulsion of the kings, the senate having lost many of its members under the last Tarquinius, the number was made up to three hundred, by choosing the chief 'equites,' who were called 'conscripti' (Livy ii. 1). The old members were 'patres;' and the whole body thus constituted was called 'patres et conscripti,' or shortly 'patres conscripti.' Horace uses 'conscriptus' as equivalent to 'senator.' As to 'judicis' see S. i. 4. 123 n.

318. *vivas hinc ducere voces*] Living words are those that represent nature to the life, or convey a vivid sense to the understanding.

319. *speciosa locis*] Full of telling sentiments, examples, and so on. (Epp. ii. 2. 116.) ['Morataque recte:' 'with characters well and truly marked.']

323. *Graiis ingenium*] He says the Greeks had a natural taste for poetry, and cultivated it from an ambition to excel and a thirst for praise, which Porphyrion illustrates by the example of Apelles, who took ten years to finish his famous picture of Venus rising from the sea (Ἀφροδίτη ἀναδυομένη). But this comparison of the Greeks and Romans does not appear to be connected with the subject that goes before or the rules that follow from v. 333.

325. *Romani pueri*] See S. i. 6. 72. 77 n. The 'as' was divided into twelve parts, 'unciae,' of which the 'quincunx' contained five, and the 'triens' four, being one-third of the whole, whence the name. The 'semis' contained six, being half an as. Albinus, according to Comm. Cruq., was the name of an usurer. Bentley substitutes 'dicas' for 'dicat' without reason or authority. Horace is representing a scene in a boys' school. "*Master:* Let the son of Albinus tell me: if you take an uncia from a quincunx, how much remains? (The boy hesitates.) You used to know. *Boy:* A triens. *Master:* Very well. You will know how to take care of your money. Now add an uncia: what is the sum? *Boy:* A semis." Bentley also reads 'poterat' for 'poteras.' Some MSS. have that reading. He also punctuates thus: 'poterat dixisse, triens?' For 'at haec' Bentley reads 'an' [Ritter has 'an']. Orelli says truly there is more indignation in 'at.'

332. *linenda cedro*] Books were

Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poëtae,
Aut simul et jucunda et idonea dicere vitae.
Quidquid praecipies esto brevis, ut cito dicta
Percipiant animi dociles teneantque fideles;
Omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat.
Ficta voluptatis causa sint proxima veris,
Nec quodcunque volet poscat sibi fabula credi,
Neu pransae Lamiae vivum puerum extrahat alvo.
Centuriae seniorum agitant expertia frugis,
Celsi praetereunt austera poëmata Ramnes:
Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,
Lectorem delectando pariterque monendo.
Hic meret aera liber Sosiis; hic et mare transit
Et longum noto scriptori prorogat aevum.
Sunt delicta tamen quibus ignovisse velimus;
Nam neque chorda sonum reddit quem vult manus et mens,
Poscentique gravem persaepe remittit acutum;
Nec semper feriet quodcunque minabitur arcus.
Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine non ego paucis
Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit
Aut humana parum cavit natura. Quid ergo est?
Ut scriptor si peccat idem librarius usque
Quamvis est monitus venia caret; ut citharoedus
Ridetur chorda qui semper oberrat eadem:

smeared with oil of cedar to keep them from the insects. [Pliny, H. N. 16. c. 39, quoted by Ritter.] 'Capsae cupressinae,' 'book-cases of cypress-wood,' were costly, and would only be used for valuable books.

337. *Omne supervacuum*] Bentley suspects this verse and puts it in brackets. He thinks it tame and obscure. It is at any rate very true that when the mind is full it discards all superfluous words when expressing its meaning: it has no room for superfluities; as in a vessel that is full, if you pour more it runs over and escapes. As to 'supervacuus' see C. ii. 20. 24 n. [It is difficult to see what the verse means. The advice of the poet is, make your precepts brief. He then says that 'all superfluous matter flows from a full breast (mind).' If he had said that 'all good matter flows from a full breast,' we might understand him. Ritter's notion that the 'pectus' is the 'pectus' of the hearer, which is filled with this superfluous stuff, and soon loses it, is intelligible, but difficult to reconcile with the use of 'manare.']

340. *Neu pransae Lamiae*] 'Lamiae' were hags, ogresses, who devoured children.

341. *Centuriae seniorum*] This language is taken from the classification of the people by Servius Tullius (Livy, i. 43). The grave seniors like no poetry that has not something profitable and instructive in it. The Ramnes were one of the three centuries of equites which Romulus formed (Livy, i. 13). They are mentioned in opposition to the 'centuriae seniorum,' as young men to old. [They represent the equites of Horace's day, as it seems.]

343. *Omne tulit punctum*] 'He carries every vote.' See Epp. ii. 2. 99 n.; and as to the Sosii see Epp. i. 20. 2 n.

353. *Quid ergo est*] 'What are we to say then?' The expression occurs in Cicero's speech pro P. Quintio, c. 18.

354. *scriptor—librarius*] A copier of books. See Epp. ii. 2. 5 n.

Sic mihi qui multum cessat fit Choerilus ille,
Quem bis terve bonum cum risu miror; et idem
Indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus;
Verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum.
Ut pictura poësis: erit quae si propius stes
Te capiat magis, et quaedam si longius abstes.
Haec amat obscurum, volet haec sub luce videri,
Judicis argutum quae non formidat acumen;
Haec placuit semel, haec decies repetita placebit.
O major juvenum, quamvis et voce paterna
Fingeris ad rectum et per te sapis, hoc tibi dictum
Tolle memor, certis medium et tolerabile rebus
Recte concedi. Consultus juris et actor
Causarum mediocris abest virtute diserti
Messallae nec scit quantum Cascellius Aulus,
Sed tamen in pretio est: mediocribus esse poëtis
Non homines, non di, non concessere columnae.
Ut gratas inter mensas symphonia discors
Et crassum unguentum et Sardo cum melle papaver
Offendunt, poterat duci quia coena sine istis:
Sic animis natum inventumque poëma juvandis,
Si paulum summo decessit, vergit ad imum.
Ludere qui nescit campestribus abstinet armis,
Indoctusque pilae discive trochive quiescit,
Ne spissae risum tollant impune coronae:
Qui nescit versus tamen audet fingere. Quidni?
Liber et ingenuus, praesertim census equestrem

357. *fit Choerilus ille*] See Epp. ii. 1. 231 n. ['Thus in my judgment he who often errs becomes another Choerilus.']

[359. *quandoque*] Equivalent to 'quandocunque.' See C. iv. 2. 34.]

366. *O major juvenum*] Acron says his name was Lucius, which so far as it goes is against one of the theories mentioned in the Introduction. There were two sons, and both 'juvenes;' both must have taken the 'toga virilis.'

[368. *Tolle memor*] 'Take and remember.' See Epp. i. 18. 12, and S. i. 10. 51, and S. i. 4. 11 n.]

369. *Consultus juris et actor causarum*] See S. i. 1. 9 n. As to Messalla see C. iii. 21. A. Cascellius was a jurisconsultus. He must have been alive when this poem was written, but very old. The names are inverted. See C. ii. 2. 3 n.

373. *non concessere columnae*] That is, the booksellers' stalls. See S. i. 4. 71 n., and Epp. i. 19. 1. ['Concessere:' compare Epp. i. 2. 48, 'deduxit.']

375. *Sardo cum melle*] Sardinian and Corsican honeys appear to have been of inferior quality. See S. ii. 2. 15 n. It appears poppy-seeds roasted and mixed with honey were served in early times at the second course. (Pliny xix. 8. 53.) ['Duci:' 'prolonged.' Epp. ii. 2. 202.]

380. *pilae discive trochive*] See S. ii. 2. 9 n. 'Coronae' are the crowds of spectators standing round to watch the games.

[382. *Quidni*] 'Quidni audeat?' Ritter.]

383. *census equestrem summam*] 'Cen-

Summam nummorum vitioque remotus ab omni.
Tu nihil invita dices faciesve Minerva;
Id tibi judicium est, ea mens. Si quid tamen olim
Scripseris, in Maeci descendat judicis aures
Et patris et nostras, nonumque prematur in annum,
Membranis intus positis: delere licebit
Quod non edideris; nescit vox missa reverti.
Silvestres homines sacer interpresque deorum
Caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus,
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones;
Dictus et Amphion, Thebanae conditor arcis,
Saxa movere sono testudinis et prece blanda
Ducere quo vellet. Fuit haec sapientia quondam,
Publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis,
Concubitu prohibere vago, dare jura maritis,
Oppida moliri, leges incidere ligno:

sus' is a participle. His property was not less than 400,000 sesterces. Epod. iv. 15 n.; Epp. i. 1. 57 n.

385. *Tu nihil invita—Minerva*] See S. ii. 2. 3. The expression is proverbial. Cicero explains it: "invita ut aiunt Minerva; id est adversante et repugnante natura" (de Off. i. 31).

[386. *Id tibi*] 'Such is your judgment.']

387. *in Maeci descendat judicis aures*] As to Sp. Maecius Tarpa see S. i. 10. 38 n. ['Olim:' 'at any future time.']

391. *Silvestres homines*] Horace ascribes to the cultivation of true poetry, the civilization of mankind (represented under the legend of Orpheus taming wild beasts), the building of cities, the enactment of laws, and the ordering of society. "The Thracian singer Orpheus is unquestionably the darkest point in the entire history of the early Grecian poetry, on account of the scantiness of the accounts respecting him which have been preserved in the more ancient writers—the lyric poets Ibycus and Pindar, the historians Hellanicus and Pherecydes, and the Athenian tragedians containing the first express testimonies of his name. This deficiency is ill supplied by the multitude of marvellous stories concerning him which occur in later writers, and by the poems and fragments that are extant under the name of Orpheus. The name of Orpheus and the legends respecting him are intimately connected with the idea and the worship of a Dionysus dwelling in the infernal regions (Ζαγρεύς), and the foundation of this worship (which was connected with the Eleusinian mysteries), together with the composition of hymns and songs for its initiations (τελεταί), was the earliest function ascribed to him. Nevertheless, under the influence of various causes the fame of Orpheus grew so much that he was considered as the first minstrel of the heroic age, was made the companion of the Argonauts, and the marvels which music and poetry wrought on a rude and simple generation were chiefly described under his name" (Müller, Lit. Gr. i. 25 sq.). Compare C. i. 12. 7.

394. *Amphion, Thebanae conditor arcis*] This legend is mentioned in C. iii. 11. 2. Homer only knew Cadmus as the founder of Thebes. "To reconcile the conflicting pretensions of Zethus and Amphion with those of Cadmus as founders of Thebes, Pausanias supposes that the latter was the original settler of the hill of the Cadmeia, while the two former extended the settlement to the lower city (ix. 5. 1—3)" (Grote, Hist. Gr. vi. p. 359 n.).

397. *Publica privatis—sacra profanis*] This is a fundamental division of things ('res') in the Roman law. Gaius ii. § 1, &c.

[398. *jura maritis*] 'Rules for married people,' or the law of marriage. 'Mariti' are husband and wife.]

399. *leges incidere ligno*] Plutarch

Sic honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque
Carminibus venit. Post hos insignis Homerus
Tyrtaeusque mares animos in Martia bella
Versibus exacuit; dictae per carmina sortes;
Et vitae monstrata via est; et gratia regum
Pieriis tentata modis; ludusque repertus
Et longorum operum finis: ne forte pudori
Sit tibi Musa lyrae sollers et cantor Apollo.
Natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte
Quaesitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vena
Nec rude quid possit video ingenium; alterius sic
Altera poscit opem res et conjurat amice.

says of Solon's laws: *κατεγράφησαν εἰς ξυλίνους ἄξονας ἐν πλαισίοις περιέχουσι στρεφομένους· καὶ προσηγορεύθησαν ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ κύρβεις* (Solon, c. 25). Fragments of these laws, inscribed on wooden tables, called *ἄξονες* or *κύρβεις*, existed in his day in the Prytaneum.

400. *divinis vatibus*] Eumolpus, Orpheus, Musaeus, Pamphus, Thamyris, are the principal names associated with the origin of Grecian poetry, and they are all called Thracian (v. 405 n.). They are called 'divine,' not merely from the quality of their art, but from their connexion with the worship of Apollo, Demeter, and Dionysus, whence (v. 391) Orpheus is called "sacer interpresque deorum."

402. *Tyrtaeusque mares animos*] Tyrtaeus (v. 75 n.) was a native of Attica, and wrote in the elegiac measure. He took up his abode at Sparta during the second war between the Spartans and Messenians, which began B.C. 685. "Exhortation to bravery was the theme which the poet took for many elegies (called *ὑποθῆκαι δι' ἐλεγείας*, i.e. lessons and exhortations in elegiac verse), and wrote on it with unceasing spirit and ever new invention. Never was the duty and the honour of bravery impressed on the youth of a nation with so much beauty and force of language, by such natural and touching motives" (Müller, p. 112). There are three fragments, which have much vigour and feeling (7—9 Bergk).

[403. *sortes*] 'Oracles' v. 219. 'Vitae . . via:' shown by such writers as Hesiod, Theognis, and Solon. 'Gratia regum:' kings were the patrons of Pindar and others.]

405. *Pieriis tentata modis*] The country of Pieria lay between Macedonia and Thessalia, north of the range of Olympus, and on the coast of the Sinus Thermaicus. This accounts for the Muses being both Pierian and Olympian. Müller (p. 27) says that the Pierians lived up to the time of the Doric and Aeolic migrations in Boeotia and Phocis, near the mountain ranges of Helicon in the former and Parnassus in the latter. Whence he supposes that to the Pierians is to be traced the origin of Greek poetry, and that to this is to be attributed the association of the Muses with Helicon and Parnassus. He thus also accounts for the traditions which assigned the birth of poetry to bards of Thrace (v. 400 n.), a country of which the language was pronounced barbarous by the civilized Greeks: for "when the Pierians were pressed in their own territory by the early Macedonian princes, some of them crossed the Strymon into Thrace proper" (Herod. vii. 112). "It is however quite conceivable (Müller adds, and perhaps he had better have been content with this) that in early times, on account of their close vicinity, or because all the north was comprehended under one name, the Pierians might in Southern Greece have been called Thracians. These Pierians, from the intellectual relations which they maintained with the Greeks, appear to be a Grecian race; which supposition is also confirmed by the Greek names of their places, rivers, fountains, &c." Further observations will be found in the same work showing the probable connexion between these Pierians and the Epic poetry of Homer.

406. *Et longorum operum finis*] The rural Dionysia (v. 275 n.), called *τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς* or *τὰ μικρά*, took place at the end of the year, in the month *Ποσειδέων*, when the labours of the vintage were over.

[— *ne forte*] 'So you need not be ashamed of the Muse,' &c.]

408. *Natura fierit laudabile*] See v. 295 n.

Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam
Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit,
Abstinuit venere et vino; qui Pythia cantat
Tibicen didicit prius extimuitque magistrum.
Nec satis est dixisse: "Ego mira poëmata pango;
Occupet extremum scabies; mihi turpe relinqui est
Et quod non didici sane nescire fateri."
Ut praeco, ad merces turbam qui cogit emendas,
Assentatores jubet ad lucrum ire poëta
Dives agris, dives positis in fenore nummis.
Si vero est unctum qui recte ponere possit
Et spondere levi pro paupere et eripere atris
Litibus implicitum, mirabor si sciet inter-
Noscere mendacem verumque beatus amicum.
Tu seu donaris seu quid donare voles cui,
Nolito ad versus tibi factos ducere plenum
Laetitiae; clamabit enim Pulchre! bene! recte!
Pallescet super his, etiam stillabit amicis
Ex oculis rorem, saliet, tundet pede terram.
Ut qui conducti plorant in funere dicunt
Et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo, sic
Derisor vero plus laudatore movetur.
Reges dicuntur multis urgere culullis
Et torquere mero quem perspexisse laborant

413. *Multa tulit fecitque puer*] 'He takes great pains when he is young,' 'puer' being emphatic, as in C. i. 9. 16.

414. *qui Pythia cantat tibicen*] At the Pythian games there was a musical contest in which flute-players and harp-players took part, the subject being the contest of Apollo with the serpent Pytho. The name given to this music was *νόμος Πυθικός*. ['Pythia:' comp. Epp. i. 1. 50.]

416. *Nec satis est dixisse*] All the editions till Bentley have 'nunc.' He edited 'nec' from two MSS., which have since been confirmed by others, and among them by Orelli's St. Gallen. I prefer 'nec,' though the Scholiasts certainly had 'nunc,' and that has most authority. [Ritter and Krüger have 'nunc.'] Comm. Cruq. explains it "Satis est nostris poëtis ut dicant," which must be the meaning if 'nunc' is retained.

417. *Occupet extremum scabies*] The Scholiasts say this expression was used by boys in their races.

419. *Ut praeco*] See S. i. 6. 86 n.

422. *unctum qui recte ponere possit*] 'Who can put a good dinner before one handsomely.' As to 'spondere' see S. ii. 6. 23 n. [Ritter interprets it 'to seat the perfumed guest fitly at his table.' I don't think that he is right. Comp. Epp. i. 15. 44.] 'Levi paupere' is a poor man whose name has as little weight as his purse. 'Atris' is 'melancholy,' as "minuentur atrae Carmine curae" (C. iv. 11. 35). Bentley need not have changed it to 'artis,' though two MSS. support him. As to 'beatus' see C. i. 4. 14 n.

431. *Ut qui conducti*] S. i. 6. 43 n.

[433. *Derisor*] 'The flatterer, who is also a mocker.']

434. *culullis*] The Scholiasts (C. i. 31. 11) say this was the name of earthenware cups used by the pontifices and Vestal Virgins. It was afterwards used generally for drinking-cups. With 'torquere mero' compare Epp. i. 18. 38, "et vino tortus et ira."

An sit amicitia dignus: si carmina condes,
Nunquam te fallant animi sub vulpe latentes.
Quintilio si quid recitares, "Corrige sodes
Hoc," aiebat, "et hoc:" melius te posse negares
Bis terque expertum frustra, delere jubebat
Et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.
Si defendere delictum quam vertere malles,
Nullum ultra verbum aut operam insumebat inanem
Quin sine rivali teque et tua solus amares.
Vir bonus et prudens versus reprehendet inertes,
Culpabit duros, incomptis adlinet atrum
Transverso calamo signum, ambitiosa recidet
Ornamenta, parum claris lucem dare coget,
Arguet ambigue dictum, mutanda notabit,
Fiet Aristarchus; non dicet: "Cur ego amicum
Offendam in nugis?" Hae nugae seria ducent
In mala derisum semel exceptumque sinistre.
Ut mala quem scabies aut morbus regius urget
Aut fanaticus error et iracunda Diana,

437. *animi sub vulpe latentes*] 'If you ever write poetry, do not be taken in by flatterers, who have a bad heart under a cunning face.' [Persius, v. 117.]

438. *Quintilio*] See C. i. 24, Introduction.

441. *Et male tornatos incudi reddere*] The metaphors of the turning-lathe and the anvil are common enough for the composition of verses, as Bentley has shown. But alleging that the lathe and anvil have no business to be together, he proposes, in the longest of all his notes, and edits with no authority, 'ter natos,' referring to Epp. ii. 1. 233, "incultis qui versibus et male natis." The verse is much better in my opinion as it stands. ['Incudi reddere,' 'to break the work on the anvil and begin again.'] The lathe was used by the ancients in the polishing and turning of metals as well as of wood and ivory, as Fea shows against Bentley, who affirms that such is not the case. ['Negares:' 'if you had said that you could do no better, then he would bid you,' &c.]

[444. *Quin sine*] 'He would not waste a single word or useless labour in trying to prevent you from loving yourself and your work without any rival,' which means 'above all measure.' Krüger refers to Cicero, ad Q. Fr. iii. 8. 4. 'Rivales' are those who draw water from the same 'rivus' (Dig. 43. 20. 1), and sometimes quarrelled about it. Hence, 'rivals in our sense.']

450. *Fiet Aristarchus*] Aristarchus, whose name was proverbial among the ancients as a critic, was born in Samothrace. He passed the greater part of his life at Alexandria under the patronage of Ptolemaeus Philopator, Epiphanes, and Philometor, the second of whom he educated.

453. *morbus regius*] This, which is otherwise called 'arquatus morbus,' 'aurugo.' and by the Greeks *ἴκτερος*, is the jaundice. Celsus (iii. 24) says it is so called because the remedies resorted to were chiefly amusements to keep up the spirits, such as none but the rich could afford. (Pliny xxii. 24, § 53.) No disorder depresses the spirits more than jaundice. Here it is supposed to be infectious, which it is not.

454. *Aut fanaticus error*] 'Fanaticus' (from 'fanum') was properly applied to the priests of Bellona. See S. ii. 3. 223 n., and Juvenal iv. 123, "fanaticus oestro Percussus, Bellona, tuo." Juvenal also applies it to priests of Cybele (ii. 112), "crine senex fanaticus albo, Sacrorum antistes." The influence of the moon ('iracunda Diana') in producing mental derangement is one of the earliest fallacies in medicine.

Vesanum tetigisse timent fugiuntque poëtam
Qui sapiunt; agitant pueri incautique sequuntur.
Hic dum sublimis versus ructatur et errat,
Si veluti merulis intentus decidit auceps
In puteum foveamve, licet "Succurrite" longum
Clamet, "Io cives!" non sit qui tollere curet.
Si curet quis opem ferre et demittere funem,
"Quî scis an prudens huc se projecerit atque
Servari nolit?" dicam, Siculique poëtae
Narrabo interitum. Deus immortalis haberi
Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Aetnam
Insiluit. Sit jus liceatque perire poëtis:
Invitum qui servat idem facit occidenti.
Nec semel hoc fecit, nec si retractus erit jam
Fiet homo et ponet famosae mortis amorem.
Nec satis apparet cur versus factitet, utrum
Minxerit in patrios cineres, an triste bidental
Moverit incestus: certe furit ac velut ursus
Objectos caveae valuit si frangere clathros,
Indoctum doctumque fugat recitator acerbus;
Quem vero arripuit tenet occiditque legendo,
Non missura cutem nisi plena cruoris hirudo.

The Greeks called persons supposed to be so affected σεληνιακοί.

455. *tetigisse timent*] 'The wise avoid him as if he were infectious; fools run after him like children after a crazy man in the streets.'

459. *longum clamet*] This is like Homer's μακρὸν ἄϋσε (Il. iii. 81).

[460. *non sit qui*] 'Let no man take the pains to help him.' See S. ii. 5. 91, and Epp. i. 18. 72.]

464. *Deus immortalis haberi*] See Epp. i. 12. 20. There are various marvellous stories told of the death of Empedocles, suited to the character he bore in his life. [Diogenes Laertius viii. 51, &c.] "According to the most probable of these discrepant statements, being at last expelled his native city (Agrigentum), he retired to the Peloponnesus, and there brought his marvellous existence to a close. This story is from Timaeus, in whose history Empedocles is frequently mentioned. The statement of his death in Aetna can be traced back to Heraclides Ponticus, a very insufficient authority, and who believed in it" (Ritter, Hist. Anc. Phil. i. 492).

467. *Invitum qui servat*] See Epp. i. 20. 15 n. This is apparently a proverb. Seneca has the same (Phoen. 100): "occidere est vetare cupientem mori." The construction of 'idem occidenti' is Greek, ταὐτὸ τῷ ἀποκτείνοντι. Orelli observes that this is the only spondaic hexameter in Horace.

469. *Fiet homo*] He keeps up the allusion to Empedocles, saying that the frenzied poet is as resolved to rush to his fate (that is, into verse) as the philosopher was, and if you save him he will not drop his pretension to inspiration. ['Homo,' a reasonable man.]

470. *Nec satis apparet*] The crime for which he has been thus sent mad does not appear; whether it be for fouling his father's grave or setting foot upon polluted ground. 'Bidental' was a spot struck by lightning, so called from the sacrifice of a sheep (bidens) offered upon it for expiation. I agree with Orelli in taking 'moverit' in the sense of 'violaverit,' as in "Dianae non movenda numina" (Epod. xvii. 3). Some take it to mean the removal of the mark placed on the spot.

NOTE ON SATIRE II. 3. 69,

'Scribe decem a Nerio.'

The reading in the text is 'Scribe decem Nerio,' and if that is the true reading, the explanation in the notes may be as good as any other. But as the reading 'scribe decem a Nerio' has the better authority, we must attempt to explain it. There is no occasion to show here that 'decem' means a sum of money. That is proved clearly in the note on S. ii. 3. 69, and by Krüger in a useful excursus on this passage. The explanation of Orelli and Ritter that 'decem' means 'decem tabulas' is a mistake which we could hardly expect such excellent commentators to make.

We must next consider what 'scribe a Nerio' means. The preposition 'ab' is thus used in a passage of Cicero (pro Flacco, c. 19, quoted by Krüger), 'Si praetor dedit, ut est scriptum, a quaestore numeravit; quaestor a mensa publica; mensa aut ex vectigali aut ex tributo:' which means, the praetor paid by an order on the quaestor; the quaestor gave an order on the public bank, and finally the bank paid the money out of the funds which it had in possession. The passage in Livy (24. c. 18, 'a quaestore perscribebatur') may also be compared with this in Horace.

The conclusion is that 'scribe decem a Nerio' expresses a payment of money made by the banker Nerius to some borrower, and made pursuant to the order of some lender, who may be Perillius (v. 74, 'Perilli dictantis quod tu numquam rescribere possis'). The entry in the books of Nerius of the loan made on the order of Perillius would be evidence against the borrower, for the entry would be made with his knowledge and consent. As 'scribere' here expresses the lending of the money, so 'rescribere' expresses the repayment; for the evidence of the repayment would be an entry in the books which would have the effect of annulling the entry of the debt.

If it should be asked to whom is the word 'scribe' addressed, to the lender or the borrower, the answer is that it is not necessary to suppose the word to be addressed to either. It means no more than 'suppose Nerius to advance a sum of money to a borrower upon the order of a lender.' Further, 'suppose a hundred written securities besides, such securities as wily Cicuta employs.' All these words in the second person, 'scribe,' 'adde,' 'rapies,' 'tu rescribere possis' must be interpreted generally: 'suppose the money lent;' 'suppose the additional written securities;' 'suppose the debtor brought into court;' and lastly, in 'tu nunquam rescribere possis,' 'tu' is Damasippus or any man who borrows and does not repay.

A like use of 'adde' occurs in S. ii. 3. 321, 'adde poemata nunc.'

The passage, though it is difficult and has given the commentators much trouble, is perfectly plain, if we look at it in the right way. Krüger's is the only true explanation that I have seen. G. L.

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ERRATA.

Page 29, col. 2, note, *for* 'novimus' *read* 'vivimus'
— 63, Argument, 'merchandize.' It might be supposed that the editor confounded 'merx' and 'merces;' but I am not sure that he did, though he has used the word 'merchandize.'
— 69, Argument, *for* 'not cups' *read* 'not crops'
— 151, note, col. 2, *for* 'imponere Olympum' *read* 'involvere Olympum'
— 521, note, col. 1, *for* 'porrigitur' *read* 'porgitur'

THE END.

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